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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL

OF

SOCIOLOGY

Volume LX

BIMONTHLY

JULY 1954—MAY 1955

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MAY, 1955, SUPPLEMENT

THE AMERICAN

JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

A CENTENARY APPRECIATION OF ALBION W. SMALL[1]

FLOYD N. HOUSE

ABSTRACT

Albion W. Small exercised great influence upon the development of sociology and other social sciences in the United States and elsewhere through his commanding position as head of the leading graduate department of sociology, the University of Chicago, and as editor of this *Journal* for over thirty. years. He contrib-uted to the formulation of several important concepts and to the literature of the history of social science. Perhaps the most outstanding thing in his writings is his insistence on the importance of social science for social action.

Albion Woodbury Small was born in Bucksfield, Maine, May 11, 1854, the son of a Baptist minister who was then serving his first parish in that village. The family presently moved to Bangor, Maine, and then, at about the time when young Small was ready to enter high school, to Portland. Receiving his primary and secondary education in the public schools of these cities, Albion W. Small entered Colby University (now Colby College) in Waterville, Maine, in 1872, when he was eighteen years of age; and from this college he was graduated in 1876 at the age of twenty-two. He then at-tended Newton Theological Institution, in Massachusetts, graduating with the class

[1] [This article was written at the request of the *Journal* by Floyd N. House, professor of sociology at the University of Virginia, who was a student of Dr. Small's and pre-eminently the person to signal-ize the centenary of Dr. Small's birth and the be-ginning of the sixtieth year of the *Journal*, which Dr. Small founded. After Dr. Small's death, the *Journal* in its issue of July, 1926 (Vol. XXXII), paid him homage in four articles, the last being a list of his more important published writings compiled by Professor House.]

of 1879. By this time he had decided that he wished to become a teacher rather than a minister, and, with his father's assist-ance, he went to the universities of Berlin and Leipzig and spent some time at Weimar, Germany, and at the British Museum in London. In the spring of 1881 Small was elected professor of history and political economy in his alma mater, Colby Univer-sity; hence he abandoned his plan of re-maining one more year in Germany to achieve his Ph.D. and returned to Water-ville to take up what became his lifework. In 1888-89, while enjoying a year's sab-batical leave from Colby University, he studied at Johns Hopkins, where he re-ceived his Ph.D. in history in June, 1889. At about that same time he was elected pres-ident of Colby University, in which capac-ity he served until 1892, initiating mean-while a course in sociology for the students there. In the fall of 1892, at the invitation of President Harper and the trustees of the new University of Chicago, he became head professor of social science in that institution (the department was soon designated "Soci-

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ology and Anthropology"). He continued in this position until his retirement in June, 1925, serving meanwhile as dean of the College of Liberal Arts and then, from 1904 until near the time of his retirement, as dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature. Dr. Small died on March 24, 1926.

The influence of Small upon the development of sociology and other social sciences in the United States and elsewhere has been many-sided; and there is little doubt that in some respects his writing and teaching are still having effect, though his part in shaping phases of social science which are just now coming into fresh prominence may never be widely recognized.

Most obvious and undeniable, though not necessarily most important, was the influence that Small exercised during his lifetime as head of the first full-fledged department of sociology to be established in any university in the world and as editor of the *American Journal of Sociology* for thirty years. For years the department which he headed was undisputedly the leading department for the graduate study of sociology and awarded far more Ph.D.'s than any other; and throughout his tenure of the chair practically every graduate student of sociology at the University of Chicago was strongly influenced by him. The *Journal* was established in 1895, three years after the beginning of the department; and through his editorship until his retirement Small availed himself of an incomparable channel for the promulgation of his convictions concerning the importance of sociology, the significance of contributions being made to the subject, and its mission and prospects for the future. He saw to it not only that those who had anything worth while to say to American sociologists were given an opportunity to present their contributions initially in the *Journal* but also that some of the best passages in the published writings of French and German sociologists appeared there in translation. Indeed, it is a tribute to the excellence of Small's editorial work that the volumes of the *Journal* published during his lifetime

now constitute, in effect, a documentary history of the development of sociology during those years. The pages of the *Journal* were as freely open to those with whose views he disagreed in important respects as to those whom he most admired, provided only that their writing and thinking seemed to him and his colleagues to be of reasonably good quality.

William James once remarked that the best thing that a college education can accomplish for one is that "it should help you to know a good man when you see him."[2] An important measure of the stature of Albion W. Small as an educated man and a sociologist is the caliber and reputation of the men whom he associated with him as colleagues in the department of sociology at the University of Chicago during his headship. Vincent, Thomas, Faris, Park, and Burgess are all names that loom large in the history of American sociology since the turn of the century, and all were selected by Small as members of the Chicago faculty.

In addition to the influence which he exercised in part by virtue of his official position at the University of Chicago, and in part owing to his charming and vigorous personality, Small merits the attention and respect of sociologists in 1954, the one hundredth year of his birth, for a number of specific contributions to the subject which he chose for his lifework.

He was untiring in his insistence, through the pages of the *Journal* and through other channels, that a science of sociology was possible and that, when it had been developed, it would be a worth-while branch of human knowledge. No one could have been more explicit than he in his admission, even his insistence, during the early years of his teaching at Chicago and his editorship of the *Journal* that there was not yet much sociology in existence;[3] in fact, anyone who

[2] "The Social Value of the College-Bred," reprinted in *Memories and Studies* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911), p. 309.

[3] See, e.g., "Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States," published as the whole number of the *Journal* for May, 1916, Vol. XXI, esp. p. 802.

will read the first and last chapters of his *Origins of Sociology*, written approximately in 1922, will see that even at that stage of his career he made no pretentious claims for what sociology had as yet become.[4] He suggested modestly in 1916 in "Fifty Years" that, while "after 1892 sociology came out into the open as an accredited university subject," he "very strongly doubted if this consummation would have been reached at that time . . . if the University of Chicago had not been founded," and added parenthetically, "I am not sure that it would have occurred at all." For this consummation he explicitly refrained from taking any credit for himself or his early colleagues in the University of Chicago's Department of Sociology; however, one can easily believe that, without his vigorous leadership at Chicago after 1892, the progress of sociology in the United States would have been much slower.

It is impossible to cite any very objective measure of Small's contributions to the content of sociology. He made abundant use, with generous acknowledgment to the authors, of materials drawn from the writings of his predecessors, contemporaries, and students—Spencer, Ratzenhofer, Schaeffle, E. A. Ross, Lester F. Ward, F. H. Giddings, and others; and, as one reads the pages of his principal systematic treatise in sociology, his *General Sociology* (1905), it is difficult to say just where the borrowings leave off and his own contributions begin. Yet that he did amplify and improve upon what he borrowed, and that he added distinctive points of his own, no careful reader can doubt. One finds in the pages of *General Sociology*, and to some extent in his other writings, effective formulations of a number of conceptual terms which were to play an important part in the thinking of sociologists for a long time. "Contact," "group," "social forces" and "interests," "social functions," and, above all, the

concept "social process" and Small's own peculiar variant of this concept, "human process"[5]—the formulation of these concepts must be credited at least in part to Small. Perhaps we should note also in this connection that, in one of his last publications, Small made an effort to demonstrate the value of "progress" as a scientific concept.[6] This, however, was not favorably received; American sociologists have not made much use of the concept of progress in recent years.

An important, seemingly central, position in Small's own system was occupied by his concept "interests." He gave Ratzenhofer a great deal of credit for the idea, but it is quite clear that, by abstracting it and formulating his famous sixfold list—health, wealth, knowledge, beauty, sociability, and rightness—Small made of the "interest" concept something fairly different than anything to be found in Ratzenhofer's pages. He related his concept of social process closely to his "interest" concept: "In form, the social process is incessant reaction of persons prompted by interests, that in part conflict with the interests of their fellows, and in part comport with the interests of others."[7] Small's development of this concept and his applications of it received considerable favorable notice by other writers.

Perhaps if one scans Small's published writings for significant contributions to the literature of social science of lasting value, one must inevitably reach the conclusion that the greatest of these were made in the special field of the history of social science. Not only did he call attention in great detail to what a few of his older contemporaries and predecessors had done—in his *General Sociology* Spencer, Schaeffle, and Ratzenhofer were effectively brought to the at-

[4] University of Chicago Press, 1924. First published serially in the *Journal*, Vols. XXVIII and XXIX, under the title "Some Contributions to the History of Sociology."

[5] "The Category 'Human Process'—a Methodological Note," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXVIII, 205-27.

[6] "The Category 'Progress' as a Tool of Research," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXVIII (March, 1923), 554-76.

[7] *General Sociology*, p. 205; see also pp. 198-99.

tention of a younger generation of American students—but in a number of impressive publications of great scholarly merit he brought to the knowledge of colleagues and students in the sociological fraternity a number of the significant antecedents and early beginnings of their subject. When he published "Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States" in May, 1916, he had already published in 1907 a 250-page volume, *Adam Smith and Modern Sociology*, and in 1910 a larger volume entitled *The Cameralists: The Pioneers of German Social Polity*. Near the end of his life appeared his *Origins of Sociology* (1924). Still later he published his two-part article, "Sociology and Plato's *Republic*."[8] To be sure, in this, his last publication, he took the position that Plato made no contribution to sociology, but the paper was representative of Small's interpretation of the history of social science, from which he felt that much might be excluded. It was his thesis that social *science*, as such, could hardly be said to have taken shape until the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and he was inclined to place great emphasis upon the contributions of certain German scholars to its formation—a reflection, in some degree, no doubt, of his studies in Germany and his mastery of the German language.

Small's use and emphasis of the concept of *process*—"the social process," "social processes," "the human process"—is a feature of his sociological thinking for which he was distinctive among sociologists of his early period. Its connotation for him was almost exclusively evolutionary or historical. He had been trained as a historian; as a sociologist he was self-taught; and his early interest in history continued to affect his approach to sociological topics and problems to the end of his life. "Process," to Small, meant *becoming*;[9] his interest in trying to discern

what man and society were tending to become pushed into the background of his thinking the repetitive aspects of process and the possibilities of comparing one example of social process with another to discover what they might have in common, though he was by no means entirely unmindful of this latter procedure.[10] The treatment of competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation as social processes in Park and Burgess' *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1921–24) is only slightly adumbrated in the writings of Small; however, it *is* adumbrated in some passages in *General Sociology*.

In the end, after an extensive re-examination of his writings, what stands out more than anything else in the work of Albion W. Small is his lifelong concern with the practical and ethical guidance for individuals and societies that might be drawn from sociological inquiry. This concern is conspicuous in *General Sociology*. He wrote his curious and little-known but interesting book, *Between Eras: From Capitalism to Democracy*[11] to express it and to present a kind of demonstration of its possibilities; and it is strikingly visible in two of his last papers in the *Journal:* "The Category 'Human Process' —a Methodological Note" and "The Category 'Progress' as a Tool of Research." In view of the rising demand, since World War II, that the social sciences make some contribution to the definition and clarification of values for living, it is interesting to rediscover Small's insistence throughout his career that social science should, and could, eventually, do just this. Small did not greatly care, in the ultimate analysis, whether there were to be departments and courses

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credit to a remark made by E. C. Hayes, when a graduate student at Chicago, for his (Small's) first sharp identification of process with "becoming."

[10] See, in addition to numerous passages in *General Sociology*, p. 793 in "Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States."

[11] Kansas City, Mo.: Intercollegiate Press, 1913. Pp. 421.

[8] *American Journal of Sociology*, XXX (1925) 513–33, 683–702.

[9] *General Sociology*, p. 240. In a passage somewhere which I have not lately relocated, Small gives

called "sociology" in the colleges and universities; he wrote *The Meaning of Social Science*[12] to set forth his dislike of departmentalism and departmental exclusiveness in the universities; but he was strongly convinced that, in his day, the sociologists had something to contribute to the analysis of concrete social conditions and problems and that such analysis, in turn, could contribute something to the guidance of mankind in the practical business of living. It may well be that Small's emphasis of the practical and ethical value of social science research, by affecting other men's thinking through obscure channels that will for the most part never be generally known, will constitute in the long run his most important contribution.

[12] Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1910.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

VARIABLES IN THE FORMATION OF SO-CALLED "MINORITY GROUPS"[1]

E. K. FRANCIS

ABSTRACT

Derivative minority groups are formed when new patterns of social interaction result from the transfer of a sufficient number of individuals from one society to another; and when the host society is not isomorphic with the parent society in regard to important constitutive factors, such as the rural or urban, and the solidaristic or individualistic forms of social organization. Primary minority groups are the result of a new relationship established between two pre-existing functioning social systems through annexation of a territory with its population or more rarely through group migration. In this case lack of isomorphism between parent and host society tends to decrease the chance of the minority group to preserve itself as a functioning social system. Four different species of primary and two species of derivative minority groups are described.

This paper is concerned with the conceptualization of social phenomena known under a variety of terms, such as "ethnic group," "racial group," "religious group," "culture group," "ethnic community," "nationality," "minority people." While not entirely interchangeable, all refer to one broad class of social fact. They imply a relationship between a social subsystem or subgroup and some major social system, conveniently called "the large society," or simply "the society."

This relationship can be studied from two points of view.[2] In one case, the interest of the investigator is focused upon "prejudice," "discrimination," and "intergroup tensions," that is, maladjustments

in the *interpersonal* relations among members of a society, because one category of members (a "minority group") is singled out by others for differential treatment according to certain biophysical or cultural characteristics.[3] This sociopsychological point of view is quite different from the second one, whereby minority groups are studied as functioning systems of social interaction. Here the concept of *group* relations refers to the relationship between different organized groups, minority groups, and ethnic communities, on the one hand, and society at large, on the other. Each of these possesses its own set of values and norms to regulate conduct.[4] The second view

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[2] Cf. Jessie Bernard, "The Conceptualization of Intergroup Relations with Special Reference to Conflict," *Social Forces*, XXIX (1951), 243–51.

[3] Cf. Louis Wirth's definition of a minority as "a group of people who, because of physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination" ("The Problem of Minority Groups," ed. Ralph Linton, *The Science of Man in the World Crisis* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1945], p. 347). Cf. also Arnold and Caroline Rose, *America Divided: Minority Group Relations in the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1948): "the mere fact of being generally hated because of religious, racial or nationality background is what defines a minority group" (p. 3).

[4] Cf. R. A. Schermerhorn's definition of minorities as "subgroups within a culture which are distinguishable from the dominant group by·reason of differences in physiognomy, language, customs, or culture-patterns (including any combination thereof)" (*These Our People: Minorities in the American Culture* [Boston: D. C. Heath, 1949], p. 5). C. F. Ware, "Ethnic Community," in the *Encyclopaedia of the*

of the term "minority group" gives the frame of reference of this paper; it is the sociological approach, strictly speaking, if by "sociology" is understood the study of institutionalized systems of social action in their structural-functional (static and kinetic) as well as dynamic[5] aspects.

Sociological research must rely primarily on comparative methods. To apply them to the study of minority groups, the latter must be classified according to constitutive properties; otherwise it is impossible to establish fundamental similarities and disparities. If minority-group behavior is explained either in terms of specific cultural and racial differences between the minority and the "majority," or in terms of historical antecedents,[6] one cannot arrive at any sociological generalizations because *specific* cultures and *unique* events, as such, are not comparable. But, even where this danger is recognized, the mistake is frequently made of treating as constitutive properties such tangible or "external" characteristics as language, racial features, religion, and so on, which are shared by all members of the minority but not by members of the society in which they are included. For it has never been shown convincingly that a particular language, a sectarian religion, certain somat-

ic traits, distinctive mores, or any combination thereof, would make all individuals of whom they can be predicated *ipso facto* a distinctive social group. It is, of course, a truism to say that such characteristics become factors of group differentiation only when they are recognized as distinguishing symbols. But this does not in the least explain why and when they function as decisive factors in the formation, maintenance, or absorption of minority groups.[7] This is not to say that external characteristics are irrelevant. People tend to pigeonhole others according to abstract categories which require different responses:[8] thus, on the basis of external characteristics, individuals are identified with their group and appropriate norms of conduct are applied. Among all the qualities common to members of a group, only those are singled out which, in a given social context, appear to be particularly distinguishing.

To avoid the difficulties of using external characteristics as criteria of classification, such groups might be conceptualized in terms of formal properties which are closely associated with typical variations in their actual behavior. Since the purpose of this paper is merely to indicate a possible approach to the problem, the following discussion will be confined to an analysis of factors related to the formation of minority groups.

Expressed in general terms, minority groups come into being when new patterns of social interaction arise resulting from

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Social Sciences, V, 607, and R. M. MacIver, *The More Perfect Union: A Program for the Control of Inter-group Discrimination in the United States* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1948), p. 270. While ,W. L. Warner and L. Srole's definition of "the ethnic" leans toward the first viewpoint, they actually treat ethnic groups from both standpoints (*The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948]). Cf. also Brewton Berry, *Race Relations: The Interaction of Ethnic and Racial Groups* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951).

[5] Social dynamics is concerned with what is usually called "social change." For the distinction between three, rather than the conventional two, levels of sociological analysis see N. S. Timasheff, "Basic Concepts of Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (1952), 176–86.

[6] It is on such grounds that Schermerhorn, *op. cit.*, actually bases his classification of minority peoples. For a more sophisticated attempt see C. F. Marden, *Minorities in American Society* (New York: American Book Co., 1952).

[7] Cf. E. K. Francis, "Minority Groups: A Revision of Concepts," *British Journal of Sociology*, II (1951), 219–29, 254; also "Einige Grundbegriffe zu einer Theorie der ethnischen Gebilde," *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, VI (1954), 91–102.

[8] Cf. Leopold von Wiese's concept of categorical contacts in Howard Becker, *Systematic Sociology: On the Basis of the Beziehungslehre and Gebildelehre of Leopold von Wiese* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1932), p. 158. A similar idea is implied in the much-quoted but occasionally abused concept of "stereotypes"; cf. G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), chap. v.

the transfer of a sufficient[9] number of individuals from one society to another. Sometimes this transfer is carried out by way of migration. But frequently no locomotion takes place; instead, a group of people is transformed into a minority simply by shifting political frontiers. The manner in which the fundamental situational change is effected in each case is so different that it would be surprising if the resulting minority groups were of the same kind. In addition to the mode of transfer, three more variables have to be considered: the people being transferred, the parent society from which they come, and the host society into which they are transferred.

Following F. Znaniecki,[10] four types of "all-inclusive societies" or "top-ranking social groups" may be distinguished:[11] two nonliterate—tribal and folk—and two literate—religious and national. The distinction is made according to the central values upon which solidarity is based and the manner in which these values are transmitted from generation to generation. There is, above all, the difference between oral communication and literary works as the vehicles of tradition. Tribal societies are independent, closed, and self-sufficient social systems, in contrast to folk societies, which are subject to the control of some society of the second species, the literate, and partially included in it. Among literate societies, or high civilizations, one must distinguish between those whose value orientation is based on sacred books and others which are maintained by virtue of a secular literature without divine claim. For simplicity this discussion will be limited still further to only

[9] The condition of "sufficient" size, which will not be considered any further in this paper, refers to the fact that subgroups, as much as "societies," require for their proper functioning a certain minimum of members on each essential level of their structure. Cf. Marion J. Levy, *The Structure of Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), pp. 151 ff. *et passim.*

[10] *Modern Nationalities* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952), pp. 9 ff.

[11] For a definition of this kind of social system see Levy, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

those minority groups which persist within a nation as host society. For it is this type of society which has typically produced "minorities" in the precise sense of the term.

In order to understand the position of minority groups within a national cultural society, still another dimension has to be taken into account: political organization. The modern nation-state rests on the postulate that its population be identical with a distinctive ethnic system having one common language and culture, and that, wherever this conformity is not actually realized, it is the right and duty of the nation and its government to bring about the ideal conditions not only by appropriate legislation but also by indoctrination, primarily through the public school.

Yet, as a rule, this principle underlying the modern nation has been applied only to the "home country" (and even here often imperfectly), while an entirely different system governs the relationship with so-called "dependencies" and "colonies." The latter form of political organization follows rather the type of the empire-state, which once prevailed also within the countries of the Western world. It permits the coexistence of several culturally distinctive, socially independent, self-sufficient, and largely autonomous ethnic systems within the same political order. While hierarchical organization is characteristic of the empire, the nation is fundamentally unitary. Only in the latter does one find minorities—the "majority" being identical with the "nation"—while the empire is made up of a variety of different peoples one of which is as a rule politically dominant but is not required by the immanent logic of the political structure to impose its culture upon the others or to assimilate them.

Not even continental America entirely conforms with the prototype of the nation. For one thing, the relationship between the American "nation" and the Indian tribes found in the territory claimed by it has been oriented after the imperial rather than the national model. For another, the position of the Negroes and some other "colored"

elements is caste-like; strictly speaking, they are not now an integral part of the American "nation."

While it is feasible to confine our consideration of the host society in general to the nation type, the same restriction cannot be accepted with regard to the nature of parent societies. Most of the American immigrants who have formed minority groups have, of course, come from territories now occupied by nation-states. But this was not so at the time of their migration, when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was an empire in the state of being transformed into a conglomeration of modern nationalities, when Sicilians and North Italians had very little in common, or when Poland's national unity was an aspiration more than a reality. Furthermore, most of the local peasant communities which have furnished the majority of the immigrants had not yet been fully assimilated into the unitary national society but in reality are semi-isolated folk groups which, though under the control of nation-states or of societies in the process of becoming fully developed nations, still functioned as partly independent, closed, and autonomous social subsystems. These more immediate subsystems of local and regional peasant communities, rather than the national superstructures, have to be considered as their parent societies. For, as a rule, norms of conduct and value orientations are learned and adjustments to new situations have to be made on the local level.

With regard to the character of the people being transferred, the principal distinction will, of course, follow that made with regard to the respective immediate parent societies which had shaped their social nature up to the moment of their transfer. Nevertheless, the fact of selective migration cannot be entirely neglected in a more refined analysis of the process by which minority groups are being formed. It is well known, for instance, that a great many of the American immigrants from Europe were not a true cross-section of Old World folk groups but were mainly cotters, noninheriting farmers'

sons, day laborers, and rural proletarians. Still more significant, however, is the question whether a minority group is formed on the basis of individuals who did not know each other in the Old Country and had not interacted with each other directly before they came in contact with the host society, or whether a whole community, that is, a pre-existing functioning social system or subsystem, is brought into a new relationship with the host society. The latter case is of course typical for the formation of minority groups as a result of conquest or peaceful annexation, but it also may occur when a whole group is transferred bodily from one country to another in a mass migration, transferring its original social system more or less intact.

This suggests a more general theory of the formation of minority groups. Certain regularities in the behavior of European immigrants to American cities during the heyday of transcontinental migration at the turn of the century may serve as a springboard for developing this theory. While the host society was in each case the same, the migrants themselves spoke quite different languages, were affiliated with different religious bodies, and belonged to different national culture societies. Nevertheless, irrespective of whether they were Irish, Italians, Poles, Czechs, Ruthenians, or what not, their behavior shows striking similarities; they ultimately formed segregated ethnic communities which went through a typical life-cycle, characterized, with few local modifications, first by the boarding-house complex, then by ecological segregation, endogamy, associations of mutual aid, national parishes; later by nation-wide organizations, a foreign-language press, typical tensions in the second generation; and, finally, by gradual secularization, acculturation, and partial assimilation with retention of a differential class position.

While this is true of the majority of each nationality represented by these immigrants, others of their compatriots reacted quite differently to the new situation. Instead of organizing into segregated ethnic com-

munities, many seem to have taken their place directly in America's large society and to have been quickly assimilated. Yet, these behavior differentials did not follow national lines at all but depended on the character of the parent societies from which they came: in the one case, they originated in peasant or folk communities; in the other, their original habitat had been large European cities whose social structure did not differ essentially from that of contemporary American cities of a similar size.

These preliminary observations suggest the following general propositions: If members of a parent society are transferred as individuals into a host society which is isomorphic with the parent society in regard to important elements of social organization, then the individuals transferred will be able to take their place directly in the host society, and thus no minority group is formed. If, however, members of a parent society are transferred as individuals into a host society which is not isomorphic with the parent society in regard to these elements, then the individuals transferred will not be able to take their place directly in the host society and therefore will tend to form segregated ethnic communities. In both cases the terms "parent" and "host" society refer to local or regional social sub-systems which are contained and are functioning in a larger society of the nation type.

In order to test the validity of these propositions, the nature of the formal elements of the social structure with regard to which two societies can be said to be isomorphic or not must be determined with some precision. The familiar distinction between urban and rural populations and communities offers a convenient frame of reference. Loomis and Beegle[12] have tried to co-ordinate it with the equally well-known *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* scheme. Yet such models cannot be used for purposes other than those for which they were designed. *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* refer primarily to typical modes of interpersonal relations

and to typical value orientations determining them. They are not adequate descriptions of social systems as such. It is, for instance, a mistake to identify *Gemeinschaft* with the rural environment or the folk society, and *Gesellschaft* with the urban environment or the state civilization.[13] Many difficulties encountered in the applications of such ideal constructs to empirical facts are due to the inclusion of a variety of seemingly interdependent factors which in reality vary independently. Thus concepts are needed which would make it possible to cross-classify a class of organized groups, that is, minority groups, according to combinations of several sets of ideal constructs.

For the present purpose a rather crude paradigm should suffice whereby each term will be defined by a minimum of properties. A distinction will be made between the rural and the urban type. Rural (R) designates the rural habitat of segments of a complex society whose subsistence is directly derived from agriculture or from allied and subsidiary activities. Urban (U) designates the urban habitat of population segments engaged in a variety of nonagricultural occupations, primarily in services, commerce, and manufacturing. The term "complex society" refers to one in which a variety of social subgroups is organized into a functioning social system by providing norms of conduct formalized in laws and designed to regulate interaction between heterogeneous components (subgroups) so as to permit peaceful co-operation between them. This order is upheld by special agents having the recognized authority and the power of enforcing norms through external sanctions. Apart from a limited area of universal aims and values shared in common by all members of the complex society, there remains a wide range of alternatives open to individuals and subgroups.

A further distinction will be made between solidaristic (S) and individualistic (I) types of social organization, depending on

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[12] Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950).

[13] The ideal type of "state civilization" has been formulated by Alvin Boskoff, "Structure, Function, and Folk Society," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (1949), 749-58.

whether the individual member acts either for himself or as an integrated part of a group. In a solidaristic group, social action is typically oriented toward the preservation, prestige and/or power of the group conceived as a community of fate (*Schicksalsgemeinschaft*); obligations of group members are unspecified and indefinite. In an individualistic group, social action is typically oriented toward self-interest, mainly hedonistic values; interpersonal relations are regulated mainly by contract and according to a means-ends pattern of thought.

According to this paradigm, the two cases of European immigrants to American cities mentioned earlier can be explained as follows. First, the case in which parent and host societies were not isomorphic. If the parent society was a peasant village of the rural solidaristic type, an individual immigrant will find it difficult to define the social situations confronting him in a host society of the urban individualistic type. While he is unable to apply familiar norms of conduct and a solidaristic value orientation to his relations with members of the host society, he finds an affinity with other immigrants, hitherto unknown to him, who have the same rural solidaristic background. Hence, immigrants with the same background will tend to re-create a more familiar social situation by forming local communities which, though necessarily urban, nevertheless preserve the solidaristic aspects of the peasant village, resulting in a social subsystem of the urban, solidaristic type.

In the case of immigrants from European to American cities, on the other hand, both parent and host societies are of the same urban individualistic type, and isomorphic. Thus an individual immigrant will be able to define his role in the new situation according to familiar rules. Common understandings of proper behavior and value orientations can be achieved more easily between the alien and his native associates because their social heritages, though different in some respects, are isomorphic with regard to the dominant elements of social organization. Such immigrants will not form

ethnic communities, for there is no felt need for segregation, while at the same time the organizing factor of solidarism is absent in their personal value systems.

The same scheme is also applicable to immigration into rural areas. A majority of the northern and western European farmers who have settled in the Middle West of the United States came from parent societies which were of the same rural individualistic type as the American host society in this particular region—that is, isomorphic. These immigrants have thus been absorbed more readily into the national society than have the eastern and southern European peasant immigrants into the cities. Yet rural communities completely lacking in the S-factor are rare; this is particularly true of the period of large-scale immigration to rural America. Accordingly, the behavior of rural immigrants with regard to the formation and cohesiveness of minority settlements is characterized by a certain ambivalence. This can be accounted for, nevertheless, by introducing the concept of a rural society which includes both individualistic and solidaristic factors whereby either the I- or the S-factor is dominant over the other. We then come to the conclusion that if the host society is rural and predominantly individualistic (R[I/S]), while the parent society is rural and predominantly solidaristic (R[S/I]), or vice versa, parent and host societies are not isomorphic with regard to important elements of the social organization; accordingly, individual immigrants upon transfer from the parent to the host society will tend to form ethnic communities of the rural and predominantly solidaristic (R[S/I]) type, just as peasants migrating from a host society of the pure rural solidaristic type to a host society of the urban individualistic or of the rural and predominantly individualistic (R[I/S]) type will form ethnic communities of the solidaristic type, either urban or rural.

Attention has to be paid to still another difference between the situations in a typically rural environment and in a typically urban environment. Ecological processes including segregation become fully operative

only under the condition of free spatial mobility of individuals such as actually existed to a high degree in American cities during the period under consideration. Except in the case of farm laborers working in gangs, however, ethnic communities can be formed by rural immigrants only if a relatively large amount of contiguous land is at all accessible to them.

On the other hand, rural immigrants of the same nationality have frequently settled in the same locality by deliberate design. Once established, such communities, which may be either of the rural solidaristic or rural individualistic type, will be more persistent than equivalent urban communities even if the S-factor should be weak or absent; for the mobility of rural populations (again with the exception of farm laborers) is usually reduced because of the greater difficulty involved in the selling of property and in establishing one's self economically in another locality. These are disturbing factors affecting the general rule that the tendency to form solidaristic rural settlements will vary with the presence or lack of isomorphism between the parent and host societies because of differences in the intensity of the S-factor.

Up to this point we have dealt with the formation of what we propose to call derivative minority groups. As we have seen, a derivative minority group is not simply a replica of the parent society but is a new form of social organization created in response to an unfamiliar situation. It remains highly segmental in that it does not lay claim to the whole person of each of its members who typically participate simultaneously in both the ethnic community and the larger society. This kind of minority group is distinguished sharply from the primary minority group. In order to demonstrate more clearly the essential difference between the two species, we shall keep constant the condition of migration and show that the same condition may lead to the formation not only of derivative but also of primary minority groups.

On relatively rare occasions it has happened that a portion of an Old-World peasant group, such as the Russian Mennonites,[14] migrates collectively to an as yet unsettled territory in a different country. If left undisturbed, it tends to reproduce the traditional form of social organization of the parent society. Relations of minority-group members with the host society are confined mainly to commerce, the law, and politics. The S-factor, usually strengthened by the group transfer and by contact with an unfamiliar social environment, will not be affected immediately even if isolation is later broken down and interpersonal relations between members of the minority and the host society are intensified and expanded. Adjustments to the new conditions will be made by the group as such so that new action patterns, acquired through acculturation, become accepted as part of its own cultural profile. Acculturation, instead of leading to assimilation and loss of individual members to the larger society, rather increases the minority group's chance of surviving as a distinct local social subgroup within the complex host society. In this case the isomorphism between parent and host societies which permits the folk group, or a portion of it, to continue functioning in the new situation as it did in the old, refers to the legal, political, social, and economic positions granted to it, at least temporarily, by the larger complex society into which it is included.

More commonly, primary minority groups are being formed through changes in political boundaries, regardless of whether this is due to conquest, treaty, sales contract, or dynastic succession. The decisive fact is always the establishment of a new relationship between two functioning social systems through annexation of a territory with its population. As an example, we may think of some community of American Indians. When a politically organized society

14 Cf. E. K. Francis, "The Russian Mennonites: From Religious Group to Ethnic Group," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIV (1948), 101-7, "Mennonite Institutions in Early Manitoba: A Study of Their Origins," *Agricultural History*, XX (1948), 144-55, and *The Manitoba Mennonites: Materials of Their History and Sociology* (Toronto University Press, 1954, to be in microfilm).

extends social control through law over a tribal society, it establishes and enforces a set of norms by which relations between them are regulated. If political control is limited to this necessary minimum, intragroup relations within the tribal society need not be greatly affected. In the modern nation-state, however, political control is extended to an ever widening area of social and cultural life, and uniform laws are issued and enforced for the whole state population. The isolation and closure of the minority group are broken down, and its members are forced to participate in two incompatible systems. The changes affecting its typical character as a tribal society tend to disorganize the minority group to such an extent that it is transformed from a primary into a derivative minority group. An Indian reservation, with its separate administration, may serve either to protect the tribal society from breaking down or to accelerate the process of decay. In either case its population is excluded from the nation much as is the native population of an overseas colony.

Although the case of the annexed tribal society resembles in more than one respect that of the migrating peasant group discussed earlier, there is one significant difference. A folk society in the sense used here is always organized with reference to a more complex society of which it forms an integral part and without which it could not persist. It is equipped not only with norms governing intragroup relations but with an additional set of norms regulating the relations between its own members and the members of other subgroups included in the larger society. When a peasant group migrates from one country to another, or is annexed by a foreign country, it is thus able to define relations to the host society analogously with the relations which had existed between it and the parent society. The traditional norms of a tribal society, on the other hand, are defined only with regard to rather simple situations and do not provide any cues for handling the complicated interpersonal and intergroup relations which arise when several heterogeneous subgroups

are combined into one complex social system, such as a modern nation. In the latter case there is a lack of isomorphism between the loose social supersystem of tribal and other societies in which the Indian tribe had been functioning originally, on the one hand, and the complex national society, on the other, within which the minority group and its members are expected to function after the transfer. Hence the conclusion: isomorphism between parent and host society tends to decrease the likelihood of the formation of a derivative minority group and to increase the chance of a primary minority group to preserve itself as a functioning social system, and vice versa.

A third type of primary minority groups is exemplified not only by the typical European nationalities but on this continent by the French-Canadians and to some extent also by the Hispano-Americans of New Mexico. Such groups are formed when a complex society of the nation type extends its social control through law over a population which includes not only folk and peasant groups but itself represents a complex national society or a major section of one. The paradigm is insufficient to cope with this case: it would be necessary, for one thing, to introduce a new variable, namely, the role of intelligentsias and of the national ideologies which they propagate, which serve as vehicles for the aspirations of elites such as are entirely lacking in isolated folk societies.

By reversing the order followed in our discussion for heuristic reasons, we arrive at the following types of minority groups relative to their genesis:

I. Primary Minority Groups formed through
   1. the transfer of a tribal society into a complex host society of the nation type by way of annexation[15] of contiguous territory (e.g., Indian tribes in America)
   2. the transfer of a folk group from a complex parental society into a com-

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[15] The term "annexation" indicates that the host society extends social control through law over a territory with its indigenous population.

plex host society of the nation type by way of
  a) annexation of contiguous terri-
     tory[16]
  b) group migration (e.g., the Russian Mennonites in Manitoba)
3. the transfer of a complex society or large section of one into a complex host society of the nation type (e.g., European nationalities)
II. Derivative Minority Groups formed through
  1. the transfer of a sufficient[17] number of individuals from a rural solidaristic parent society into an urban individualistic host society (e.g., the Polish peasant in America)
  2. the transfer of a sufficient number of individuals from a rural parent society into a rural host society which differ significantly from each other with regard to the relative intensity of the S-factor as compared with the I-factor (e.g., rural ethnic settlements in the Middle West)

This represents in no way an exhaustive classification of minority groups, not even of those found in the United States, but may indicate the method by which such a classification could be achieved eventually.

In conclusion some mention should be made of the American Negroes. Like the Amerinds, they originated in tribal societies, but, much in the same manner as the European peasant immigrants who formed derivative minority groups, they were transferred into the host society of American whites as more or less isolated individuals. The Negroes were, however, unable to live together in segregated ethnic communities:

[16] Such a situation occurs when, for instance, upon annexation the leading elite leaves the territory so that only indigenous folk and peasant communities stay behind. While no pure example of this type is found in North America, approximations to it may have existed at one time in French Canada, rural French Louisiana, and some Spanish areas of Colorado and California.

[17] For an explanation of the modifier "sufficient" see n. 9 above.

slavery imposed an almost absolute restriction upon their choice of habitat. Instead, they were directly integrated into the larger American society, assigned a definite status, and subjected to the norms of conduct laid down by the host society. These had no resemblance to the norms of any of the several African parent societies.

In the earlier days the Negroes in America did not constitute a minority group, that is, a functioning social system or subsystem like the various Indian tribes, but were treated as a status category within the host society itself; there was only one set of norms binding all members of the American society by which interaction between master and slave, slave and slave, was officially regulated. Racial features provided a convenient and extremely effective criterion for distinguishing all slaves from the other members of the American national society and tended to establish a permanent connection between distinctive external characteristics and a distinctive social position. It was only in the course of time that slave members and former slave members of American society were joined together into a separate social subsystem. The derivative minority group of American Negroes has been formed through the association of originally heterogeneous elements made homogeneous by virtue of a common status assigned to them within America's larger society.

This process would have to be traced much more carefully than can be done in the present context in order to show how a status category may be transformed into a minority group, just as in other cases descent from a minority group long dissolved as a functioning social subsystem may provide the basis for assigning to an individual a definite position in the status system of the national society.[18]

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[18] For a most sensitive treatment of the latter case see Everett C. and Helen MacGill Hughes, *Where Peoples Meet: Ethnic and Racial Frontiers* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952).

MODERN MANAGEMENT IN WESTERN EUROPE

FREDERICK H. HARBISON AND EUGENE W. BURGESS

ABSTRACT

American management of business enterprise is compared with that in France, Belgium, and Italy. By comparison, business management in Europe is undermanned, and decision-making highly centralized. Access to the managerial class is rigorously restricted by family or by education. European businessmen strive to *control* rather than to *build* organization. Their class-consciousness largely explains the class-consciousness of workers. Management's concern for security forces other classes to safeguard their own, making business enterprise static. But certain businesses are now becoming more dynamic.

It is generally agreed that the private-enterprise system as it exists today in the United States is more "dynamic" than the capitalism which prevails in many countries of western Europe. The contrast is both strikingly illustrated and partially explained when one compares the nature of entrepreneurship on the two continents. For it is entrepreneurship or, more precisely, business management, public or private, which initiates ventures, employs workers, organizes and directs production, develops markets, and thus contributes to the building of a nation's economy.[1] Indeed, in looking closely at management we find very important clues for understanding some of the basic social, political, and economic problems of modern Europe. The nature and status of managerial systems aid in explaining the political orientation of labor organizations, the persistence of cartels and other restrictive institutions, the lower productivity of European enterprise in comparison with its American counterpart, and the current tenuous position of capitalism in many European countries.

In this article we compare the American type of management with our conception of typical management in France, Belgium,

and Italy, justifying impressionistic analysis based upon visits to both American and European firms as a temporary substitute, in the absence of objective empirical studies of entrepreneurship on the two continents. In so doing, we are aware of the dangers of constructing stereotypes of business management which may obscure significant differences not only between countries but also within them. Yet stereotypes not only serve to distinguish the differences both between and within countries but also give a reference point for measuring significant changes in progress.[2] Thus stereotypes are used here as a starting point for further research rather than as a faithful characterization of any enterprise system.

MANAGEMENT ON TWO CONTINENTS

A COMPARISON

The "typical" American management and its counterpart in France, Italy, and Belgium can best be compared by reference to the organizational development of the

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[1] We use the term "management" in the same sense in which many other writers use the term "entrepreneurship." Following James H. Strauss, *the firm* rather than *the individual* is regarded as the entrepreneur, the firm being the innovator, the supplier of capital, and the manager and co-ordinator of activities through the medium of the individuals who have decision-making responsibilities. See James H. Strauss, "The Entrepreneur: The Firm," *Journal of Political Economy*, LII (1944), 120.

[2] The impressions set forth in this article are based upon many years of acquaintance with American business concerns and three trips by each author to western Europe. During nine weeks in France, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Germany, and Italy, we made a pilot study of managerial problems and management development. This study, undertaken by the University of Chicago's Industrial Relations Center under a grant from the Ford Foundation, involved interviews with approximately eighty-five persons in or serving business concerns, mostly in the ranks of top management in European enterprises. This project is part of a program of research on the utilization of human resources in selected countries, both developed and underdeveloped, throughout the world, by a team of specialists from

enterprise, the means of access to managerial positions, and the goals of management. This comparison is made in terms of the American system of values, which should explain what might to some seem biased statements.

In the European firm the number of persons in management is relatively small, decision-making is highly centralized, and the burden of routine administrative duties borne by individual executives is extremely heavy. The managerial force in the European firm is probably less than half that in an American firm of comparable size and technology. Whereas the American firm generally has large numbers of people engaged in activities such as market research, advertising, sales promotion, production engineering, training, industrial relations, and research, the comparable European firm customarily has only skeleton forces in most of these areas and often no specialized personnel in the others. Staff services to the line organization are rare, and even the key executives appear to have few assistants. The European executive must work harder than his American counterpart because he must personally supervise a great many of the functions of the enterprise.

For this undermanning in management there are perhaps several explanations. Many functions, such as sales and industrial relations, are performed for the firm by sales organizations, cartels, or trade associations. Others do not appear sufficiently important to the European businessman to require specialized managerial talent. Also, there is a shortage of capable people who can be "trusted" to fill managerial positions. Finally, some top managers in Europe take obvious pride in their ability to run a business "economically" with a small managerial force.

By American standards, the organizational structure of even the largest and most progressive European enterprises is hap-

hazard. Organizational charts are rare, and, where they exist, they are often kept secret. Jobs in the managerial hierarchy are seldom defined, described, or aligned. The organization tends to be built around personalities, among whom the division of responsibility is not clear. As one managing director said, "the goal of most of our executives is to make themselves as indispensable as possible."

This organizational structure, which appears so nebulous to an American, is attributable in some cases to family ownership and management. In France and Italy, for example, it is often impossible to distinguish between the objectives of the family and the objectives of the .firm. As David Landes points out in a penetrating study of French business enterprise,

the business is not an end in itself, nor is its purpose to be found in any such independent ideal as production or service. It exists by and for the family, and the honor, the reputation and wealth of the one are the honor, wealth, and reputation of the other.[3]

Under these circumstances, managerial organization is of necessity geared as much to personalities as to functions.

Many European enterprises are, of course, directed by professional managers rather than by family dynasties. In some cases there is a dual authority shared by a "technical" managing director and an "economic" managing director, each reporting on an equal and independent basis to a board of directors. Yet, whether the firm is run by members of the family or by a professional group, the managing directors of the typical European enterprise hold the reins in a tight grasp. Whereas the chief executive of a large American corporation is supposed to devote his major energies to building an organization and integrating the many functions of the enterprise, his European counterpart is more likely himself to be the boss of most of his departments. The European executive finds it difficult to delegate responsibility to

Harvard, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of California (Berkeley), and the University of Chicago.

[3] "Business and the Businessman in France," in E. M. Earle (ed.), *Modern France* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951).

subordinates. In the first place, he does not have enough people to whom he can delegate authority. Second, he feels that he cannot trust many of the subordinates he has. In France, Italy, and Belgium managing directors repeatedly explained: "We have no confidence in our subordinates"; "The people in lower management won't assume responsibility; they aren't well enough trained; they lack experience; they're too young; and some of them are even members of left-wing unions." The head of a multiplant manufacturing company would not even permit his 'factory managers to hire their personal secretaries until after he had himself passed upon their qualifications and potential loyalty to the organization.

Undermanning and overcentralization management naturally discourage the growth and expansion of the enterprise. "Why should I try to expand my market," said one harassed owner of a business, "when I have to spend fourteen hours a day controlling the business I have now?" Obviously opportunities for younger executives are limited, incentives to assume responsibility are stifled, and taking initiative is not attractive. While the typical business organization may be well designed to preserve the status quo, it is peculiarly ill-adapted to dynamic growth.

Access to managerial positions is rigidly restricted. In the United States many people, including workers and union leaders, aspire to enter management, whereas in Europe only a select few ever have access to it. It is commonly understood in Europe that people get into management by virtue of being sons or heirs of existing owners, by marrying into the families of the owner dynasties, by using the leverage of a financial interest, or by acquiring a degree from a university or technical institution of higher learning. While this also happens in the United States, it is not so common a course as it is abroad. The European does not expect to work his way up into management from the ranks of the worker.

An aggressive and competent worker may become a foreman, but in Europe foremen are not members of management. Indeed, the European foreman is more comparable to the lead man or straw boss in America, a member of the working class and identified as such. He generally belongs to unions and is often active in protest movements ideologically hostile to the managerial class. Foremanship is not an avenue to upper management, as it so frequently is in the United States. It is rather the highest status to which a worker—without education or family connections—may hope to rise.

But an even more fundamental contrast lies in the educational prerequisites for entry into the managerial class. In the United States, a qualified person can get into management without "a degree"; in Europe this is much more difficult. Yet in America about five times as many people (proportionate to population) go to colleges and universities and get degrees than is the case in most European countries. Also, in the United States a very substantial proportion of persons in institutions of higher learning come from families with relatively little educational background, whereas the students in comparable institutions in Europe come predominantly from families already in the educated class. Thus in Europe business recruits its managerial personnel almost exclusively from the educated, whose numbers are already quite limited; in the United States business recruits its managers from the uneducated as well as from the educated even though the latter are proportionately much more numerous.

Thus the managerial group in France, Belgium, and Italy is a small and distinct elite. Since entry into the elite is restricted, management is decidedly class-conscious. Once admitted to the management class, either by education or through family connections, a person customarily acquires permanent tenure in the hierarchy. Moreover, once a member of management in a particular company, a man is likely to remain there throughout his entire career. It is unethical for one company to raid and woo executive personnel from another. A person who leaves the company where he has ten-

ure as a member of management to accept a position in another firm may be branded as a disloyal and unscrupulous opportunist. For this reason vacancies are not likely to occur frequently, and members of management jealously safeguard their positions. The lack of horizontal mobility within the managerial class results in an inbreeding within business enterprises which hampers the spread of new ideas and new technology from firm to firm.

Finally, from a qualitative standpoint, the system of higher education through which one must pass to gain access to management is not well adapted to developing the kind of leaders which a more dynamic system would require. In the first place, in countries such as France and Italy the curriculums turn young people to careers in government, the armed forces, the professions, or the arts (which are looked upon as higher-status fields than business management) rather than in management leadership. In the second place, theory rather than applied practice is given predominant emphasis in university training, even of engineers. For example, in the engineering universities, there is great emphasis on higher mathematics and engineering design and relatively little on industrial engineering or on the application of engineering principles to factory operations. Courses in such subjects as management organization and administration, marketing, human relations, economics, and labor problems are rarely included. Without question, the typical graduate from the École Polytechnique in France is a brilliant and hard-working fellow who has successfully survived a system of competition which gets more and more rigorous as he advances through his training. He often turns out to be an imaginative engineer. Yet, by the same token, he may be a complete misfit in a job calling for sophistication in organization and management.

It follows that there is a wide gulf between the theoretical training provided by the universities and technological institutes and the practical world of business management. The educational institutions concen-trate on the training of technicians, but they make no attempt to develop administrators or to teach skill in managing people, reflecting the European notion that management is a craft which must be handed down from one generation to another and which can be learned only by long years of apprenticeship in the enterprise. Yet the young technical graduate of high intellect and good character will consider it beneath his dignity to leave the office and get his hands dirty in the shop. His university degree is his membership card in the managerial elite, setting him apart from the working classes which he ' may be called upon to govern. With this status and this attitude, he is not likely to develop either interest or skill in administration.

The typical American businessman and his counterpart in France, Italy, and Belgium have different values and strive for different goals. In the United States, the businessman feels a compulsion to build an organization, to expand production and sales, and to make even more profits, while the European is more concerned with holding on to the organization he has, with retaining his share of the existing market, and with insuring financial and institutional security.

Management on both continents is interested in "greater productivity." However, American management usually thinks of greater productivity as increased output and consequent lower unit cost, whereas European management normally struggles to reduce unit cost while rigidly limiting output. The latter emphasizes such things as savings in materials, elimination of waste, and improvement of quality, whereas comparable American plants would aim at increasing production. This is a logical consequence of the European businessman's assumption that the total size and composition of the market are unchangeable. The same assumption explains in part why the European manufacturer favors high unit profits on a small volume to large volume with small unit returns.

Another goal of European management,

apparently, is to keep free of debt and to avoid reliance on outside credit. In countries where the interest rate is two to three times that in the United States and where bankruptcy is looked upon as a catastrophe rather than a convenient means of reorganization, this is understandable. Yet this concern makes the European businessman a care-taker rather than a risk-taker. As Landes observes, the French family firm is "as solid as the rock precisely because it is almost drowned in its own liquidity,"[4] In Europe the concern of the entrepreneur is to survive a recession rather than to seek opportunities which involve risks as well as chances for gain.

In Italy, France, and Belgium the successful management of an enterprise is not an end in itself. The European businessman may strive for and even enjoy leisure! His interests are apt to be broader than those of our modern tycoons. The captains of industry in Europe are certainly as brilliant as, and, if anything, more broadly cultured than, the American, and, if they are relatively poor organization-builders, it is because they lack the American compulsion to organize.

The security-conscious attitude of European management is a consequence not merely of cultural milieu, but rather of the chaotic economic environment. In the last two decades Europe has been ravaged by wars; factories and even entire industries have been demolished; fortunes have disappeared, and whole populations uprooted. Successive waves of inflation have destroyed capital investments, and unstable currencies, coupled with fluctuating foreign-exchange rates, are problems which the European businessman must face almost every day. The typical American businessman, if thrust into this sort of economic environment, might also soon lose his opportunity-mindedness and learn to play safe, and he should be cautious in criticizing European management for its lack of aggressiveness, its tendency to look back to "the old days," and its openly expressed lack of confidence

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 339.

in the future. However, even if currencies were stabilized, if trade barriers were eliminated, and if the ideal of the common European market were realized, the typical management in France, Italy, and Belgium would probably continue to value security because of the differences in mobility and in institutional organization described above.

MANAGEMENT AND LABOR

In Europe the social distance between management personnel and workers is much greater than it is in the United States, as, to repeat, are the differences in education and income. Consequently, development of understanding between workers and management, which is a problem even in America, is far more difficult in France, Italy, and Belgium. Management-labor communication tends to be from the top down and to be dictatorial. This does not make it easy for management to enlist loyalty and interest on the part of workers in the enterprise, nor does it lead to participation among workers in lowering costs and in improving efficiency. Workers in European plants seldom "talk back" to their bosses. Upward communication is neither expected nor encouraged.

The more enlightened employers in Italy, France, and Belgium have a sense of responsibility toward their workers and express it in such things as company housing, day nurseries, medical services, clubs and recreational programs, and other services. Such employers, particularly those in small cities and towns, also recognize the necessity of providing steady employment for workers and their families. Indeed, they may be willing to sustain considerable financial loss to keep their people employed, knowing that displaced workers may be dependent ultimately upon their charity. The socially conscious employer is a benevolent industrial lord who takes care of the people in his domain partly because of humanitarian motives and partly because of fear of uprising by the masses. At the other extreme are the owners and employers who recognize no responsibility to workers, to the commu-

nity, or to society as a whole—who live according to a doctrine of "sauve qui peut." They look upon labor as an economic commodity, while they live in constant fear of political agitation for basic changes in ownership and management.

In these countries, the paternalistic employer appears to develop in the working forces a feeling of gratitude and dependence mingled with resentment. Socially irresponsible management creates active opposition and outright hatred. The result is an almost universal distrust of management by the working classes. The overt respect which the individual worker shows his boss in the factory in no way conceals his resentment of the authority of the employer over his life and his underlying lack of respect for the capitalistic system. It is with good reason, then, that many European businessmen are so fearful of their workers that they shudder at the thought of building any kind of genuine two-way communication with them.

Certainly we would not argue that management provides the sole explanation for the class-conscious and often revolutionary orientation of European labor movements. The laboring masses may join unions for many reasons, including protest against the government, a landed aristocracy, or simply the status quo. Yet the only logical response to the typical kind of management which exists in Europe is class-conscious unionism. In France and Italy the effective labor movements have been at various times and under various conditions reformist, syndicalist, and revolutionary. Today they happen to be Communist-dominated. The socialist and Catholic unions in Belgium, though currently more right-wing than those in the other two countries, are certainly not supporters of the existing capitalistic order. But, if the ranks of management are closed to members of the working classes and if business enterprise in collusion with government builds systems of protection to safeguard its vested interests, what could be more logical than for labor organizations to oppose the employer class politically? The character of protest movements in all societies is largely determined by the orienta-

tion, status, objectives, and practices of the elite toward which the protest is directed. If this proposition is so, then the orientation, status, and tactics of management in Europe help to explain why most labor organizations in Europe are political enemies of the employer class, whereas unions in America are for practical purposes committed to working within the framework of a private-enterprise system.

The preoccupation of management in Europe with security rather than with growth and expansion explains the dependence on cartels to share markets and on informal understandings to control competition. It accounts for the reliance of European industrialists on trade associations to come to terms with their labor unions. It explains, in part, the pressure from business for tariffs and import quotas for protection from foreign competition. In Belgium, France, and Italy management typically stands for planned protection of enterprise. Now, obviously, many American businessmen stand for some of these things. They have advocated protective tariffs, bargained with unions on an industry-wide basis, entered into collusive agreements with competitors, and sought all kinds of favors from government. However, they depend on such measures much less than the Europeans, and the proportion of rugged individualists who advocate and actually succeed in upsetting such arrangements is far greater. In America the prevailing opinion among businessmen is against most of these restrictions, whereas in Europe it is one of uncritical conformity to, if not open defense of, them.

Management, of course, is not the only class that wants protection. The laboring classes are, if anything, even more anxious for guaranties of security. In the three European countries, the social security systems are far more comprehensive and considerably more costly than those in the United States: their cost ranges from 30 to 40 per cent of pay rolls, or about six to seven times that of ours. Also, the right of employers to discharge or to lay off workers is much more closely circumscribed by unions and by legislation

than in the United States. So labor in Europe is less mobile, both because of restrictions and because of customs, than in this country.

The employers logically point out that these protective measures for workers result in high labor costs and unwarranted rigidity in the labor force, and act as a brake on expansion of enterprise. In short, management is prone to cite restrictions on employment and overemphasis on social security as primary reasons for Europe's failure to build more dynamic economies. Yet the lack of labor mobility has its counterpart in lack of mobility within the ranks of management. Labor's restrictions on employment tenure are matched by management's protection of the tenure of its own members, and overemphasis on social security goes hand in hand with formal and informal agreements among manufacturers to limit output and to share markets. To be sure, all these protectionist measures are manifestations of a society in which all classes want security above other things. Yet security-consciousness motivates employers as well as workers. Therefore, business management must be held responsible, at least in part, for the overriding desire of the working masses to put their immediate security ahead of economic progress.

MANAGEMENT AND PRODUCTIVITY

It is generally agreed that manufacturing firms in Europe are less productive than those in the United States. A main reason, of course, is that there is more machinery in American plants, since capital is more plentiful. Yet even in firms with comparable technology many more workers seem to be required in Europe than in America. In part, the explanation may be that labor is relatively cheap and that employers are not free to discharge surplus workers. But a possible interpretation is that the European firm has an overdeveloped labor force largely because of the underdevelopment of its management. Here we find a basic explanation for the fact that labor costs in Europe are high, even though wages are pitifully low.

Because of the difficulty of developing qualified and trustworthy people within the middle-management ranks, European management tends to use incentive systems of one sort or another as substitutes for effective supervision. Such a policy seldom works, even in the United States where the rapport between workers and managers is reasonably good. It is likely to be even less successful in Europe, where workers are more apathetic, more fearful of losing their jobs, and more distrustful of their employers. It is thus unrealistic to expect that the productivity of European business enterprises will automatically be increased if capital can be found to purchase equipment and engineers employed to develop new processes and new incentive systems. The typical business enterprise in the three countries studied is, from an organizational standpoint, poorly equipped to direct and manage its human resources effectively.

Many influential intellectuals as well as people at large are naturally becoming more and more critical of capitalistic systems under which the holders of economic power fail to exercise dynamic and progressive leadership. Significantly, in Europe business enterprise is neither glorified nor publicized as it is in the United States. Instead, management lives in an atmosphere of suspicious toleration rather than widespread respect. The reasons for this are not hard to find. First, management is typically security-conscious and static, and therefore it is not identified by other groups as a creative force for bringing about a higher standard of living for all. Second, the fact that management is an elite into which entry is restricted arouses the jealousy and antagonism of other classes. Third, although economically powerful, the managerial class is numerically very small, and this makes its position politically precarious in any democratic society.

DYNAMIC FORCES IN EUROPEAN ENTERPRISE

Fortunately, however, the economies of France, Belgium, and Italy are by no means static, and among their business leaders are some imaginative innovators. Indeed, there may be ground for belief that the in-

grown, and stagnant type of business enterprise described above is becoming obsolete under the pressure of new economic and political forces at work in western Europe.

The more progressive businessmen in France, Italy, and Belgium have correctly diagnosed the problems of undermanning and overexclusiveness in managerial organization. They are convinced of the need for the reform of higher education as it relates to training of future leaders. They also advocate the lowering of trade barriers and the economic integration of Europe. In this respect the progressive European businessman is perhaps more honest and perceptive in criticism of himself and of his system than the American. In each country one finds a handful of very progressive business enterprises which may be the potential carriers of new techniques, new concepts, new outlooks in human relations, and new schemes of building managerial organizations. La Compagnie Télémécanique Électrique in France is an outstanding example. This company was founded in 1925 by four workers who had creative ideas both in technology and in industrial democracy. Now an organization of over 2,300 workers, Télémécanique manufactures circuit-breakers and similar electrical equipment, which it markets not only throughout Europe but in the United States as well. It has well-developed research, marketing, quality-control, planning, and personnel staffs effectively integrated with line operations. It has successfully timed the introduction of labor-saving machinery to coincide with expansion in output and thus has never faced the problem of layoff of workers. Workers are paid on a monthly-salary basis, with production bonuses adding currently about 65 per cent to base salaries. There are no time clocks in the plants; tool- and stockrooms are not guarded; and the workers have direct access to managerial personnel for developing improvements in methods and procedures of work. The plants are up to date in production methods, equipment, layout, lighting, air conditioning, and employee services of every kind. Communications and rapport between management and workers are com-

parable with the very best in the United States. Located in Nanterre, a suburb of Paris which has been dominated by Communist unions and political control, the vast majority of workers at Télémécanique consistently vote for "right-wing" representatives in plant elections for the works council.

Another example is Necchi, of Pavia, Italy, a manufacturer of sewing machines. Only a few years ago this company developed a machine of exceptionally high quality for home use, which is now underselling other internationally known machines, not only in Europe but in the United States. This plant is ultramodern in design, layout, and machinery. Its managerial organization is equal to that of most comparable American companies. Its workers are paid wages nearly twice as high as those prevailing in related industries in Italy. As the general production manager of this company pointed out, "the techniques of mass production are well known to most European engineers. The greatest difficulty in our country is to build the kind of organization which is needed to utilize them." Necchi appears to have mastered this problem. A great deal of attention and planning is given to the development of executives with administrative skills, and conscious attempts are being made to draw from the ranks at least some of the new blood needed for the expanding managerial ranks.

In both Télémécanique and Necchi we see the fullest development of managerial organizations which are pioneering in production and marketing and in the broad area of effective management-labor relations as well. These companies exhibit dynamic management in countries in which customs, tradition, and class distinctions provide the most hostile kind of environment for innovation. They provide concrete evidence that a well-managed European manufacturing enterprise can successfully compete, even in the American market, with the best American firms and at the same time raise the standard of living of its working forces. But as yet it is too early to know if these innovators will establish new patterns of man-

agement or will simply persist as anomalies in their respective economies.

Another straw in the wind is the concern of progressive businessmen with education for management. In all three countries "advanced management training programs" are being started on an experimental basis. In France, teams composed of businessmen, educators, labor leaders, and government representatives are studying American experience in education in industrial relations, business administration, and engineering, with a view to recommending reforms in the French system of higher education. There is widespread interest in all three countries in the establishment of business-management institutes for junior executives. The advocates of these programs appear unanimous in stressing administration, marketing, and human relations rather than the purely technical aspects of production management. This new interest appears to have been stimulated by the productivity and technical assistance programs which the United States has been developing in co-operation with the productivity centers in the European countries. To be sure, the prerequisite of long-range fundamental improvement in the system of developing people for managerial positions is a basic change in the curriculums of universities and higher technological institutes, through which practically all new entrants to the managerial class must pass. As a prominent French managing director remarked, a revolution is needed in the whole system of higher education. There are businessmen and educators in Europe who would like to lead such a revolution.

Many people in France, Belgium, and Italy feel that the economic integration of western Europe will be a force making for greater dynamism in business enterprise. Indeed, Jean Monet, the spiritual father of the present European Iron and Steel Community, is widely reported as believing that fundamental reforms in the French entrepreneurial system can be brought about only by the external pressure of free competition with enterprise in other countries. If the new Coal and Steel Community succeeds in its objective of creating a single competitive market for steel and coal in western Europe, one may expect far-reaching changes in outlook and organizational development in the basic industries, not only in France but in the other member countries as well. For, theoretically, at least, the success of the individual companies will rest much more upon managerial efficiency than upon the tariffs and artificial protections previously relied upon. Here, of course, the crucial question is whether the Steel and Coal Community will actually succeed in creating a free market or whether it will succumb to vested interests which could turn the whole venture into an international superbody for protectionistic and restrictive measures.

Finally, in Europe it is possible that a more dynamic type of management may be developed in publicly owned and operated industry. Here there is real opportunity for building a management profession as distinct from a class-conscious elite. Already, many of the younger and progressive members of the managerial class are being attracted to public enterprises despite the comparatively low salaries which are offered. As a French productivity expert remarked, "our goal cannot be to build a free-enterprise system which will be only 'second-best' to that in the United States. We have the opportunity to make significant innovations in the successful operation of public enterprises and in the planned integration of economic activity in Europe." In this development two questions are crucial: First, will public management be reasonably free from political control which might interfere with its effective development? Second, will it attempt to recruit some of its new blood from the ranks, or will it follow the example of private enterprise in drawing its managerial personnel almost exclusively from the educated elite?

In conclusion, there is evidence that dynamic changes may be taking place in the static enterprise systems of France, Belgium, and Italy. It is these changes, rather than the traditional stereotypes of management, which demand thoughtful consideration and future systematic study.

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PRIMARY FUNCTIONS OF THE SMALL GROUP[1]

EDWARD GROSS

ABSTRACT

The degree of small-group cohesion in an Air Force unit was related to the attitudes of members to certain aspects of Air Force life. Highly cohesive groups tend to be satisfied with the Air Force and with its group goals, but dissatisfied with the air site and their jobs. Consensus appears to operate as a social bond for the areas of satisfaction and symbiosis for the areas of dissatisfaction, the two processes thus satisfying primary needs in the small group.

The study of the small group has enjoyed increasing popularity within recent years. Broadly speaking, the research on it falls into two categories. There is, first, what has come to be referred to as "group dynamics," being an attempt to understand and change individual behavior by the use of group resources.[2] This is oriented to action or therapy. The second deals with the formal group—the meeting, the seminar, the classroom—ordinarily studied under relatively controlled conditions, with recording devices, one-way glass, and other instruments.[3]

The present paper is a contribution to a third, but somewhat neglected, area of study, namely, the small group that is not contrived, or set up formally, but rather occurs "naturally" in the human social world, such as cliques, friendships, and colleague circles.[4]

One reason the small informal groups have not received attention is the extreme difficulty of studying them: one cannot set them up artificially behind one-way glass. Instead, observation and participation over long periods is often required. Further, since these groups are normally taken for granted, it is difficult to ask questions of members without arousing their awareness and consequently changing the group itself. And since such groups are ordinarily exclusive, the research worker finds it difficult to secure access.

Our attention here on the functions of such groups[5] is the satisfying of primary needs: love, affection, fellowship, a sense of belonging. These needs have been central objects of interest to psychiatry, child guidance, social psychiatry, psychology, and sociology, but ordinarily they have been identified with the family or childhood play groups or else with formally instituted

[2] See, for example, D. Cartwright and A. Zander (eds.), *Group Dynamics* (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1953); Kurt Lewin, "Dynamics of Group Action," *Educational Leadership*, I (January, 1944), 195–200. We would also include the works of J. L. Moreno and his associates with this group of researchers.

[3] Perhaps the outstanding figure in this field is R. F. Bales. See his *Interaction Process Analysis* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Press, 1950). See also R. F. Bales *et al.*, "Channels of Communication in Small Groups," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (August, 1951), 461–68; Herbert Thelen and John Withall, "Three Frames of Reference: A Description of Climate," *Human Relations*, II (April, 1949), 159–76.

[4] G. C. Homans has made a useful attempt to bring together and conceptualize the limited work in this area. See his *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1950).

[5] Other papers by the author have dealt with the informal group as a medium of communication and as a means of social control when instituted arrangements are ineffective. See E. Gross, "Characteristics of Cliques in Office Organizations," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, XIX (June, 1951), 131–36, and "Some Functional Consequences of Primary Controls in Formal Work Organizations," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (August, 1953), 368–73.

associations, such as clubs and organizations like Alcoholics Anonymous. At the same time, the literature on social disorganization emphasizes the extent to which such needs are not satisfied *at all* in segmented groups beyond those named.[6] Yet there is evidence that the needs may be satisfied squarely in the midst of the organization that comes, perhaps, closest to the ideal type of the institution in Cooley's sense,[7] namely, the modern industry. This paper presents, in particular, the satisfactions provided by one of the lesser segments of the instituted colossus known as the United States Air Force, not merely by intentional agencies, such as hobby shops and ball teams, but by informal groups. The data may be related to the literature on social organization, through employing Robert E. Park's concepts of symbiosis and consensus,[8] two concepts which clarify the manner in which the informal group satisfies primary needs.

The research was carried out at an air site in the Air Defense Command, and the subjects consisted of the officers and enlisted men, all males, attached to the site. The first step was to identify the informal groups and to measure the degree of cohesion of each. Three measures of cohesion were employed. These were as follows:

The Index of Integration.—Intensive preliminary observation for three months revealed that informal groups are organized about six activities: eating meals, drinking coffee, "bull-sessions" in the living quarters, informal interaction on the job, leaving the site, and spending time together off it (parties, dates, etc.). An attempt was made to record this interaction, but a great increase in the population of the site, and the widely scattered and simultaneous nature of the six activities, soon made it impossible. Therefore, a questionnaire was used in which subjects were asked to recall whom they were with at each of the six occasions at a specific time. Then, through checking each man's questionnaire (which was identified by a number) with the questionnaires of the men he said he was with, it was possible to reconstruct the groups.[9] Analysis was confined to groups ranging in size from two to four.

Next, the degree of cohesion of the groups was measured. After the respondent had listed the names, he was asked to draw a circle around those he most enjoyed being with and to underline the names of those that he "would rather not have had around." Each subject's circles and underlinings were given a score, together with how *he* was rated by the others present. On this basis, a score was given each person, expressing his degree of acceptance and being accepted by his group. These scores were averaged to give a group score.

Correspondence Plurel Score.—Persons were asked to name the five persons, in order of preference, that they wished to keep in touch with after leaving the Air Force. Again, by comparing mutual ratings, a

[6] See, e.g., the now classic study, H. W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), *passim*, but esp. chap. iv; L. L. Bernard, "The Conflict between Primary Group Attitudes and Derivative Group Ideals in Modern Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLI (March, 1936), 338–50; Ernest R. Mowrer, *Disorganization—Personal and Social* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1942), *passim*. But W. F. Whyte in *Street Corner Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943) shows that the gang in the slum bears a functional relationship to the larger political and social organization.

[7] See Charles H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), chaps. iii and iv.

[8] R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921), 165–66.

[9] As a validity check later, two of the researchers actually attended one activity (meals) and recorded groups, the record being then used to evaluate accuracy of questionnaire recall and group reconstruction. Three checks of accuracy of recall were used: proportion of individuals correctly recalled, proportion of whole groups correctly recalled, and degree of overlap between recalled and actual groups. The results indicated this was sufficiently accurate. A second type of check led us to conclude that data secured on eating groups could be generalized to other informal activities with low error. These reliability and validity checks form the subject of a forthcoming manuscript.

score was secured indicative of degree of mutual preference for long-range association.[10]

Frequency of Interaction.—During 35 meals two research workers[11] recorded the informal groups present among all radar operators. A count was then made of how often each informal group was observed together.

The three measures were used in order to guard against the limitations of each. Thus, the Index of Integration was liable to error of recall; the Correspondence Plurel Score required no recall but might include variables unrelated to interaction;[12] and Frequency of Interaction was based on only one activity. However, the three measures resulted in three different sets of groups. The Integration Index applied to the groups secured from questionnaire recall; Frequency of Interaction to groups actually observed over time; and the Correspondence Plurels did not necessarily interact—they were "constructed" groups of those who mutually preferred each other.

After the degree of cohesion of each group had been thus determined, the last step was to determine the "morale" of each group. For this purpose a set of five scales was used: (1) "Satisfaction with the Air Force," (2) "Satisfaction with the Air Site," (3) "Job Satisfaction," (4) "Personal Commitment to Group Goals," and (5) "Personal Esprit."[13] Each was regarded as a "dimen-

sion" of morale. An average of eight questions was used to tap each of these areas. All five areas were found to scale in the Guttman sense.[14] For the later part of the study that involved the measure of cohesion based on frequency of observed interaction, the team performed a second scale analysis and secured quasi-scales,[15] considered satisfactory for the purpose. Once these analyses had been made, the morale[16] as shown on each of the five dimensions was determined for each group. These averages were then

[10] Thus, if Jones put Smith in first place, and Smith put Jones in first place, we called this "perfect" preference, and the group score would be 1 ([5 + 5]/10). But if Smith put Jones in fifth place, then the score would be ([5 + 1]/10), which is .6. In actuality, all five choices were used in the determination of the score.

. To indicate a group of people who mutually prefer each other's company the word "plurel" has been introduced in the literature.

[11] The writer and either Herman J. Loether or Duane N. Strinden, both graduate students in the department of sociology at the University of Washington.

[12] The score turned out to be unrelated to interaction: persons did not necessarily interact most frequently with those they preferred to keep in touch with.

[13] The five scales were developed by the staff of Air Site Project, University of Washington, of which the writer was a professional member. They were based on the morale scales discussed in Samuel A. Stouffer *et al., The American Soldier: Adjustment during Army Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), Vol. I, chap. iii.

For scale 1, the subject was asked to respond to such statements as: "Most of the time the Air Force is run very well." For scale 2, a sample statement is: "In general this air site looks after the welfare of its men." For scale 3, the subject was asked to respond to statements such as the following: "I would be more satisfied with some other job than I am with my usual job." For scale 4, responses were asked to statements such as the following: "I feel I can do more for my country in its present crisis as a member of A.C. & W. [radar] than as a civilian." For scale 5, subjects responded to statements of a general or personal sort, such as: "My physical condition is poor most of the time."

[14] By those on Air Site Project who carried out this analysis: F. James Davis, Donald G. Garrity, and Delbert C. Miller, the director of the project. At a later time there was some disagreement about the dimension "Personal Esprit." However, in the opinion of the writer, this area was also a Guttman scale. For a discussion of the Guttman or cumulative scale see Samuel A. Stouffer *et al., Measurement and Prediction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), *passim*, and Louis Guttman, "The Quantification of a Class of Attributes: A Theory and Method for Scale Construction," in Paul Horst *et al., The Prediction of Personal Adjustment* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1941), pp. 319–48.

[15] See Julius A. Jahn, "Some Further Contributions to Guttman's Theory of Scale Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (April, 1951), 233–39.

[16] For the analysis employing the Index of Integration and Correspondence Plurel Scores we averaged scale scores. For the analysis employing Frequency of Interaction we used the proportion of the group that fell in scale types above a point near the median.

related to each of three measures of cohesion of the groups (Table 1).

Not all relationships proved statistically significant. A morale dimension might yield significant relationships with one measure of cohesion but not with another: effects which may be due to genuine differences in the measures. Interest, however, is primarily in the *direction* of the relationship whenever it was found.

Ignoring "Personal Esprit" for the moment, it will be seen that whenever significant relationships between "Satisfaction with the Air Force" or "Personal Commitment to Group Goals" and cohesion were found, they were direct. That is, the higher

finds it with those in a position to understand the reason. By contrast, those highly satisfied with the air site do not require group support and, therefore, form poorly integrated groups. As one man said:

> The guys I can't stand are the ones who actually seem to *like* it out here. . . . ———, he's the medic. He's been here about three years. I heard he was planning to marry one of the local yokels they call "women" around here. That shows you how desperate a man can get. Well, I just can't seem to get next to him. Now ——— here [who was present], he's a truck driver; I work in the mess hall. I'm his confidant. He cries on my shoulder and I cry on his. We're a regular Lonely Hearts club right here in the barracks. And the site is full of them.

TABLE 1

CHI-SQUARE TESTS OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
MORALE AND GROUP COHESION*

MORALE DIMENSIONS	MEASURE OF COHESION		
	Integration Index (3 Deg. Freedom)	Correspondence Index (1 Deg. Freedom)	Frequency of Interaction (2 Deg. Freedom)
Satisfaction with the Air Force..	.98	3.93 (direct)	.94
Satisfaction with the Air Site....	13.48 (inverse)	1.28	2.85
Job Satisfaction...............	13.33 (inverse)	.23	1.75
Personal Commitment to Group Goals......................	.81	.02	13.81 (direct)
Personal Esprit...............	2.71	7.84 (direct)	8.42 (inverse)

* The figures in the table are the chi-square values. The direction of the relationship is given only for relationships found significant at the 5 per cent level.

the group cohesion, the higher the "Satisfaction with the Air Force" and the higher the "Personal Commitment to Group Goals." By contrast, the higher the group cohesion, the *lower* the "Satisfaction with the Air Site" and "Job Satisfaction."

These findings, together with other interview data, suggest the operation of symbiosis and consensus as cohesive factors in the small group. A man who is dissatisfied with the air site tends to find congenial one who is also dissatisfied with it. These persons seem to act symbiotically as a resource for each other in supplying common personal needs. The dissatisfied person feels the need for reassurance or explanation and

A similar picture is presented for "Job Satisfaction." A considerable proportion of the informal groups were made up of men from different work sections, so that the group could serve as a medium of communication between work sections or jobs. But the same situation also provides for the meeting of persons who are faced with different problems. Thus two radar operators may, and often do, both dislike their jobs. But a mixed informal group throws together a radar operator· and, perhaps, a teletype operator who may find his work interesting. The latter may then act as a resource for the former and vice versa. The teletype operator is the first to receive

messages, some of which may contain information of value to the radar operator; or the radar operator may be able to explain the significance of a message to the teletype operator. Besides providing each other with useful information, this also assists the isolated, bored specialist to see more clearly his part in the whole work complex. One interviewee said:

What I want to know is why can't we get parts when we need them? Sometimes it seems like we're the forgotten men of the Air Force. The only guy who can give me a half-decent answer is my buddy over in Supply. He told me they can only keep so much inventory. Sometimes there's a squeeze on and they run short of some part—maybe they've had to lend them to some other place that needs them worse than we do. That makes some sense at least.

Now, as shown above, it was found further that "Satisfaction with the Air Force" and "Personal Commitment to Group Goals" were *directly* related to group cohesion. That is, the higher the satisfaction in these two areas, the higher the group cohesion. This means that when in a group with high cohesion, the members are likely to have *high consensus* on these values.[17] This high consensus apparently leads them to prefer each other as long-range friends (Correspondence Plurels) in the case of Air Force values, and as associates (Frequency of Interaction) in the case of "Personal Commitment to Group Goals." These findings are in direct contrast to those on attitudes toward the air site and the job.

[17] One might claim that there is consensus of a sort at the other end of the scale, that is, men who are dissatisfied with the Air Force and its goals, and yet they form groups of low cohesion. However, our interview data led us to reject the notion that mere dissatisfaction per se provides a unifying value about which consensus may develop. We found that men were dissatisfied for a great variety of reasons. It is possible, of course, that if there were agreement on one particular imputed cause for the dissatisfaction, then this might provide a rallying point. However, we did not find this to be the case. Instead, as is pointed out below, men dissatisfied with these major matters (the Air Force and its goals) tended to act as individuals and to seek individual redress through formal means.

It is immediately evident that "Satisfaction with the Air Force" and "Personal Commitment to Group Goals" elicit more general attitudes than do "Job Satisfaction" and "Satisfaction with the Air Site." General dissatisfaction is too serious for group support to be sufficient consolation: it calls for direct, individual action, such as a call on the commanding officer or leaving the Air Force altogether.

A second interpretation flows from the fact that groups with little cohesion are barely groups at all but rather are aggregations of isolates. The members do not prefer each other as long-range friends, as shown in their attitudes toward the Air Force, and they interact infrequently, as shown in "Personal Commitment to Group Goals." Isolates as a category are likely to be satisfied with their jobs and with the air site, but dissatisfied with the Air Force and not committed to group goals. Other observation and interviewing have shown that isolates are typically married, older men with a longer than average period in the service. It is just these men who spend relatively little time on the site and who are likely to have desirable jobs and to be proficient at them. At the same time, they are likely to take the long view and to have greater expectations or to make greater demands of the Air Force. It is they who do some thinking about broader matters, such as the Air Force or group goals, and are therefore likely to be critical. And, most important, they are precisely the men who have *other* group resources (their families, friends in the community) to turn to instead of the informal group. By contrast, the single youngster, new to the service, is likely to spend much of his time on the site and to be concerned with adjustment to his new job. His problems will be about those things, and he will seek group help.

The apparently contradictory findings on "Personal Esprit" are, it must be remembered, data on the only area investigated that was not directly related to the Air Force in some way. Subjects were asked to respond to such statements as: "I am as

happy now as I have ever been"; "General-ly I worry a great deal"; or "I feel tired most of the time." These statements were designed to tap the person's general reac-tion tendencies or "frame of mind" and to indicate personal or primary needs in gen-eral. It was thought that a man of high "Personal Esprit" was one who had ap-parently adjusted successfully to the totality of Air Force life; one of low "Personal Es-prit" felt that his needs were not being satisfied by his current life. Table 1 makes it clear that persons of high esprit prefer each other as *long-term friends* (Correspond-ence Plurel—direct relation), but persons of low esprit *interact* with each other (Fre-quency of Interaction—inverse relation).[18] What this means is that persons of high esprit *do not need* the group resources that persons of low esprit do. When the former is asked to indicate a preference, he selects someone like himself—*not* for purposes of interaction but "to keep in touch with," a more distant and nonsymbiotic type of contact. By contrast, the man of low esprit does not select any one in particular to cor-respond with; his needs are immediate. He needs, and is found with, other persons of low esprit. The findings on "Personal Es-prit" therefore turn out to fit squarely those on the other four areas and, indeed, to pull them together. The person of low "Personal Esprit" seeks group support in primary interaction. He feels that need especially with regard to the day-to-day activities—those that center on the job and the air site. For these not-so-vital activities the small group assumes a symbiotic function. By contrast, the person of high esprit has little need for the symbiotic resources of the small group. The tie that binds him is consensual. This he expresses by choosing as long-range contacts persons who attribute to the Air Force the same high value that he does and

by interacting with those who are in agree-ment with him on the worth-whileness of Air Force goals. As one highly satisfied man said:

There's nothing that's more important to me than the mission. By God, if a man won't agree to fight for that mission, I don't want him around. I'm not a career man, but I figure as long as I'm wearing this uniform, that means something. I like the Air Force and what it's trying to do, but that doesn't mean I have to make a career out of it. Some of the career men are my friends, and I'll be interested in keeping tabs on them after I get out. But right now there's a big job to do. The man that calls me "buddy" has got to see that.

Particularly important is the fact that neither of the primary functions of the in-formal group is the result of deliberate con-trivance on the part of the Air Force or even of the men themselves. Rather, it seems that in the midst of the highly institutionalized framework of the Air Force, primary needs that were formerly satisfied by family, club, neighborhood, or other organizations are now being satisfied by the informal group. It is possible, of course, that the need for such groups may be greater in the case of the typical young person newly separated from primary contacts in the impersonal life of the Air Force. However, other data[19] suggest that primary functions are also sup-plied by informal groups in industry general-ly. Perhaps, then, these data may permit wider generalization.

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[18] Though the chi-square for "Personal Esprit" and the Index of Integration was too low for signifi-cance (2.71), it was large enough to show direction, and this turned out to be inverse, thus supporting the findings of Frequency of Interaction.

[19] See Gross, "Characteristics of Cliques in Office Organizations," *op. cit.* Interviews suggest that the member of the small group secured a feeling of be-longing and an appreciation of his importance to the work organization. Also see Homans, *The Human Group*, particularly chap. v. The cliques dis-cussed in F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939), chaps. xx and xxi, assumed primary functions also. These were mani-fested in the maintenance of consensus on a "fair day's work." Indeed, in order for restriction of out-put to work, group controls and group support are necessary.

ATTITUDES OF TEXTILE WORKERS TO CLASS STRUCTURE

JEROME G. MANIS AND BERNARD N. MELTZER

ABSTRACT

Personal interviews guided by an open-ended schedule revealed that in a sample of textile workers in an urban, industrialized, and unionized community, while the saliency of class was generally limited, class awareness was widespread. Two and three class divisions of society were perceived most commonly. In defining class membership, economic criteria predominated. Although class relationships were seldom described in antagonistic terms, many workers were convinced of their internal cohesion. Despite common beliefs about the weakening of class lines, a majority viewed class as being both inevitable and desirable.

This paper is the report of an investiga-- tion of subjective aspects of social stratification among textile workers in a highly industrialized, urban community—Paterson, New Jersey. The place was selected in the belief that class attitudes would differ notably from those disclosed by most previous studies, for industrial conflicts have featured its development as a textile center, and the local workers have been in the vanguard of the labor movement.

In Paterson occurred the first factory strike in American and the first use of militia to break a strike. Every expression of industrial enmity and violence has been experienced here—strikes, lockouts, boycotts, riots. Few cities have encountered more frequent and more protracted conflicts between employers and employed. Virtually every year since its inception Paterson has lost thousands of man-days of labor as a result of strikes or lockouts.

In these characteristics Paterson differs considerably from the communities usually encountered in the literature on social class. Having a population in 1950 of 139,336, Paterson is a middle-sized American city. Of the ninety-seven cities of over 100,000 population, only four have greater proportions of operatives in their labor force. Thus, in population, industrialization, and unionism, Paterson differs substantially from such communities as . "Jonesville," "Prairietown," and "Plainsville," and, consequently, the local attitudes toward class may be expected to differ from those found in more rural-centered communities.

To ascertain, as precisely as possible, the nature of class consciousness in Paterson, attitudes and beliefs on class were investigated on: (a) saliency; (b) awareness; (c) number; (d) composition; (e) relationships, or interaction, between classes; (f) internal cohesion; and (g) permanence.

To avoid a preconceived theoretical, logical, or ideological framework, the subjects were asked their own conceptions of class structure in an open-ended interview schedule allowing detailed expression in their own words.

Owing to limited resources, a random sample was used of the largest occupational group in the city: 200 males were drawn from among the members of a textile union. Each individual was sent a letter several days in advance of the interview informing him of the projected visit and describing the research in broad terms as a study of community attitudes. Of the 200, the study achieved 95 usable interviews.[1]

Of the 95 male textile workers who were interviewed for the study, 67 are operatives, 19 are craftsmen or clerical workers, and 9 are laborers; 68 are Catholic, 20 Protestant, and 7 Jewish. The median age of the group is 49.8 years; median number of years of schooling is 7.7; and median length of residence in Paterson is 39.8 years.

[1] The remainder were left out for the following reasons: 29 cases not at home at time of initial visit and three return visits; 20 refusals; 19 incorrect and unobtainable addresses; 14 moved out of the city; 6 language obstacles; 5 in military service; 12 miscellaneous. To what extent these omissions may bias the findings cannot be ascertained.

THE SALIENCY OF CLASS

Whether "class" occupies a significant position in people's minds was investigated by introducing the interview to the subjects as a study of the community rather than of class. The interviews began, therefore, with general queries concerning the individual's satisfaction with the community, its administration, and its police force. Then interviewees were asked whether "any persons or groups have special powers or privileges in this city" and whether "any important 'outside' influences" were present.

Of the 95 workers, only 4 spontaneously introduced references to wealthy, business, or exclusive groups or to any of the other familiar class referents. Twenty-three mentioned "politicians" or "political groups" as a significant element in local community organization, while "the newspapers," mentioned next most freqeuntly, figured only 8 times. Neither is usually considered to bear directly on class. Thus, class imagery appears not to loom centrally in the minds of the workers studied.

THE AWARENESS OF CLASS

Warner, Centers, Kornhauser, and many other social scientists have established the fact that most Americans readily admit the existence of class in their society. However, while sociologists focus attention on the awareness of the *community's* class structure, psychologists use poll techniques to study awareness of it on the *national* scale. To investigate possible divergence in the two sets of conceptions and to assess the comparability of the samples used in this research with those of others, information on both dimensions was sought from the same persons.

When asked whether any social classes exist in their community, virtually all of the subjects—90 out of 95—replied in the affirmative. Only one person took a contrary view, while 4 others asserted their inability to judge; all 5, however, indicated their own class position later on. The present findings substantiate the view that

class awareness is prevalent within this segment of the laboring population.

In reply to the question, "When you think of the entire country, how many classes do you think there are?" the replies of 24 out of 95 fell into the "Don't know" category. Between 1 and 5 per cent in national polls said they did not know. It may be that most respondents in the national polls turn to the frame of reference with which they are most familiar, namely, their community's class system, in thinking about the nation.

THE NUMBER OF CLASSES

Despite the high degree of consensus among research workers on the extent of class-awareness, there is little agreement upon the number of classes perceived by members of the community and nation. Among the sociologists the number of classes perceived in various communities has ranged from Lynd's two and Warner's five and six class conceptions, to Kaufman's eleven.[2] Most of the investigations have adopted the judgments of persons of high status. What differences in perspective may be expected among judges at alternative positions in social structure is not generally considered in these studies. Public opinion polls have usually adopted a three-class or, more recently (in Centers' work), a four-class interpretation of class structure. This conception, however, is essentially a priorist, for respondents are asked only to identify their personal positions rather than to characterize the class system.

The present study has sought to clarify the situation by allowing the subjects to express, in their own words, the nature of both the community and the national class structures. Those who asserted the existence of classes in either the community or the nation or both were accordingly asked the fol-

[2] Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1937), p. 460; W. Lloyd Warner's studies of Yankee City and Jonesville; and H. Kaufman, *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community* (Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Memoir 260 [Ithaca, 1944]).

low-up question, "What classes are they?" Comparison of the figures for the community and nation (Table 1) discloses both a general tendency to percieve more classes within the nation as a whole than within the local community and a specific increase of "Don't know's" concerning the national class structure.

It is also evident from this table that some basis exists for questioning the conclusiveness of studies based on the views of those with high local status in analyzing community class structure. The use of

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF SOCIAL CLASSES

No. of Classes	In the Community	In the Nation
None..........	1	0
Two...........	43	25
Three.........	42	38
Four or more....	5	8
Don't know.....	4	24
Total........	95	95

manual workers as judges of accorded status would probably reduce the assumed number of classes.

THE COMPOSITION OF CLASSES

The Marxist interpretation of class, which stresses "ownership or nonownership of the means of production" as the criterion of bourgeois-proletarian position, is largely rejected by sociologists. For them, differential association, family, and length of residence in the community are, generally, more significant bases for position. The present research tends to confirm Centers' finding that occupation, income, wealth, and other economic indexes are the primary bases of class placement. In response to the questions, "Who belongs to these classes?" and "How do you decide who belongs?" such criteria were most frequently mentioned (Table 2). In comparison with the economic criteria, such items as "Fam-

ily" and "Associations" show surprisingly low frequencies, while "Education" and "Style of life," however, figure somewhat oftener.[3]

A less direct, though undoubtedly relevant, indication of class criteria and membership is in the terms used in class designations. Thus, the Centers study demonstrated the influence of class terminology upon individual choices of "class identification." The rejection by manual workers, for example, of the designation "lower class" is evidence of their unwillingness to accept invidious, rather than economic, criteria of placement. This finding is supported, in the main, by the present research. As shown in Table 3, "working class" is the favored self-designation, while "lower class" is seldom spontaneously introduced.

Since these findings had been expected because of the results of a pretest of the interview schedule, an additional question,

TABLE 2

CRITERIA OF CLASS MEMBERSHIP

Criterion	Times Mentioned*
Money, wealth...........	68
Occupation..............	21
Culture, style of life........	18
Education...............	14
Associations.............	2
Family..................	1
Power, connections........	6
Other, vague.............	2
Don't know.............	13
Total.................	145

* Included multiple mention.

"Are there any persons who belong to a lower class than you do?" was added. Responses to this query (including multiple responses) were as follows: the unemployed and poor (36 times); the wilfully incompetent (24); the unskilled, the uncultured,

[3] A moderate correlation is observed between class criteria and the number of perceived classes in the community. Subjects holding the two-class view mention economic criteria relatively more frequently than do those who say there are three classes.

the uneducated, and various ethnics (a combined total of 15); none (15); and "Don't know" or vague answers (13). The priority of economic and, second, of invidious criteria in defining such lower-class membership is unmistakable.

The terms used in referring to the membership of classes of which the subjects were *not* members provide still another indication of class criteria. Designations of other classes include economic terms such as "rich class," "business class," and "capitalists" (46 times) and such "prestige" terms as "high class," "upper class," and "aristocrats" (27), as well as a sprinkling of other terms. Here, as in the preceding data, economic concepts predominate.[4]

Views on the specific composition of classes involve broad, imprecise conceptions throughout the group. One of the more precise conceptions was:

> In the working class, I'd put anyone who goes to work with a lunch box. In the middle class, I'd put a banker, a clerk, small business— anyone who has a good job or a business. In the high class are those who can live on the interest on their money.

The question, "Where do white-collar people fit in?" was asked. Since this group is considered by some theorists as a separate class, it is of interest to note that few subjects agreed: A decided majority of the respondents contended that the white-collar person was a member of their own class, whether defined as "working" or "middle." As one worker put it:

> They are part of the working class. It's a different kind of work, but still they work too. They make less than I do, especially when you figure overtime. But, they have clean jobs and they have security; they work steady, have no layoffs.

[4] A measure of association obtains between designations of other classes and number of perceived classes. While subjects with a two-class orientation predominantly favor "economic" designations, those with a three-class orientation show no preference for either "economic" or "prestige" designations, one-half of the cases mentioning each type. The two-class division is, apparently, on the basis of a division into "have's" and "have-not's."

Only four subjects believed in the existence of a separate "white-collar class."

THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CLASSES

Although beliefs concerning class relationships are clearly fundamental to a theory of class-consciousness, this topic has received little attention in research. The present study included such pertinent questions as "How do classes get along? In general, are they like enemies, or like equal partners, or like leaders and followers?" Responses to this line of questioning were tabulated as follows (including multiple mentioning): paternalistic relationship (27);

TABLE 3

PERSONAL DESIGNATIONS
OF CLASS

Designation	Times Mentioned*
Working class	52
Middle class	22
Poor class	13
Average class	7
Lower class	5
Second or third class	4
Don't know	2
Total	105

* Included multiple mention.

enemies (21); partnership (19); snobbishness or jealousy (12); vague, indefinite responses (8); and "Don't know" (14).

The assumption that classes are viewed as antagonistic conflict groups receives only limited support from the data. As indicated, the paternalistic relationship of "leaders and followers" was the most frequently expressed view. In the words of one respondent:

> If the bosses would treat the working people right, they would get along all the time. It's like a dog with a bone. If you give him food, he will be all right. Just treat us right and we'll follow right along.

While the preceding data bear upon views of class relationships in *group* terms, information pertaining to the presumed

relationships between individual members of different classes was also sought. The Warner studies, of course, have adopted patterns of personal association as basic to the definition of class structure. Although the subjects of the present study do not turn to this criterion, its significance is confirmed in their replies. In response to the question, "Do you have any friends in other classes?" 37 replied affirmatively, 56 negatively, which suggests significant class barriers to intimate contact.

Only 16 subjects indicated that they expected a change in their own personal class position, while 73 did not, showing the virtual absence of an "open class" ideology. Yet subsequent findings concerning the permanence of classes indicate apparent inconsistencies.

THE INTERNAL COHESION OF CLASSES

Certain theorists have claimed that classes are not "groups" but merely aggregates of individuals similar in their objective situation and subjective orientation. Only where there are formally organized association and membership or, alternatively, informal relationships involving sentiments of "belongingness" can classes, in this view, be conceived as more than mere nominal entities.[5]

The ready indication by the interviewees of their own class membership is an elementary manifestation of the group nature of classes. Closely related are the individual's beliefs concerning the unity and cohesiveness, the "sense of belonging," of class members in general. Responding to the question, "Do people in each of these classes stick together?" many subjects expressed belief in the existence of cohesiveness both within their own class and, slightly less frequently, in other classes. In both instances, however, the numerous indefinite and "Don't know" responses rendered the belief in class cohesion the opinion of a plurality rather than of a majority.

It should be mentioned, in passing, that

[5] See, e.g., R. M. MacIver and C. M. Page, *Society* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1944), p. 350.

the subjects of this study almost uniformly expressed favorable attitudes toward their union and affirmative beliefs in union cohesiveness. Since unions are generally held to be instruments of class organization, although of limited scope, the belief in a substantial degree of union cohesion may indicate a corresponding pattern of class cohesion, even though not necessarily perceived as such by those involved. Union membership, however, tends to be the only pattern of class-linked formal association in which the textile workers participate: nearly two-thirds belong to no other formal organization of any kind, and only 6 are members of associations of a manifestly worker orientation. Hence, "working class" cohesion tends to be implemented largely through union membership.

THE PERMANENCE OF CLASSES

Since the belief in a future societal condition of "classlessness" has been considered a fundamental part of the class-conscious worker's ideology, precise information on this matter is to be desired. Hence the questions: "Are class lines believed to be hardening? Are classes believed to be inevitable? Is the class system believed to possess any valuable functions?"

While nearly one-third of the subjects believe that class inequalities are increasing, almost one-half hold the opposing view that the inequalities are being diminished.[6] Frequently, explanations of the latter viewpoint ran as follows: "Today it's a lot different. Before, you couldn't send your children to college. Now, everyone can get ahead." Other comments stressed the general improvement of the worker's lot in this country.

Linking these findings with those on expectations of personal mobility, it can be seen that, while relatively few of the workers are optimistic about their chances to improve their own class positions, many more have fond expectations of mobility in

[6] The figures are: class differences decreasing (44), unchanging (11), differences increasing (29), indefinite responses (6), do not know (5).

their children, and the role of higher education in it was implied frequently.

Although almost one-half of the respondents contended that class differences are decreasing, a still larger number were convinced of both the inevitability and the desirability of the class system (Table 4).

The perceived functions of class differences throw further light upon belief in class permanence. As one worker stated:

The people who have money own businesses and the rest of the people work for them. If there were no rich people, who would the poor people work for?

The members of different classes are thus seen to serve complementary needs of the society and of each other. Another common justification of the class order was that class differences are the incentive for industrious work:

It's better this way. Everyone will push and try to get up a little higher than he is now. Otherwise, people wouldn't have ambition, wouldn't work.

It is evident that the sample group of textile workers are neither strongly antagonistic nor entirely favorable to class. While no homogeneous complex of attitudes characterizes the group, certain tendencies are evident. Thus, few of the subjects were unaware of the existence of a class system in their community. Nor were there many who expressed alienation to it; rather, most subjects tended to invoke the standard defenses of the existing system. This latter finding is all the more surprising in view of the stormy industrial history of Paterson,

which might be expected to have inescapably produced class antagonism.

The findings of the study differ substantially on various points from those reported in other recent investigations. Perhaps the most striking differences concern the number of recognized classes; the criteria for class placement; the low expectation of personal class mobility, conjoined with beliefs in the fluidity of the class

TABLE 4

OPINIONS ON THE PERMANENCE
OF SOCIAL CLASSES

Response	Times Mentioned
Inevitable and desirable	53
Inevitable but undesirable	18
Neither inevitable nor desirable	13
Don't know	11
Total	95

system; and the acceptance of social stratification as inevitable and desirable. In part, these differences may reflect differences in research methods; for example, the use, in this study, of open-ended questions and of manual workers as judges of class structure. The selection of a highly urbanized, industrialized, and unionized community for study has doubtless influenced the present findings. Research in similar places is necessary to verify the adequacy of the data and their interpretation.

WESTERN MICHIGAN COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
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CITY SHOPPERS AND URBAN IDENTIFICATION: OBSERVATIONS ON THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF CITY LIFE[1]

GREGORY P. STONE

ABSTRACT

Chicago housewives comprise four types of shoppers: economic, personalizing, ethical, and apathetic. The personalization and moralization of customer-clerk relationships cannot be inferred from conventional propositions about the anonymity of city life, yet the shoppers are urbanites. Each type of shopper is distinguished by a specific pattern of social characteristics reflecting her position in the social structure of her residential community. Moreover, some evidence suggests that personalizing shoppers draw on their relationships with clerks to form subjective identifications with a community in which they have restricted opportunities for participation.

A growing body of evidence seems to be signifying a change in the focus of urban sociology away from the study of urbanism as a *way* of life toward the study of urbanism as a way of *life*. Until recently the view of urbanism as the polar antithesis of the personal, familistic, sacred, and consensual life of the isolated tradition-bound community has imbued most sociological investigations of the city.[2] Recent research suggests theoretical possibilities for explaining how, in the impersonal and anonymous milieu of the city, the individual can establish the requisite social identification for distinguishing himself as a person. Many studies imply the hypothesis that typical social relationships characterized by primary (or at least a quasi-primacy"),[3] in Cooley's sense, have

arisen to provide such a matrix of identifications.[4] These observations are the more theoretically strategic because most refer to contexts where life is supposedly impersonal and anonymous.

[1] The author wishes to express his gratitude to his wife, Margaret, who assisted in the field work, provided helpful criticisms, and otherwise assisted; also to his colleague, William H. Form, for a critical reading. Some of the observations made here appear in greater detail in Gregory P. Stone, "Sociological Aspects of Consumer Purchasing in a Northwest Side Chicago Community" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1952).

[2] In Durkheim, Maine, and Tönnies the "polarities" proposed are not so antithetical as they have sometimes been construed. It seems quite clear that Tönnies, especially, did not propose *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* merely as antithetical categories but also as elements of an antinomy such that any tendency toward one form of social relationship evokes countertendencies (see Ferdinand Tönnies, *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology*, trans. and supplemented by Charles P. Loomis [New York: American Book Co., 1940], esp. pp. 221–22).

[3] They are not primary in the sense of encompassing the lives and aspirations of the participants or secondary in being antithetical to the primary group. Schmalenbach has proposed *Bund* as a category to fill the conceptual lacuna. However, it is not the purpose of this article to make a conceptual contribution, and the gap has been filled by a loose interpretation of the concept "primary group" (see Herman Schmalenbach, "Die Soziologische Kategorie des Bundes," *Die Dioskuren: Jahrbuch für Geistenswissenschaften*, I [1922], 35–105).

[4] Early observations relevant to this hypothesis may be found in Schmalenbach, *ibid.*; more recently, in Harry C. Harmsworth, "Primary Group Relationships in Modern Society," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXXI (March–April, 1947), 291–96; and in Robert E. L. Faris, "Development of the Small Group Research Movement," in Muzafer Sherif and M. O. Wilson (eds.), *Group Relations at the Crossroads* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), pp. 155–84. Empirical studies bearing on the hypothesis include William F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943); Morris Janowitz, *The Community Press in an Urban Setting* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952); and "The Imagery of the Urban Community Press," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (eds.), *Reader in Urban Sociology* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), pp. 532–41; Erwin O. Smigel, "Unemployed Veterans in New York City" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1948), pp. 134–39. An extensive bibliography on the study of primary groups is available in Edward A. Shils, "The Study of the Primary Group," in Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell (eds.), *The Policy Sciences* (Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1951), pp. 44–70.

This article is an attempt to supplement such findings with data on shopping. Few treatises on the sociology of the city fail to designate the market place as the epitome of those "impersonal," "segmentalized," "secondary," "categoric," and "rational" contacts said to characterize human relations in the city. Yet the study reported here points to the possibility that some urbanites, as a consequence of the relationships they establish with the personnel of retail stores, manage to form identifications which bind them to the larger community.

PROCEDURE

Some time ago the writer was engaged by a private research agency to study popular reactions to the establishment of a large chain department store in an outlying business district on Chicago's Northwest Side. One of the techniques was a schedule administered to 150 adult female residents[5] of the area surrounding the business district. Their responses to certain questions indicated disparate definitions of shopping situations and markedly different orientations to stores in general. The latter were implicit in the criteria by which the housewives said they evaluated stores in the area and in the expectations they had of store personnel as they encountered them in shopping. Particularly striking, in contrast to customary sociological notions, was their recurrent statement that market relationships were often personal.

This suggested a typology of shopping orientations as a basis for a more intensive analysis of the anomalies. The procedure for its construction and application consisted of four steps: (1) a fourfold classification of the *responses* to one particularly discerning question, called here the "filter" question; (2) a similar classification of *informants* as consumer types on the basis of

[5] Because marital status was a variable which might have distorted the findings of the study, 26 single, widowed, or divorced subjects were eliminated from the original 150 informants. Housewives were originally selected as informants because they do most of the buying, but it seems that this situation is changing.

demonstrated consistencies between their responses to the filter question and a number of other questions termed "indicator" questions; (3) a schematization of the consumer types as *empirical models*; and (4) the construction of *social profiles* based on the patterns of social characteristics associated with the consumer types. These procedures revealed further anomalies which are analyzed in the concluding section of the article.

ORIENTATIONS TO SHOPPING

Responses to the question, "Why would you rather do business with local independent merchants (or large chain stores, depending on a prior choice)?" persistently revealed markedly different orientations to different kinds of stores as well as diverse definitions of shopping. Because of the discriminating power of the question, it was used as a "filtering" device for achieving a preliminary classification of the consumers on the basis of their orientation to shopping.[6]

Replies to the filter question were grouped into five empirical categories of criteria housewives used to evaluate stores: (1) economic, (2) personalizing, (3) ethical, (4) apathetic, and (5) a residual category of unique or indeterminate criteria. As may be seen, some statements did not fall precisely into single categories. When a response included multiple orientations, it was coded for each category.

The economic category.—Remarks coded in this category clearly indicated that the informant regarded shopping as primarily buying, her behavior being unambiguously

[6] Merton distinguishes orientation from role: "The social orientation differs from the social role. Role refers to the manner in which the rights and duties inherent in a social position are put into practice; orientation . . . refers to the theme underlying the complex of social roles performed by an individual. It is the (tacit or explicit) theme which finds expression in each of the complex of social roles in which the individual is implicated" (Robert K. Merton, "Patterns of Influence," in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton [eds.], *Communications Research 1948–1949* [New York: Harper & Bros., 1949], p. 187).

directed to the purchase of goods. The criteria applied to the evaluation of stores included: an appraisal of the store's merchandise in terms of price, quality, and variety; a favorable evaluation of store practices that maximize the efficient distribution of goods; conversely, an unfavorable evaluation of practices and relationships with personnel which impede the quick efficient sale of merchandise; and a favorable rating of conditions which maximized independence of customer choice. The following four responses are typical of this category:

I prefer large department stores. They give you better service. Their prices are more reasonable. . . . There's a wider selection of goods.

I prefer big chains. They have cheaper stuff. It's too expensive in small stores. Then, too, I like the idea of helping yourself. Nobody talks you into anything. You can buy what you please.

I suppose I should help the smaller stores, but I can do best at the chains. Local merchants are too nosey—too personal—and their prices are higher. The prices in chains are good, and you get self-service in chains.

I like to shop in local independently owned stores. You can get better grade materials and better service there. If anything goes wrong with the material, you always have a chance to go back and make a complaint. They'll make it good for you. They have more time. You're more familiar with that kind of store and can find what you want in a hurry. Some of them allow you stamps on their budget plan, and that saves you a lot of money.

The personalizing category.—In this category were placed responses defining shopping as fundamentally and positively interpersonal. Such informants expressed a tendency to personalize and individualize the customer role in the store and rated stores in terms of closeness of relationships between the customer and personnel. Consequently, "purely" economic criteria, such as price, quality, selection of merchandise, and highly rationalized retailing techniques were of lesser importance. These four remarks exemplify the category:

I prefer local merchants. They're friendlier and not quite so big. . . . Although prices are higher in small stores, when you trade with local merchants you have a better chance to be a good customer. They get to know you. People in smaller stores greet you cordially when you come in. They get to know you, and make an effort to please you.

I'd rather trade at my own store than a public store. That's why I prefer local merchants. They're more personal. They get to know your name. They take more interest in you as a human being.

Local merchants give you better service. They get so they know you. The chains are impersonal. They don't try so hard to please you. The customer doesn't mean anything to the clerk in the big chain stores, because it's not his business.

I shop at independents if they have the merchandise. They usually know you by name and try to please you. In the big store no one knows you. . . . Maybe it's because I feel at home in the smaller store. When you're in them, you feel more wanted. You feel lost in a big store.

The ethical category.—Responses in this category signified that the informants feel a moral obligation to patronize specific types of stores. They perceive shopping in the light of a larger set of values rather than of specific values and more immediately relevant norms. Store patronage was appraised in anticipation of such moral consequences. The following excerpts express it:

It would be better if they were all neighborhood stores. The chains put people out of work because the people have to wait on themselves. But that's what happens in a machine age. They set up everything like a factory. If there's another depression, the chains will put people out of work, because they are set up on a self-help system. So, if you let the chains run the little business out, they will be wrecking their own chances for jobs, if times get too bad.

I prefer the local independents. I think that the chain store is taking too much business away from the little fellow.

I prefer local merchants if they have the variety and a large selection of goods. You know, they're making a living and you want to

help them out. The chain stores are making a living too—a damn good one!

You have to give the independent merchant a chance to earn his bread and butter. The chain stores grab it all. The big chain store has no heart or soul.

The apathetic category.—Included in this category are responses showing that the informant was not interested in shopping and did not discriminate kinds of stores. They emphasize the minimizing of effort in purchasing. Illustrations are:

I don't know. I guess there's not much difference.

Local merchants are O.K. It depends on where you happen to be. Whichever store is the closest is O.K. with me.

It depends on which is the closest.

Chain stores. You can get everything there in one trip. There's nothing particular to like about either kind of store.

Questions on the consumer's image of a good clerk and good store manager, unpleasant and pleasant shopping experiences, and price, quality, and service satisfactions were used as "indicators" to test the consistency with which the orientations elicited by the filter question were maintained. Responses to these questions lent themselves, with some exceptions,[7] to a classification like that set forth above.

After replies to the filter and indicator questions were coded as described, the interviews were again examined, and the coding of answers tabulated for each interview. Informants were placed in exclusive categories when the tabulation of the relevant coded responses demonstrated consistent orientations to the shopping situation. The essential criterion of consistency in this case was met by the requirement that the *majority* of

[7] E.g., the questions directed toward the informant's satisfaction with price, quality, and service in stores forced her thinking into an "economic" frame of reference. Thus, these more structured questions were used as indicators only when "economic" and "apathetic" orientations had been signified in response to the "filter" question.

coded "indicator" responses must coincide with *a* coded "filter" response.

A TYPOLOGY OF CONSUMERS

The final classification of housewives yielded four consumer types: (1) economic, (2) personalizing, (3) ethical, and (4) apathetic. Brief sketches of these types were constructed to summarize the characteristics of each as expressed in clustering and interrelated responses to the "filter" and "indicator" questions. These sketches are *empirical models* of the types; they are not designed as concepts for the formulation of propositions to be directly incorporated into a theoretical system.

The empirical models of the consumer types are presented here with the caveat that probably no single consumer was adequately described by any of the models. The models represent composites of actual consumers and their characteristic role orientations.[8]

The economic consumer.—Here was the closest approximation to the "economic man" of the classical economist. This type of shopper expressed a sense of responsibility for her household purchasing duties: she was extremely sensitive to price, quality, and assortment of merchandise, all of which entered into the calculus of her behavior on the market. She was interested in shopping. Clerical personnel and the store were, for her, merely the instruments of her purchase of goods. Thus, efficiency or inefficiency of sales personnel, as well as the relative commensurateness of prices, quality, or the selection of merchandise, were decisive in leaving her with a pleasant or unpleasant

[8] Nevertheless, a *post hoc* attempt to "verify" the typology met with some success. Specifically, a number of items dealing with shopping behavior but not included in the construction of the typology were significantly associated with variations in consumer type in logically compatible directions: number of shopping trips to the downtown central shopping district ($p < .02$; $T = .18$), patronage of women's department stores and specialty shops for women's clothing ($p < .05$; $T = .16$), acquaintance with salesclerks ($p < .01$; $T = .21$), chain store versus independent store patronage ($p < .001$; $T = .35$).

impression of the store. The quality she demanded of a "good" clerk was efficiency.

The personalizing consumer.—This type of consumer shopped "where they know my name." It was important that she shop at her store rather than "public" stores.[9] Strong personal attachments were formed with store personnel, and this personal relationship, often approaching intimacy, was crucial to her patronage of a store. She was highly sensitized to her experiences on the market; obviously they were an important part of her life. It followed that she was responsive to both pleasant and unpleasant experiences in stores. Her conception of a "good" clerk was one who treated her in a personal, relatively intimate manner.

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF CON-
SUMER TYPES

Type of Consumer	Number	Per Cent
Economic............	41	33
Personalizing.......	35	28
Ethical.............	22	18
Apathetic...........	21	17
Indeterminate......	5	4
Total..........	124	100

The ethical consumer.—This type of shopper shopped where she "ought" to. She was willing to sacrifice lower prices or a wider selection of goods "to help the little guy out" or because "the chain store has no heart or soul." Consequently, strong attachments were sometimes formed with personnel and store owners or with "stores" in the abstract. These mediated the impressions she had of stores, left pleasant impressions in her memory, and forced unpleasant impressions out. Since store personnel did not enter in primarily as instrumentalities but rather with .reference to other, more ultimate ends, she had no clear conception of a "good" clerk.

The apathetic consumer.—This type of consumer shopped because she "had" to.

Shopping for her was an onerous task. She shopped "to get it over with." Ideally, the criterion of convenient location was crucial to her selection of a store, as opposed to price, quality of goods, relationships with store personnel, or ethics. She was not interested in shopping and minimized her expenditure of effort in purchasing goods. Experiences in stores were not sufficiently important to leave any lasting impression on her. She knew few of the personnel and had no notion of a "good" clerk.

The distribution of these types in the sample is shown in Table 1.

SOCIAL PROFILES OF THE CONSUMER TYPES

As found in writings on urbanism and the mass society, a city—an area characterized by the absence of many traditional controls, a predominance of segmented depersonalized relationships, and the proliferation of alternative activities—is a place where the consumption of goods is presumably structured as either a highly rational and rationalized activity, the relationship between the consumer and the sales clerk being instrumental, with minimal emotional involvement on the part of either; or an onerous task performed reluctantly by consumers eager to complete their transaction as easily and quickly as possible. Lynd's observations have emphasized the latter consequence, while Simmel has treated both consequences.[10]

[9] The personal pronouns "I," "me," and "my" found their way frequently into the interviews, one indication of the extent to which they built up strong identifications with the stores they patronized. Therefore, their relationships with store personnel are referred to later as "primary" or "quasi-primary," for the store has become incorporated into the social self of the consumer. As Cooley put it, "The social self is simply any idea, or system of ideas, drawn from the communicative life, that the mind cherishes as its own." Hence the store may be seen as a part of the social self of the personalizing type of consumer (see Charles Horton Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902], p. 147).

[10] Robert S. Lynd, "The People as Consumers," in the *Report of the President's Research Committee on*

Certainly one cannot deduce from the conventional propositions of urban sociology that buyer-seller relationships would take on quasi-primary characteristics. The ethical type of shopper isolated in this study also presents a paradox. Neither type—the personalizing consumer nor the ethical consumer—fits into the perspective of conventional urban social psychology.[11]

The most obvious and, in the light of conventional urban sociology, the most plausible hypothesis explaining the personalization of market relationships in the city as well as the "moralization" of such relationships is that these processes merely manifest a carry-over of rural or "small-town" shopping habits to the metropolitan market place.[12] We would expect, then, that personalizing and ethical consumers are predominantly housewives who learned to shop in nonurban environments. But the data offered no support for this hypothesis, in so far as the types of consumers studied were not significantly differentiated by place of birth.[13] As a matter of fact, the

majority of consumers classified in each type were native-born Chicagoans. Although the types were significantly associated with parental place of birth, this was because ethical consumers—presumably not to be thought of as a characteristically urban type—included proportionately and significantly more *third-generation* Chicagoans than any other type. These data suggest that the orientations to shopping typical of both ethical and personalizing consumers did not originate in an atmosphere foreign to metropolitan life but precisely in the context of the metropolitan milieu.

On the basis of this general hypothesis, relationships between specific social and economic variables and variations in consumer type were subjected to statistical tests of significance. Significant associations were found for number of children, membership in voluntary associations, and social class.[14]

Explanations of the above relationships always required taking into account the participation of the consumer in the larger social life of her community and suggested that personal involvements in various phases of the social structure of the Northwest Side also played a part in determining her role orientation in the market. On the assumption that variations in personal involvement could be measured by objective and subjective indexes of community iden-

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Social Trends: Recent Social Trends (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933), p. 242; Georg Simmel, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, trans. with an introduction by Kurt H. Wolff (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), pp. 414–17.

[11] Cf. Tönnies' statement: "In the *Gesellschaft*, as contrasted with the *Gemeinschaft*, we find no actions that can be derived from an *a priori* and necessarily existing unity; no actions, therefore, which manifest the will and the spirit of the unity even if performed by the individual; no actions, which, insofar as they are performed by the individual, take place on behalf of those united with them" (*op. cit.*, p. 74). Yet, in the metropolis, we find the consumer who patronizes a particular store with the best interest of the owner in mind—the ethical consumer—and the consumer who enters the market place with the "will" to build a unity out of her relationship with the seller—the personalizing consumer.

[12] "To a greater or lesser degree, therefore, our social life bears the imprint of an earlier folk society. ... The population of the city itself is in large measure recruited from the countryside, where a mode of life reminiscent of the earlier form of existence persists" (Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV [July, 1938], p. 3).

[13] The chi-square test was used as a measure of the significance of all associations reported here, and, where necessary, T has been used to determine the degree of association. A probability of .05 or less was used as an acceptable indication that the association between two variables could not be attributed to chance variations.

[14] Social class was determined from the application of the "Index of Status Characteristics" described in W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eels, *Social Class in America* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949). Other results not accepted as statistically significant included associations with age ($p < .20$); officerships in associations ($p < .95$); religious denomination ($p < .70$); occupational status of head of consumer's household ($p < .20$); education of consumer ($p < .20$); education of head of consumer's household ($p < .10$); and ethnic status ($p < .20$).

tification, further associations were sub-
jected to statistical tests of significance. The
results disclosed significant association be-
tween variations in consumer type and locus
of last place of residence, residence of
friends, and the consumer's desire to remain
in or leave the Northwest Side.[15]

A qualitative analysis of the above as-
sociations suggested that each consumer
type was characterized by a distinctive pat-
terning of social position and community
identification. To spell out with statistical
precision the entire complex of variables
identifying each type and assess their rela-
tive weights was, at best, extremely difficult
and rendered unfeasible by the small num-
ber of cases and the consequent impossibil-
ity of holding variables constant. To cir-
cumvent these difficulties, a "social profile"
was drawn up for each type of shopper, none
of which was intended directly to represent
the empirical data. Rather they represent
some social conditions which the clustering
of relationships point to as *probably* shaping
orientations.

The economic consumer.—Youth, aspira-
tion, and economic disadvantage, when
they described lower-middle class house-
wives, set the stage for the formulation of
an economic orientation to shopping. The
physical requirements of the economic role
were exacting and could best be performed
by the young. Economic consumers were
socially mobile and seldom loath to in-
strumentalize the customer-clerk relation-

[15] Except for homeownership, all the other in-
dexes used—length of residence in current dwelling
place, length of residence in the Northwest Side,
age moved into the community, and subjective
evaluation of the residential area—were associated
at more than the .05 level but less than the .10
level. This clustering of community identification
indexes adumbrates the principal point of this
article elaborated in the final section. In the North-
west Side, homeownership was structured in such a
way that it had to be rejected as a valid index of
community identification. Specifically, there were
negative associations with education, length of
residence, residence of friends, and previous resi-
dence; and positive associations with age when the
informant moved into the area. Probably that
variable reflected the postwar housing shortage
more than anything else.

ship as the orientation required. Many were
just passing through the Northwest Side on
their way to more highly esteemed resi-
dences farther out on the metropolitan
periphery. Their mobility aspirations, how-
ever, were seriously qualified by the presence
of children who demanded care and cost
money at a period in their married life when
funds were already low and by subordinate
ethnic status in the local area. These qual-
ifications demanded the exercise of caution
on the market and the adoption of an
economic definition of shopping. Unattached
to the local area and free of encumbering
allegiances, the economic consumer was able
to participate in the market in a detached,
interested, and alert manner.

The personalizing consumer.—Without
access to either formal or informal channels
of social participation, because of her lower
social status, her very few or very many
children, and the fact that she had spent
the early years of her married life outside
the local area, this type of consumer estab-
lished quasi-primary relationships with the
personnel of local independent retail in-
stitutions. In a sense, her selection of local
independent merchants coerced her into a
personalizing orientation to shopping. For,
given her status equality with store person-
nel and the fact that she was a newcomer,
the adoption of a different definition of
shopping could have eventuated only in
disharmony and friction which would have
been difficult to absorb without other
available primary relationships to take up
the shock. Even so, this coercion was hardly
disadvantageous to such a consumer. The
quasi-primary relationships she was forced
to develop on the market compensated for
her larger social losses, for, although she had
recently moved into the area leaving most
of her old friends behind, she attached pos-
itive value to living in the Northwest Side
and expressed no desire to leave it.[16]

[16] The social characteristics of the personalizing
consumer resemble those of the "substitute gratifi-
cation" readers of the urban community press re-
ported in Morris Janowitz, "The Imagery of the
Urban Community Press," *op. cit.*, p. 540.

The ethical consumer.—Relatively high social status, long residence in the Northwest Side, and an unfavorable response to the "social deterioration" accompanying the rapid business growth of the area were prime requisites for the development of an ethical orientation to the market. The "ethic" is an alignment with the symbols of small business against the big business that menaced the housewives' way of life. Patronage of local independent merchants more concretely realized the alliance. In addition, it maintained social distance between the higher-status customer and the lower-status clerk in a shopping situation where social distance was difficult to maintain but, at the same time, necessary to protect the established status of the customer in the larger community.

The apathetic consumer.—Characteristically, apathetic consumers sought to minimize effort in shopping, and this characterized the older women. Either downward mobility or a lack of success in attempts at upward mobility[17] constricted the aspirations of apathetic consumers and confined them to local neighborhood life. Long residence in the Northwest Side begun at an early age, and a strong positive local identification promoted strong bonds with others in the community. The market, in any case,

[17] A greater proportion of the husbands of apathetic shoppers had completed their secondary-school education or gone on to college than in any other consumer type. Yet, the husbands of the majority of apathetic consumers belonged to lower social strata. When the social class of the 57 informants whose husbands had either completed high school or attended college was examined, the results showed that 23.8 per cent of the 21 apathetic consumers were included in the higher educational group and could be placed in the upper-middle or lower-middle social classes, while 33.7 per cent had been recruited from the upper-lower social class. In contrast, 38.1 per cent of the remaining 98 informants were included in both the higher educational group and the middle social classes, while 11.1 per cent had completed their secondary education or attended college and were, at the same time, members of the lower status levels. The significance of ·these relationships was established by the application of the chi-square test; thus a significant proportion of the husbands of apathetic consumers had been educated "above" their social status.

was too far beyond the horizon of experience of the typical apathetic consumer to warrant much attention or interest.

The four profiles described above permit some speculation about the temporal allocation of shopping orientations. Apparently, economic and personalizing orientations were more often adopted by housewives who had recently moved into the area, and ethical and apathetic orientations by those who had lived in the area for relatively long periods of time. Aspiration, marginality, and success are perhaps the crucial intervening variables. This suggests the hypotheses: (1) the higher the level of aspiration among newcomers to a residential area, the greater the likelihood that they will adopt economic orientations to shopping; (2) the lower the level of aspiration and the greater the marginality of newcomers, the greater the likelihood that they will adopt personalizing orientations; (3) the greater the success long-time residents of a residential area have enjoyed, the greater the likelihood that they will adopt ethical orientations to shopping; and (4), conversely, the less the success, the greater the likelihood of consumer apathy among long-time residents.

What remains to be discussed and explained is the place of the personalizing role orientation in resolving the disparity between the apparent subjective indications of positive identification with the Northwest Side offered by personalizing consumers and the fact that objective indexes of community identification did not point to the likelihood that they would develop a sense of community belonging. Objectively, personalizing consumers were not integrated with the Northwest Side; subjectively, they were.

URBAN SOLIDARITY AND THE PERSONAL-
IZATION OF MARKET RELATIONSHIPS

Despite the fact that certain objective conditions for community identification were absent among many personalizing consumers,[18] a clear majority of the informants

[18] Many had lived a short period of time in their current residences and in the community at large; a

concerned expressed no desire to leave the community and, at the same time, evaluated it favorably. In short, without objective basis, personalizing consumers seemed typically to have identified themselves with the Northwest Side.

A hypothesis was advanced to explain the discrepancy: *Among the 119 housewives subjective identification of some with the area in which they lived was a latent function[19] of*

TABLE 2

BASIS FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF CONSUMERS
PREFERRING TO LIVE IN CHICAGO'S
NORTHWEST SIDE

OBJECTIVE BASIS FOR COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION	TYPE OF CONSUMERS				
	Economic	Personalizing	Ethical	Apathetic	Total
No apparent basis..	2	4	.....	.....	6
Little apparent basis	3	6	.....	2	11
Some apparent basis	4	5	6	5	20
Apparent basis....	3	2	2	4	11
Total..........	12	17	8	11	48

their personalization of market relations. These consumers usually implied that strong social bonds tied them to the personnel of the stores they patronized. In the absence of other neighborhood ties, such a bond was apparently strong enough to provide the basis for the consumer's attachment. It follows that, if personalizing consumers, *in contrast to the other types*, identified themselves subjectively with the locality when objective indexes of local community identification did not suggest that likelihood,

majority said that most of their friends lived outside the Northwest Side, and most had moved into the area at a relatively late age.

[19] *"Functions* are those observed consequences [of social acts] which make for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system ... *latent functions* being those which are neither intended or recognized [by the social actor or actors]" (Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949], pp. 50–51).

the hypothesis stated above could not be rejected.

To test the hypothesis, all informants who had indicated subjective identification with the community either by expressing a preference for continued residence there or by evaluating the community in positive terms were singled out for analysis. In addition, four objective indexes of local community identification were controlled: (1) length of residence in the Northwest Side; (2) age of the informant when she moved to the Northwest Side; (3) location of last place of residence; and (4) location of most of her friends. Those members of the selected group of "subjectively identified" informants who had lived in the Northwest Side six years or less, moved into the area at twenty-nine years of age or more and into their present residences from outside the Northwest Side, and said that most of their friends lived outside the community, were interpreted as having formed subjective identifications with the Northwest Side with *no apparent basis.* Informants characterized by three of the above criteria were said to have formed subjective attachments with *little apparent basis.* Those to whom two of the criteria applied were regarded as having become identified with *some apparent basis.* Finally, informants for whom only one criterion applied were interpreted as having formed a sense of community belonging with *apparent basis.* If personalizing consumers in the selected group of subjectively identified informants were found to have established community identifications without or with little apparent basis more often than the other consumer types, the hypothesis, it is contended, could not be eliminated.[20] Tables 2 and 3 summarize the results of the test.

Collapsing the first and second rows of Tables 2 and 3 and comparing the per-

[20] The data placed severe limitations upon the achievement of any more satisfactory test, largely owing to the fact that the entire range of findings reported here was unanticipated at the inception of the research. For a discussion of the adequacy of the criteria used and the test itself see Stone, *op. cit.*, pp. 124–28.

sonalizing consumers with the other types taken as a whole permitted the application of the chi-square test of significance to the ensuing fourfold distributions. The results allow the conclusion that a *significantly larger proportion of personalizing consumers had established subjective identifications with the Northwest Side without or with little apparent basis than had consumers of the other three types taken together*.[21] Consequently, the hypothesis was retained.

The hypothesis has important implications for urban social psychology. That field has perhaps been concerned too long with the disintegrative effects or the dysfunctions of urbanism. Urban sociologists have documented with an admirable meticulousness the difficulties accompanying urban living and the obstacles in the path of achieving moral consensus in the metropolis. But they have failed to explain the obvious fact that people in goodly numbers do manage to live and survive in urban environments and that, among many of them, there is a patent sense of identification with the metropolis.

Durkheim observed long ago that the family was being replaced by occupational groupings as the seat of moral consensus in the organically solidary society.[22] How-

ever, it may be more sagacious not to single out any one nexus of human relations and attribute to it the function of generating consensus in the mass society. Instead, one might observe that life in the metropolis is largely routinized and that relationships bearing many of the qualities that Cooley spoke of as primary in nature may be established in any area of life where

TABLE 3

BASIS FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF CONSUMERS FAVORABLY DISPOSED TO CHICAGO'S NORTHWEST SIDE

OBJECTIVE BASIS FOR COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION	TYPE OF CONSUMERS				
	Economic	Personalizing	Ethical	Apathetic	Total
No apparent basis..	2	3	.....	.....	5
Little apparent basis	3	6	.....	2	11
Some apparent basis	2	5	7	4	18
Apparent basis....	3	2	2	4	11
Total..........	10	16	9	10	45

communication is frequent and regular. Such relationships can have the function of integrating the person with the larger society in which he lives.

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE

[21] The level of significance and degree of association for the two distributions are $(p < .02; T = .36)$ and $(p < .05; T = .32)$ respectively—a relatively high degree of significance and association for such a small number of cases.

[22] Émile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, trans. George Simpson (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1947), Preface to the Second Edition, pp. 1–31.

THE NEGRO OFFENDER: AN URBAN RESEARCH PROJECT[1]

WILLIAM M. KEPHART

ABSTRACT

More than half the district patrolmen of Philadelphia find it "necessary" to be more strict with Negro than with white offenders. Statistical analysis shows, however, that the patrolmen who practice differential treatment are also those who have unfavorable opinions about Negro policemen, implying that the treatment of the Negro offender is not entirely a product of the latter's belligerency.

The present paper deals with the interaction between white policemen and Negro offenders and is part of a larger survey dealing with racial factors and law enforcement. Some data were collected from other cities, but the interviews and statistics reported here were gathered from members of the Philadelphia police force, and the results are applicable only to that organization.

The present phase of the survey involved a series of preliminary interviews with policemen of all ranks, a program of comprehensive interviews at administrative and command levels, and a printed questionnaire distributed to all district (precinct) patrolmen. All the administrative personnel—commissioner, deputy commissioners, chief inspectors—were interviewed, as were the large majority of commanding officers—inspectors, captains, lieutenants. Interviews averaged about an hour each and were carried on either in unit headquarters or at the men's homes in the evening.

Printed questionnaires were distributed to all white patrolmen assigned to district duty. The project had received a rather substantial backing from local groups, including the Fraternal Order of Police, and the response to the questionnaires was fairly successful:

cessful: 1,081 (51.5 per cent) of the 2,101 questionnaires distributed were returned. (Interested readers may write to the Greenfield Center for copies.)

THE PHILADELPHIA SITUATION

The Negro population in Philadelphia has grown from 7 per cent in 1920 to a currently estimated 20 per cent. By all the signs, the Negro crime rate is staggering: more than half of all arrests involve Negro violators. All police personnel interviewed are highly cognizant of the disproportionate arrest rate in Negro areas and, with relatively few exceptions, place the burden of blame upon the Negro. The general belief is that Negro criminality is explainable neither in terms of low economic status nor on the basis of differential treatment by the police or by the courts but is attributable to the prevalence of low moral standards and a looseness in community organization, above which the Negro is making too little effort to lift himself. This point of view can be seen from the following statements made by police commanders:

The crime problem in Philadelphia is largely a Negro problem. . . . Criminals and ex-cons are heroes in some colored neighborhoods. . . . Suppose you have two towns, one white, and the other colored. Then suppose all the cops in both towns took a holiday for a few weeks. The white town would go on . . . people would keep themselves pretty much in line. But the colored town would be like a jungle in a couple of weeks.

There's no doubt about it. The Negro is a menace to this city. . . . Look at the court figures and you'll see what I mean.

Our big headaches come mainly from Negro neighborhoods. More and more it's getting like Harlem. Over in New York the police have just about given up. In our district here, Negroes are better off than they ever were. What happens? Instead of going down, crime rates go up!

Check the records at City Hall for the serious crimes—armed robbery, burglary, homicide—you'll find 70 to 80 per cent of them Negroes. We've had a lot of immigrant groups in this city—they never caused much trouble. . . . Did you ever hear of a Chinese getting arrested? They take care of their own criminals. Nothing like that among the colored, though—they just don't seem to think anything's wrong—just blame it on the whites.

Whatever the reason for the high Negro crime rate, a high percentage of Philadelphia policemen blame the Negro community as such. In spite of the prevalence of crime in Negro areas, however, at the time of the study little effort was being made, by either Negroes or police, to take any positive intracommunity action.

Since the Negro arrest rate is high and the number of Negro police relatively small, a large share of all arrests involve a white patrolman and a Negro offender. Therefore, it is no wonder that allegations of "race prejudice" coupled with "police brutality" are fairly common. These reports are carried by the Negro press, and the latter, together with groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People demand an "investigation."

COMMANDING OFFICERS

On the interview schedule for commanding officers the question pertaining to the Negro offender was, "In your opinion, is the Negro law violator harder to handle than the white violator?" The majority of commanders answered in the affirmative, and the following responses are probably a fair representation:

Oh, sure they are . . . when a policeman makes an arrest, he doesn't want any trouble. He's just doing his duty; he has to bring the man in. But a colored man seems to want to make a fuss. He starts to swing. The arresting officer has no alternative but to use force.

Negroes . . . too often have a chip on their shoulders. We had a case last week. Two (white) patrolmen were bringing in a young colored boy . . . and they're walking up the steps out there. All of a sudden this colored kid shoves the officer in front of him and kicks the one behind him—right in the groin—knocked the cop down the steps. Sure, when they got through with him, the colored boy is in the hospital. Some colored outfit took pictures of him—head all in bandages. They yelled about race prejudice and discrimination and police brutality. They never even asked for our side of it.

The following response is believed to be especially significant, since this particular commander is well thought of in the Negro community, being one of the very few district commanders who had established himself as a "friend of the Negroes":

It's true. As a group, Negroes are more pugnacious when they're arrested. You know me well enough to take my word for it. Some of the Negro leaders know it, too, although some of them don't want to know it; they'd rather blame it on the cops. Very few patrolmen like to use force—on anybody. Why should they? It's dangerous for themselves. The chances are 98 in 100 that when you read of a case where a colored offender was brutally treated, the colored man started it. Of course, there's more to it than meets the eye. It's like this: a colored offender is released from the station house. He tells his friends he was beat up by a white cop —maybe he has marks to prove it. He tells his side of the story, of course, not the cop's side. Anyway, word gets around the neighborhood. Then when a colored boy does get picked up, he expects to be beaten and acts up. I've seen some young kids (Negroes) come in here frightened to death. I've talked with them—explained that nobody's going to hurt them. I don't know what the answer is. I think the Negro press plays up the wrong angle. Sometimes they hurt things instead of helping. It's got so now that some white cops hate to arrest a Negro. They know if there's any trouble the press will play it up to look bad for the cop.

This interpretation seems reasonable, although questionnaire results indicate that it may be an oversimplification. It should be mentioned in passing that the Negro policemen also reported the Negro offender as being harder to handle.

WHITE PATROLMEN

On the questionnaires distributed to the white patrolmen the question relating to the Negro offender was, "In your daily experience have you found it necessary to be more strict with Negro law violators than with white violators?" The response was as follows $(N = 1,081)$: "Yes," 51.8 per cent; "No," 43.8 per cent; no answer, 4.4 per cent.

It is difficult to discover whether or not Negroes are victimized by white policemen. The above figures shed some light on the

TABLE 1

| | "In Your Daily Experience Have You Found It Necessary To Be More Strict with Negro Law Violators than with White Violators?" | | | |
	Per Cent "Yes"	Per Cent "No"	Per Cent No Opinion	No. of Cases
"Would you have any objection to riding with a Negro patrolman?"				
"Yes".........	65.4	32.1	2.5	643
"No".........	29.0	65.9	5.1	355
No opinion...	43.3	39.8	16.9	83
Total......	51.8	43.8	4.4	1,081

Chi square = 118.22; P less than .001.

problem; a majority of the white patrolmen stated that they were more strict with Negro than with white offenders. They also stated—in comments written in on the questionnaire—that this differential treatment is "necessary" because of the contentiousness and belligerency of the Negro offender:

Yes, they seem more belligerent and take the attitude that they are being picked on because of their color.

Yes, you must keep your eye on them, otherwise they would steal your badge.

Yes, let the Negro think you are the least bit afraid, then you have to get tough.

Yes, if you try to talk to them in a nice way they think you fear them and become arrogant.

DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT: A HYPOTHESIS

Although the above comments—as well as the previously quoted statements of district captains—may sound convincing, the fact remains that a substantial minority (43.8 per cent) of the white patrolmen do *not* find it necessary to be unduly strict with Negro offenders. Theoretically, this group of white patrolmen might be those who work in all-white districts and rarely have contact with Negro offenders. Actually, this held for only 5 per cent of the white patrolmen. A number of other variables—such as age, length of service, and education—were tested but found not statistically significant.

One area remained to be examined: the relationship between the white patrolman's opinions about Negro policemen and his treatment of the Negro law violator. The hypothesis to be tested was the following: White patrolmen who have unfavorable opinions about Negro policemen tend to be "more strict" with the Negro offender (relative to the white offender), while those whose opinions about Negro policemen are favorable tend to treat both Negro and white violators about the same.

For the purposes of this study, white patrolmen who signified that they object to riding in patrol cars with Negro patrolmen or object to taking orders from a well-qualified Negro commander or prefer not to have Negroes assigned to their district or believe that there are too many Negroes on the force are assumed to have opinions unfavorable to Negro patrolmen. White patrolmen who stated that they had no objections to such association with Negro patrolmen are assumed to have favorable opinions about Negro policemen. Data from the questionnaires support the hypothesis (Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4).

It is clear that the white patrolmen who "find it necessary to be more strict with Negro than with white violators" tend to object to riding with Negro partners, to object to taking orders from a well-qualified

Negro commander, to believe that there are too many Negroes on the force, or to prefer not to have Negroes assigned to their district.

Whereas 51.8 per cent of all white patrolmen are more strict with Negro than with

Negro policemen and Negro offenders. The writer leans toward the latter view, since, among other things, neither length of service nor amount of contact with Negro policemen *or* offenders correlated statistically with treatment of Negro offenders.

TABLE 2

| | "In Your Daily Experience Have You Found It Necessary To Be More Strict with Negro Law Violators than with White Violators?" | | | |
	Per Cent "Yes"	Per Cent "No"	Per Cent No Opinion	No. of Cases
"Which of the following statements expresses your own feelings?"				
a) It doesn't matter to me whether Negroes are assigned to my district...........	36.1	58.5	5.4	445
b) It doesn't matter to me whether Negroes are assigned to my district as long as I don't have to work with them........	68.8	29.5	1.7	305
c) I would prefer not to have any Negroes assigned to my district...............	67.2	29.2	3.6	168
d) No opinion on this.................	46.6	45.4	8.0	163
Total.............................	51.8	43.8	4.4	1,081

Chi square = 88.97; *P* less than .001.

white offenders, 65.4 per cent of the patrolmen who object to riding with Negro partners are more strict with Negro than with white offenders (Table 1). For patrolmen who prefer not to have Negroes assigned to their district the figure is 67.2 per cent (Table 2); for patrolmen who object to taking orders from a well-qualified Negro commander the figure is 71.5 per cent (Table 3); for patrolmen who believe there are too many Negroes on the force the figure is 76.3 per cent (Table 4).

Generally speaking, these figures can mean one (or a combination) of three things: (*a*) adverse experience with Negro policemen has conditioned these patrolmen against Negroes, hence the strictness with Negro offenders; (*b*) adverse experience with Negro offenders has conditioned these patrolmen against Negroes, hence the unfavorable opinions about Negro policemen; (*c*) these patrolmen have general anti-Negro feelings which are directed toward both

TABLE 3

| | "In Your Daily Experience Have You Found It Necessary To Be More Strict with Negro Law Violators than with White Violators?" | | | |
	Per Cent "Yes"	Per Cent "No"	Per Cent No Opinion	No. of Cases
"Would you, or do you, have any objections to taking orders from a Negro sergeant or captain if he were qualified?"				
"Yes"........	71.5	24.8	3.7	387
"No"........	40.4	55.4	4.2	578.
No opinion...	42.2	49.1	8.7	116
Total......	51.8	43.8	4.4	1,081

Chi square = 92.41; *P* less than .001.

If the hypothesis is correct—white patrolmen who have unfavorable opinions about Negro policemen evidence general anti-Negro feelings which are also reflected in a comparatively strict treatment of the Negro the interaction between white policemen and Negro law violators might be characterized as follows: In general, white patrolmen are inclined to be more strict in their dealings with Negro offenders than in their han-

TABLE 4

	"In Your Daily Experience Have You Found It Necessary To Be More Strict with Negro Law Violators than with White Violators?"			
	Per Cent "Yes"	Per Cent "No"	Per Cent No opinion	No. of Cases
"At the present time, which of the following expresses your opinion?"				
a) There are not enough Negroes on the force..	50.0	47.8	2.2	138
b) The number is about right...............	59.4	38.2	2.4	417
c) There are too many Negroes on the force...	76.3	21.0	2.7	114
d) No opinion on this point................	37.8	54.4	7.8	412
Total.................................	51.8	43.8	4.4	1,081

Chi square = 19.70; P less than .001.

offender—then the differential treatment accorded the Negro offender is not altogether a product of the latter's contentiousness.

On the basis of the Philadelphia findings, dling of white offenders. Negro offenders tend to resist arrest more often than do white offenders. These two tendencies fortify each other.

University of Pennsylvania

MARITAL ADJUSTMENT AND PREDICTION IN SWEDEN

HARVEY J. LOCKE AND VERNON A. SNOWBARGER

ABSTRACT

Marital-adjustment and marital-prediction test scores were determined for four groups in Sweden—happily married, general population, unhappily married, and separated couples. Mean scores for both marital adjustment and marital prediction formed a consistent rank order, with happily married at one end and separated at the other end of the continuum for both men and women. The differences between the means of the four groups were statistically significant in all instances. Correlations between marital-adjustment and marital-prediction test scores were also statistically significant for both men and women.

This article reports a study of marital adjustment and prediction in Sweden,[1] in which four groups are compared as to marital adjustment, marital prediction, and the degree of correlation between adjustment and prediction scores.

The questionnaire data were secured from a fairly representative sample of Uppsala, a city of 60,000. The 423 persons in the sample were almost exclusively husbands and their wives. The subjects were middle-aged, about forty; had been married about 11 years; were predominantly native-born; and resembled the general population in occupational status and education.

The following independent criteria were used to place the four groups along a marital-adjustment continuum: the first group, 90 couples, was *happily married* as judged by persons in a representative sample of couples in the general population who were asked for the names of those they knew fairly well and who were the most happily married known to them. The second group, 51 couples, consisted of a representative sample of couples in the *general population*. The third group, 38 couples, was *unhappily married* as judged by the happily married, who at the completion of the interview were asked for the names of the most unhappily married know to them. The fourth group,

26 couples, was secured from the registry list of persons who had applied for divorce and were separated during the required one-year waiting period. In addition, there were 13 interviews with the husband or the wife only, but not both. Of these, 1 was happily married, 1 was from the general population, and 11 were separated persons. Marital-adjustment and marital-prediction scores were computed for the happily married, general population, unhappily married, and separated cases.

Marital-adjustment and marital-prediction test scores were determined by the sum of the weights assigned given answers to the questions in the two respective tests. The weights assigned were determined from a graph[2] and depended on the degree of difference in percentages of two groups—happily married and separated cases—in their answers to each question. These groups were assumed to be on opposite ends of the marital-adjustment continuum. The procedure of determining weights by comparing two of the four groups is of particular importance, for thus the scores of persons in the other two groups—general population and unhappily married—were independent of the method of assigning weights to the questions.

The marital-adjustment test was composed of twenty-nine items and was almost the same as the test used by the senior author in his Indiana study. The mean mari-

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[1] An earlier article compared findings in Indiana with those in Sweden (Harvey J. Locke and Georg Karlsson, "Marital Adjustment and Prediction in Sweden and the United States," *American Sociological Review*, XVII [February, 1953], 10–17). The study was made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

[2] J. P. Guilford, *Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950), p. 50.

tal-adjustment scores are significantly dif-
ferent in the four groups.[3] There is a con-
sistent decline in the degree of adjustment
from happily married to separated for both
men and women. The mean scores for the
men of the happily married, general popula-
tion, unhappily married, and separated are,
respectively, 134.8, 130.7, 117.4, and 88.6;
for women, 154.4, 144.8, 124.6, and 86.8.
The higher scores for women are due to their
having a higher maximum possible score,
171 to 149.

The prediction scores reported below are
based on eighty-nine items, all of which were

TABLE 1

MEAN MARITAL-PREDICTION SCORES WITH
CRITICAL RATIOS BETWEEN HAPPILY
MARRIED AND THE OTHER GROUPS

Group	Mean Score of Men	C.R.	Mean Score of Women	C.R.
Happily married.	. 389	....	401	....
General popula- tion..........	384	2.9	388	3.9
Unhappily mar- ried..........	379	3.9	378	6.1
Separated......	353	12.2	342	15.4

found to be statistically significant in
Locke's Indiana study. The groups of items
and the number of each are as follows:
courtship (2), parental influence (5), feel-
ings during periods of difficulty (10), sex
behavior (7), personality traits (16), socia-
bility (9), conventionality (2), equality of
spouses (2), common activities (10), the
leader in activities (6), impersonal things of
the household (15), and attitudes toward
economic activities (5).

There are two crucial questions regard-
ing the marital-prediction scores. The first
is: Do the mean marital-prediction scores
follow the pattern of the marital-adjust-
ment scores in falling along a consistent
rank order with happily married at one end
and separated at the other? The answer is
that the scores do form a consistent rank

order, with men and women having the
same sequence. Table 1 gives the mean pre-
diction scores of men and women of the
four groups, with the critical ratios of the
difference between the mean scores of three
groups and that of the happily married.
From highest to lowest mean scores the
sequence is happily married, general popula-
tion, unhappily married, and separated.

It will be seen that the respective scores
for men are 389, 384, 379, and 353; and for
women, 401, 388, 378, and 342. The higher
scores for women are due to their maximum
possible score being 467, while for the men
the maximum is only 449. The table shows
that the critical ratios of the differences be-
tween the mean score of the happily married
and the other three groups are statistically
significant on the 5 per cent level or better.[4]

A second question is: Does the marital-
prediction test successfully differentiate
between the groups which were not involved
in the weighting procedure; namely, the
general population and the unhappily mar-
ried. Table 2 gives the critical ratios be-

TABLE 2

CRITICAL RATIOS BETWEEN MEAN SCORES OF
GENERAL POPULATION AND UNHAPPILY
MARRIED, AND THE OTHER GROUPS

Group	General Population Group		Unhappily Married Cases	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Happily married.	2.9	3.9	3.9	6.1
General popula- tion..........	....	....	1.7	2.4
Unhappily mar- ried..........	1.7	2.4	....	....
Separated......	9.7	10.9	7.1	7.9

tween the mean prediction score of the gen-
eral population group and the other three
groups and also between the mean scores of
the unhappily married and the other groups.
In all cases except one the differences are
statistically significant. Here the critical ra-
tio of the differences between men of the un-

[3] Critical ratios ranged from 2.0 to 17.0.

[4] The 5 per cent level was selected for this study.

happily married and general population groups—1.7—is on the 9 rather than on the 5 per cent level of significance, establishing that the marital-prediction test does place the "new" groups—general population and unhappily married—in rank order between the happily married and the separated cases.

The second major question of the present study is: What is the degree of correlation between the marital-adjustment scores and marital-predictions scores of the groups involved in the study? To answer this question, correlations between marital-adjustment and marital-prediction scores were computed for men and also for women in the four groups and for these combined into a single group (Table 3).

It is clear from the table that the correlations between the marital-adjustment and marital-prediction test scores are relatively high for all five groups for both men and women. For men of the four groups—happily married, general population, unhappily married, and separated—the correlations are, respectively, .33, .43, .65, and .57; and for women, .58, .62, .66, and .43. The correlation for the entire 210 men in the study is .75, and for the 213 women, .82. These correlations are all statistically significant at the 5 per cent level.

The fact that there are significant correlations between marital-prediction and marital-adjustment test scores, of course, does not mean that the investigators fore-

cast the degree of adjustment in these marriages from the prediction scores. All the correlations show is that the subjects answered the twenty-nine adjustment questions in a way highly related to their answers on the eighty-nine predictive items. A subsequent study might give the prediction test to a group of subjects and then actually forecast the degree of adjustment

TABLE 3

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MARITAL-PREDICTION AND MARITAL-ADJUSTMENT SCORES

GROUP	MEN		WOMEN	
	No. of Cases	r	No. of Cases	r
Happily married...	90	.33	91	.58
General population	51	.43	52	.62
Unhappily married	38	.65	38	.66
Separated........	31	.57	32	.43
All cases combined........	210	.75	213	.82

of these subjects in their marriages. From the above analysis it seems likely that from such a study one would be able to forecast fairly well from marital-prediction test scores the degree of marital adjustment at a later time.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE
AND
BETHANY-PENIEL COLLEGE

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PATAI'S *ISRAEL BETWEEN EAST AND WEST*

April 23, 1954

To the Editor:

In the editing of my review of Raphael Patai's book *Israel between East and West* (*American Journal of Sociology*, LIX, No. 5 [March, 1954], 507), passages were omitted which, in my humble opinion, cut the heart out of the review. The reader still finds a description of the book's content, but he misses a critical appraisal, which I here briefly restate.

First, Patai believes that the retention of oriental cultural values is desirable, and he considers these values to be chiefly esthetic, contemplative, fatalistic, and religious. However, he establishes these values only for the Yemenite Jews. Observers doubt whether they could be equally established for other oriental groups, for instance Kurds and Moroccans, or for Sefardic communities, such as the Jews from Greece or Bulgaria. On the other hand, as for the one set of values which is most clearly established for all oriental and Sefardic groups, namely religion, Patai has misgivings. He fears clericalism yet rejects religious liberalism, thus actually advocating secularization and deculturation.

Second, Patai seems to favor cultural pluralism but plays down the more powerful reality of cultural fusion. The main sociocultural problem of Israel is likely to be not so much the retention of the oriental cultural heritage among the oriental Jewish groups in Isreal as the incorporation of this heritage in the total fabric of Israeli life. If in the not too distant future, people of oriental Jewish parentage are strongly represented in the arts, sciences, professions, in business, parliament, and government service, Israel will become a unified national-cultural society. If, however, only a tiny few of them rise against the considerable obstacles, while the vast majority remain hewers of wood and drawers of water, then ethnic and socioeconomic cleavages will reinforce each other to militate against national unity. Again, if the process of integration and nation-making is effective, then Western instrumentalities and even modes of thinking will not prevent a profound orientalization of Israeli culture as a whole. Japan and Mexico are examples of this two-faced process of integration.

WERNER J. CAHNMAN

Forest Hills, L.I., N.Y.

HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIOLOGY, 1953

According to reports received by the *Journal* from sixty-eight departments of sociology in the United States and Canada offering graduate instruction, 141 doctoral degrees and 305 Master's degrees in sociology were conferred in the calendar year 1953.

DOCTOR'S DEGREES

Samuel Adams, A.B., A.M. Fisk, 1940, 1947. "The Changing Organization of Negro Plantation Society: With Attention to Implications for the Pattern of Race Accommodation." *Chicago.*

Franz Adler, Dr.Jr. Vienna, 1933; M.A. American, 1942. "A Quantitative Study in the Sociology of Knowledge." *Wisconsin.*

Manuel Alers-Montalvo, B.S. City College of New York, 1941; M.A. Columbia, 1951. "San Juan Norte: A Costa Rican Village (A Study in Cultural Change)." *Michigan State College.*

Theodore Robert Anderson, B.A. Minnesota, 1948; M.A. Wisconsin, 1951. "Characteristics of Metropolitan Subregions Associated with Intermetropolitan Migration, 1935–40." *Wisconsin.*

George M. Beal, B.S., M.S. Iowa State College, 1943, 1947. "Factors Related to Farmer Cooperatives." *Iowa State College.*

Frederick J. Berezin, A.B., A.M. Chicago, 1942, 1947. "Alcohol and Society: An Introduction to a Study of Some Cultural Factors Affecting the Use of Alcoholic Beverages." *Syracuse.*

Jean K. Boek, B.S. Cornell, 1946; M.A. Michigan State College, 1947. "Sociological Factors as Related to Nutrition." *Michigan State College.*

Eleanor S. Boll, B.S.Ed., A.M. Pennsylvania, 1932, 1942. "Ritual in Family Living." *Pennsylvania.*

John O'Hara Boynton, A.B., M.A. Florida State College for Women, 1934, 1946. "A Theory of the Poor White: A Study in Race Relations." *Duke.*

Maxwell R. Brooks, B.S.Ed. Wilberforce, 1932; M.A. Ohio State, 1937. "Content Analysis of Leading Negro Newspapers." *Ohio State.*

Waldo W. Burchard, A.B., M.A. California (Berkeley), 1949, 1951. "The Role of the Military Chaplain." *California (Berkeley).*

Mary Bess Cameron, B.A., M.A. Indiana, 1937, 1938. "Department-Store Shoplifting." *Indiana.*

Max L. Carruth, B.S., M.S. Utah, 1947, 1948. "Adjustment to Fifty Mormon Golden-Wedding Couples Living in Salt Lake City." *Utah.*

Robert B. Carver, A.B. Notre Dame, 1942; M.A. Pittsburgh, 1947. "The Reorganization of Family Life Patterns in Two Pittsburgh Suburban Developments." *Pittsburgh.*

Ames W. Chapman, B.A. Southern, 1940; A.M. Pennsylvania, 1942. "Attitudes toward Legal Agencies of Authority for Juveniles: A Comparative Study of 133 Delinquent and 133 Nondelinquent Boys in Dayton, Ohio." *Ohio State.*

Walter Cobb, A.B. Wyoming, 1940; M.A. Southern California, 1947. "Stereotypes of Selected White College Students concerning Negroes." *Southern California.*

Richard James Coughlin, B.S. State Teachers College (Buffalo), 1941; M.A. Yale, 1950. "The Chinese in Bangkok." *Yale.*

William James Cousins, B.A. Yale, 1944. "A Role Analysis of Negro-White Relations." *Yale.*

Leila Calhoun Deasy, B.A. Georgia State College for Women, 1945; M.A. Kentucky, 1947. "Social Mobility in Northtown." *Cornell.*

Lewis Diana, A.B. Harvard, 1949; M.A. Pittsburgh, 1952. "The Treatment of Delinquents in Allegheny County: An Evaluation of the Juvenile Court." *Pittsburgh.*

Hugo Otto Engelmann, B.A. Wisconsin, 1941. "Methodological and Philosophical Bases of Social Scientific Theory." *Wisconsin.*

Dean G. Epley, B.S., M.A. Kent State, 1947, 1950. "Adolescent Role Relationship in the Dynamics of Prejudice." *Michigan State College.*

Ellen Z. Erchul, B.E. Minnesota, 1938; M.S.W. Tulane, 1943. "A Comparative Analysis of the Sociological Methods of Frédéric Le Play and Émile Durkheim." *Southern California.*

Bernard Farber, A.B. Central YMCA College, 1943; A.M. Chicago, 1949. "Rating Scale as a Prediction Instrument." *Chicago.*

Paul H. Fischer, A.B. California, 1948; M.A. Southern California, 1950. "A Sociological and Statistical Analysis of Selected Primary Groups." *Southern California.*

Jerome D. Folkman, A.B. Cincinnati, 1925. "Patterns of Social Interaction Related to Certain Psychosomatic Diseases." *Ohio State.*

Clinton L. Folse, B.S., M.A. Louisiana State, 1932, 1935. "Differential Fertility in Illinois, 1940." *Louisiana State.*

Rev. David H. Fosselmann, A.B. Notre Dame, 1939; M.S.S.W. Catholic, 1947. "Transitions in the Development of a Downtown Parish." *Catholic.*

Sherwood Dean Fox, A.B., M.A. Harvard, 1939, 1947. "Voluntary Associations and Social Structure." *Harvard.*

Martha Ellen Foy, B.S.Ed. Greenville College, 1939; M.Litt. Pittsburgh, 1943. "The Negro in the Courts: A Study in Race Relations." *Pittsburgh.*

Eugene Friedmann, M.A. Chicago, 1949. "Voluntary Retirement and the Meaning of Work." *Chicago.*

Gilbert Lawrence Geis, B.A. Colgate, 1947; M.S. Brigham Young, 1949. "American Motion Pictures in Norway: A Study in International Mass Communications." *Wisconsin.*

Erving Goffman, B.A. Toronto, 1945. "Rules regarding Social Interaction in a Rural Community." *Chicago.*

David Gold, A.B., A.M. Iowa, 1947, 1948. "The Influence of Religious Affiliation on Voting Behavior." *Chicago.*

Rose Kohn Goldsen, B.A. New York, 1943; M.A. Yale, 1944. "Puerto Rican Migration to New York City." *Yale.*

Sidney Goldstein, B.A., M.A. Connecticut, 1949, 1951. "Patterns of Internal Migration, Norristown, Pennsylvania, 1910–50." *Pennsylvania.*

Alvin W. Gouldner, B.B.A. City College of New York, 1942; M.A. Columbia, 1945. "Industry and Bureaucracy." *Columbia.*

James Wyche Green, B.S., M.S. Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1938, 1939. "The Farm-house Building Process in North Carolina." *North Carolina.*

John Taylor Gullahorn, A.B., M.A. Southern California, 1937, 1945. "Social Tensions in Labor Union Relationships." *Harvard.*

William Dunn Hackett, B.A. Drury College, 1936; M.A. Kennedy School of Missions, 1941. "The Pa-o People of the Shan State, Union of Burma: A Sociological and Ethnographic Study of the Pa-o (Taungthu) People." *Cornell.*

Fathalla Halloul, B.S. Alexandria (Egypt) 1946; M.S. Cornell, 1950. "Social Changes in the Slaterville Springs–Brooktondale Area, Tompkins County, New York, 1926–51." *Cornell.*

Edwin Ruben Hartz, A.B. Southwestern Missouri Teachers College, 1933; B.D., A.M. Duke, 1937, 1938. "The Role of the Institute in the Family-Life Education Movement." *Duke.*

Robert Karl Heimann, A.B. Princeton, 1948. "The Influence of Selected Variables on Trade-Association Membership in the United States, 1920–50." *New York.*

Alexander Jeremiah Humphreys, S.J., A.B., M.A. Gonzaga, 1937, 1938. "New Dubliners: A Study of the Effects of Urbanization upon the Irish Family." *Harvard.*

Rivera G. Jimenez, M.A. Columbia, 1934. "Panama in Transition." *Columbia.*

Arthur L. Johnson, A.B. Gustavus Adolphus College, 1941. "A Study of the Applicability of Selected Marital Success Criteria in Certain Population Groups." *Minnesota.*

Walter Lorraine Johnson, B.A., M.A. Yale, 1948, 1949. "The Social Adjustments of Contemporary American Merchant Seamen." *Yale.*

Lee Roy Just, A.B. Tabor College, 1947; A.M. Kansas, 1948. "An Analysis of the Social Distance Reactions of Students from the Three Major American Mennonite Groups." *Southern California.*

Suzanne Keller, A.B. Hunter College, 1948; M.A. Columbia, 1948. "Social Origins and Career Lines of Three Generations of American Business Leaders." *Columbia.*

Norbert Lawrence Kelly, Jr., A.B. Carnegie Institute of Technology, 1939; M.A. North Carolina, 1947. "An Exploratory Analysis of Problem Drinking in North Carolina with Special Emphasis on Institutional Treatment." *North Carolina.*

William Henry Key, A.B. Southwest Missouri State College, 1942; M.A. Washington (St. Louis), 1951. "Rural-Urban Differences in Social Participation." *Washington (St. Louis)*.

Harry Vincent Kincaid, A.B. California (Santa Barbara), 1949; M.A. Stanford, 1951. "Urbanism and Dependency: A Test of a Value Theory in Rural Sociology." *Stanford*.

Bernard C. Kirby, A.B. Denison, 1929; M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1950. "A Parole Prediction Study Using the Discriminant Function." *Washington (Seattle)*.

Henry David Kirk, B.S. City College of New York, 1948; M.A. Cornell, 1950. "Community Sentiments in Relation to Child Adoption." *Cornell*.

William Klausner, A.B. Redlands, 1941; A.M. Southern California, 1948. "The Relationship of Articulatory Disorders to Marital Adjustment and Parental Permissiveness in a Selected School District of Southern California." *Southern California*.

Michael Kolivosky, B.S. Lock Haven State Teachers College, 1940; M.A. Michigan State College, 1946. "The Integration of Two Divergent Groups as Measured by Specific Attitudes toward an Actual Participation." *Michigan State College*.

William Kornhauser, A.B., A.M. Chicago, 1948, 1950. "Organizational Loyalty: A Study of Liberal and Radical Political Careers." *Chicago*.

Louis Kriesberg, Ph.B., A.M. Chicago, 1948, 1950. "Steel Distributors and the American Government: A Study in National Cohesion." *Chicago*.

Thomas Ktsanes, A.B. Elmhurst College, 1941; M.A. Northwestern, 1952. "Complementary Needs in Mate Selection: A Study Based upon an Empirical Typology of Personality." *Northwestern*.

Kurt Lang, A.B., A.M. Chicago, 1949, 1952. "MacArthur Day: A Study in Political Observation and Perspectives." *Chicago*.

Russell Langworthy, B.A. Alfred, 1949; M.A. Yale, 1950. "Formal-Informal Leadership Relations in a New England High School." *Yale*.

Thomas Lasswell, B.A. Arkansas, 1940; M.S. Southern California, 1947. "Status Stratification in a Selected Community." *Southern California*.

Theodore I. Lenn, A.B., A.M. New York, 1938, 1941. "Social Stratification and the Edu-cative Process: An Experimental Study in Pre-service Teacher Education." *New York*.

Sol Levine, A.B. Queens College, 1942. "Occupation and Personality: The Relationship between Social Factors of the Job and Human Orientedness." *New York*.

Fu Ju Liu, B.A. National Southwestern, 1939; M.S. Columbia, 1947. "Demographic Comparison of Native-born and Foreign-born Chinese Population in the United States." *Michigan State College*.

Francis Ernest Lowe, B.A. Minnesota, 1948; M.A. Wisconsin, 1950. "The Measurement of the Influence of Formal and Informal Leaders of Public Opinion during the 1950 Senatorial Election Campaign in Madison, Wisconsin." *Wisconsin*.

Elmer G. Luchterhand, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1948, 1949. "Prisoner Behavior and Social System in Nazi Concentration Camps." *Wisconsin*.

Lloyd Wise McCorkle, A.B. Juanitz College, 1940. "The Treatment of the Persistent Offender in Penal Policy in the United States." *New York*.

Raymond Wright Mack, B.A. Baldwin-Wallace College, 1949; M.A. North Carolina, 1951. "The System of Social Relations in a Small Group: A Case Study of Social Organization." *North Carolina*.

Charles D. McGlamery, B.S., M.S. Oklahoma A. & M. College, 1942, 1950. "Social Acceptance, Personal Adjustment, and Communication Efficiency in Military Work Careers." *Washington (Seattle)*.

James B. McKee, B.A., M.A. Wayne, 1943, 1948. "Organized Labor and Community Decision-making: A Study in the Sociology of Power." *Wisconsin*.

John C. McKinney, A.B., M.A. Colorado State College of Education, 1946, 1947. "Systematic Sociological Theory in the United States: An Exposition Analysis and Synthesis of the Methodological and Substantive Theories of George H. Mead, Talcott Parsons, and George A. Lundberg." *Michigan State College*.

Thomas S. McPartland, B.A. Coe College, 1947; M.A. Iowa, 1951. "The Self and Social Structure: An Empirical Approach." *Iowa*.

W. E. Mann, B.A., M.A. Toronto, 1942, 1943. "Social Conditions Underlying the Growth of Religious Sects in Calgary, Alberta." *Toronto*.

James Joseph Maslowski, B.A., M.A. Washington State College, 1949, 1950. "North Carolina Migration, 1870–1950." *North Carolina.*

Ward Sherman Mason, A.B. Duke, 1948; M.A. Harvard, 1950. "A Method of Scaling Cultural Orientations." *Harvard.*

Margaret Hart Benson Matson, A.B. Missouri, 1936. "Selection of Academic Careers." *Pennsylvania State.*

Veronica S. Maz, A.B., M.Litt. Pittsburgh, 1947, 1949. "A Sociological Analysis of the Potentialities for Educational Television in Pittsburgh: A Comparative Study of Listening, Viewing, and Reading." *Pittsburgh.*

Faye Higier von Mering, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1943; A.M. Chicago, 1947. "Mother-Child Relationships among Educated and Professionally Active Women." *Radcliffe College.*

Herbert J. Miles, A.B. Westminster College (Fulton, Mo.), 1932; M.A. Baylor, 1949. "The Taxicab Driver." *Missouri.*

D. Paul Miller, A.B. Goshen College, 1947; M.A. Nebraska, 1950. "An Analysis of Community Adjustment: A Case Study of Jansen, Nebraska." *Nebraska.*

Raymond H. Miller, B.A. Rollins College, 1934; M.A. Kentucky, 1937. "Migration within Louisiana, 1935–40." *Louisiana State.*

Horace William Mooney, B.A. California (Berkeley), 1947; M.A. Washington, 1949. "Some Factors Associated with Negro-White Differentials." *Michigan.*

William F. Moore, A.B. Wofford College, 1940; B.D. Emory, 1940; M.A. Ohio Wesleyan, 1947. "The Status of the Negro in Cleveland, Ohio." *Ohio State.*

Katherine M. Murphy, B.S. New York, 1939; M.A. Fordham, 1943. "The Status of Women in Communist, Fascist, and Liberal Society. *Fordham.*

Maurice Alexander Natanson, B.A. Lincoln Memorial, 1945; M.A. New York, 1948; Ph.D. Nebraska, 1950. "George H. Mead: Social Scientist and Philosopher." *New School.*

Leona Nelson, A.B., A.M. Butler, 1938, 1943. "Sociological Study of a Church-related College." *Chicago.*

Rev. James T. Nolan, B.A. St. Joseph's Seminary, 1933; M.A. Fordham, 1942. "The Status of the Catholic Minority in Northern Ireland." *Fordham.*

Lawrence K. Northwood, A.B. Wayne, 1947.

"The Relating Ability of Leaders and Nonleaders as Expert Judges of Facts and Opinions Held by Members of the Community of Which They Are a Part." *Michigan.*

Mohamed Abdel Monam Nour, A.B. American University (Cairo), 1946; M.Sc. Louisville, 1950. "An Analytical Study of the Sociological Thought of Ibn Khaldun." *Kentucky.*

Thomas Francis O'Dea, A.B., M.A. Harvard, 1949, 1951. "Mormon Values: The Significance of a Religious Outlook for Social Action." *Harvard.*

Michael Seymour Olmsted, A.B. Harvard, 1944; M.Ed. Graduate Teachers College of Winnetka, 1945; M.A. Harvard, 1950. "Small-Group Interaction as a Function of Group Norms." *Harvard.*

Louis H. Orzack, B.S. City College of New York, 1943; M.A. Columbia, 1948. "Employment and Social Structure: A Study of Social Change in Indiana." *Indiana.*

Charles Harrison Parmer, M.Ed. Millersville State Teachers College, 1938. "The Relation between Scores on the McHugh Inventory and Self-rating of Marital Satisfaction." *Pennsylvania State.*

Judson B. Pearson, A.B., M.A. Colorado, 1946, 1949. "American Business Leaders: Social Characteristics and Occupational Ascent." *Washington (Seattle).*

Michael P. Penetar, B.A. Scranton, 1942; M.A. Catholic, 1947. "The Social Thought of the Catholic Worker on the Negro." *Catholic.*

Samuel A. Pratt, B.S. Connecticut, 1942; M.A. Michigan State College, 1948. "The Impact of Transportation Change and of Flint Metropolitan Expansion on the Linden Community: A Case Study of Economic Change from 1900 to 1950." *Michigan.*

Bruce Pringle, A.B. California (Berkeley), 1948; A.M. Southern California, 1949. "The Relationship between Elements in the Social Situation and Combat Leadership Behavior in the United States Air Force." *Southern California.*

George Ragland, B.A. Colored A & N, 1938; M.A. Iowa, 1939. "Attitudes of High-School Seniors in a Number of Selected Communities toward Marriage, Sex, and Parenthood as Correlated with Standard of Living and Subsequent Enrolment or Nonenrolment in College." *Iowa.*

Beatrice Carol Raisin, A.B. New Jersey College for Women (Rutgers), 1931; A.M.

Southern California, 1938. "Factors Associated with Parole Adjustment in an Area of New Jersey." *New York.*

Duane VanDyke Ramsey, M.A. Chicago, 1929. "Decision-making in a Trade-Union." *Pennsylvania State.*

C. Wilson Record, A.B. Central College (Chicago), 1941; M.A. California (Berkeley), 1949. "The Role of the Negro Intellectuals in Contemporary Racial Movements." *California (Berkeley).*

Ira Leonard Reiss, M.A. Columbia, 1951. "The Point of View of the Actor: A Problem in Recent American Sociology." *Pennsylvania State.*

Sherman L. Ricards, Jr., B.S.Ed. Trenton State Teachers College, 1942; A.M. Pennsylvania, 1947. "Migration in the Philadelphia Subregion, 1935–40." *Pennsylvania.*

Irwin Rinder, A.B. Idaho, 1947; A.M. Chicago, 1950. "Types of Jewish Identification and the Race-Relation Cycle." *Chicago.*

Morris Rosenberg, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1946; M.A. Columbia, 1950. "Occupational Values and Occupational Choice." *Columbia.*

Julian Samora, A.B. Adams State College, 1942; M.S. Colorado A. & M. College, 1947. "Minority Leadership in a Bicultural Community." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Egbert F. Schietinger, A.B., A.M. Chicago, 1940, 1948. "Racial Succession and Changing Property Values in Residential Chicago." *Chicago.*

Robert J. Schmidt, B.S. Minot State Teachers College, 1946, M.S. Iowa State College, 1949. "Sociological Factors Affecting the Life of Churches in a Metropolitan Area." *Pittsburgh.*

Ellis L. Scott, B.Sc.Ed. Ohio State, 1947. "Status Reciprocity and Organizational Behavior." *Ohio State.*

John Scott, A.B. Springfield College, 1942; A.M. Chicago, 1948. "Race and Culture Contact in a Southeastern Alaskan Community." *Chicago.*

Albert J. Shafter, B.A., M.A. Southern Illinois, 1948, 1949. "Release Procedures Used in the Vocational Placement of Institutionalized Mental Defectives." *Iowa State College.*

Fred J. Shanley, A.B. Notre Dame, 1935; M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1949. "An Empirical Test of the Efficiency of Selected Methods of Forecasting University Enrolments." *Washington (Seattle).*

Abraham Joseph Simon, A.B. City College of New York, 1931. "Social Agency Adoption: A Psychosociological Study." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Ozzie Norman Simpkins, A.B., M.A. Marshall College, 1947, 1948. "Magic in Modern Society: A Situational Analysis." *North Carolina.*

Ram Singh, B.A., M.A. Allahabad, 1945, 1947; B.D. Yale, 1950. "The Impact of Industrialization on Indian Culture." *North Carolina.*

Paul Shan-Paang Siu, A.B. Chicago, 1936. "The Chinese Laundryman: A Study of Social Isolation." *Chicago.*

Marshall Sklare, Diploma, College of Jewish Studies, 1942; M.A. Chicago, 1948. "Conservative Judaism: A Sociological Analysis." *Columbia.*

Gordon F. Streib, B.A. North Central College (Naperville, Ill.), 1941; M.S.S. New School, 1947. "Patterns of Communication among the Navaho Indians." *Columbia.*

James Samuel Thomas, B.A. Claflin College, 1939; B.D. Gammon Theological Seminary, 1943; M.A. Drew, 1944. "A Study of the Social Role of the Negro Rural Pastor in Four Selected Southern Areas." *Cornell.*

James David Thompson, B.S., M.A. Indiana, 1941, 1947. "A Structure of Authority and Power in Two Military Organizations." *North Carolina.*

John E. Tsouderas, A.B., M.A. Minnesota, 1948, 1950. "The Formalization Process of the Social Structure in Voluntary Associations." *Minnesota.*

Eugene Uyeki, A.B. Oberlin, 1948; A.M. Chicago, 1952. "Process and Patterns of Nisei Adjustment to Chicago." *Chicago.*

Richard Videbeck, A.B. Dana College, 1948; M.A. Nebraska, 1949. "An Empirico-theoretical Study of Social Stratification." *Nebraska.*

Kenneth Cameron Wagner, A.B. Augustana College, 1944; M.A. Wisconsin, 1949. "Some Latent Functions of an Executive Control: A Sociological Analysis of a Social System under Stress." *North Carolina.*

George Regis Walter, A.B. Juniata College, 1940; M.Litt. Pittsburgh, 1948. "Human Relations and Brickmaking: A Sociological Analysis of a One-Industry Community." *Pittsburgh.*

Cheng Wang, A.B., M.A. Stanford, 1930, 1931.

"The Kuomingtang: A Sociological Study of Demoralization." *Stanford.*

Charles Warriner, A.B. Hillsdale, 1942; A.M. Chicago, 1948. "Leadership and Society: Social Change and Changing Leadership in Three Small Communities." *Chicago.*

Chandler Washburne, B.S., M.A. Michigan State College, 1948, 1950. "Involvement as a Basis for Stress Analysis: A Study of High-School Teachers." *Michigan State College.*

Norman Foster Washburne, A.B. Missouri, 1947; A.M. New School, 1949. "Attitudes and Responses of Southern State College Students as Related to Their Residence in Urban Communities and to Their Socioeconomic Status." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Charles M. Westie, B.S. Central Michigan College, 1951; M.A. Ohio State, 1951. "Reactions of Railroad Workers to a Major Technological Change." *Ohio State.*

Charles F. Westoff, A.B., A.M. Syracuse, 1949, 1950. "The Interrelation of Fertility, Fertility Planning, and Feeling of Personal Inadequacy." *Pennsylvania.*

Constantine Yeracaris, A.M. Chicago, 1950. "Economic Differentials in Fertility and Mortality from Buffalo, 1940, Compared with Chicago." *Chicago.*

John Zadrozny, A.M. Chicago, 1946. "The Folk Ideology and the Ideologies of the Intelligentsia." *Chicago.*

Gordon C. Zahn, B.A. College of St. Thomas, 1949; M.A. Catholic, 1950. "A Descriptive Study of the Social Backgrounds of Conscientious Objectors in Civilian Public Service during World War II." *Catholic.*

Henry Zentner, A.B. British Columbia, 1949; M.A. Stanford, 1950. "Primary-Group Affiliation and Institutional Group Morale: A Study in Institutional Group Dynamics." *Stanford.*

Jean Abramson Zifferblatt, M.A. Pennsylvania State, 1951. "An Evaluation of the Impact of an Educational Radio Program, 'The People Act.'" *Pennsylvania State.*

ERRATUM

The thesis subject of George Walter Baker, who received his Doctor's degree from North Carolina in 1952, was incorrectly reported in our last listing (LIX, No. 1 [July, 1953], 61). It should have read "The Changing Structure of National and Regional Industrial Labor with Special Reference to the Southeast."

MASTER'S DEGREES

Herbert Louis Aarons, Jr., B.A. Pennsylvania State, 1948. "The Exposure to, and Evaluation of, Mass Communication by Fifty Male College Students as Related to Their Orientation to Leadership." *Pennsylvania State.*

M. Martina Abbott, Sr., A.B. Duquesne, 1936. "The Effects of Ecological Change, Population Mobility, and Ethnic Succession on an Urban Territorial Parish." *Catholic.*

Fred T. Adams, A.B. Alabama, 1952. "Workers and Their Bosses: Their Value Systems in Relation to Plant and Community." *Alabama.*

Harold Alksne, A.B. New York, 1952. "A Study of the Job Aspirations and Job Expectations of a Sample of Lower-Class Workers in East Harlem, New York City." *New York.*

Theresa Allain, B.A. Fisk, 1949. "Attitudes and Opinions of West African Students in New York City toward America." *New School.*

Mary Ellen Anderson, A.B. Stowe Teachers College, 1942. "A Study of Patients' Opinions of Their Experiences at Denver General Hospital." *Denver.*

Valentin R. Aquino, A.B. Southern California, 1950. "The Filipino Community in Los Angeles." *Southern California.*

Eneida Avila, B.A. William Penn College, 1951. No thesis. *Iowa.*

Victor Grant Backus, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1950. "The Class Structure of the Negro Caste." *New School.*

Ernest Alfred Thomson Barth, A.B. Rochester, 1950. "A Study of Public Attitudes toward the Social Services of Raleigh, North Carolina." *North Carolina.*

Bernard Baum, Ph.B. Chicago, 1948. "Problems of Personal Adjustment in Old Age." *Chicago.*

Gilles Beausoleil, A.B. Montreal, 1949. "Étude sur la mobilité professionnelle." *Laval.*

Christopher B. Becker, B.A. Harvard College, 1952. "Czarist Estate Policy and the Rise of a Classless Intelligentsia." *Wisconsin.*

Donald H. Becker, B.A. Gettysburg College, 1949. "A Study of the Negro in Historic Gettysburg." *Maryland.*

Marjorie L. Behrens, B.S. Columbia, 1949. "Child-rearing and the Mother's Character Structure." *Columbia.*

Jo Ann Heflin Bell, A.B. Alabama, 1952. No thesis. *Alabama.*

Norman Wallis Bell, B.A. Toronto, 1950. "Impact of Psychopathology on the Family." *Toronto.*

Paul W. Benefield, A.B. Pasadena College, 1948. "The Range of Sociological Theory in the Works of Arthur James Todd." *Southern California.*

Esther Selma Berkowitz, B.A. Chicago, 1951. "The Village Woman of the Middle East with Special Reference to Her Mass Media Behavior." *Columbia.*

Aquila B. Berlas, B.A. Agra (India), 1943. "Religious Identification and Communication Behavior of a Selected Population in Lebanon." *Columbia.*

Dayle Bethel, B.A. Iowa, 1952. "Ethos Elements in Indo-Chinese Culture." *Iowa.*

Nadim Bittar, A.B. Wayne, 1952. "The Concept of Stages in Anthropology, Sociology, History, and Philosophy." *Wayne.*

Hubert Morse Blalock, Jr., A.B. Dartmouth College, 1949. "Co-operation in Small Groups." *Brown.*

Sidney Louis Blum, B.A. Toronto, 1951. No thesis. *Toronto.*

Marion Derrick Boat, A.B. Stanford, 1952. No thesis. *Stanford.*

George E. Boehnke, B.S. Iowa State College, 1943. "Opinions of Members and Leaders concerning the Effectiveness of Awards in the 4-H Program." *Iowa State College.*

Marvin Bogdanoff, S.B. Roosevelt College, 1950. "A Study in a Form of Behavior Marginal to Social Control and Collective Behavior." *Chicago.*

Sarah Lee Boggs, A.B. Washington (St. Louis), 1951. "Social Participation of the Aged." *Washington (St. Louis).*

William S. Boisko, A.B. Long Island, 1951. "A Sociological Study of the Steel Strikes of 1919 and 1952." *Pittsburgh.*

Alpha M. Bond, B.A. Dartmouth College, 1952. "The Mood of the Respondent in Relation to the Reliability of Response." *Columbia.*

C. W. Bower, B.Sc.Ed. Ohio State, 1952. "Comparative Behavior of a Six-Year-Old Male Orangutan and a Six-Year-Old Male Gorilla." *Ohio State.*

Leon Bramson, B.A. Chicago, 1950. "The Summer Camp as a Special Purpose Institution with Attention to the Role of Formal Discussion Groups" (with Marianne Rigsby). *Chicago.*

Tolly Rupert Broady, B.S.Ed. Tuskegee, 1940; L.L.B. Fordham, 1949. "The Legal Status of Discriminatory Techniques Utilized in Collective Bargaining." *New York.*

William Henry Brown, B.S. Jackson College, 1950. "Comparative Study of Horse Nomadism." *Illinois.*

Maria Brugnola, Ph.D. Rome, Italy, 1946. "The Changing Status of Italian Women." *Columbia.*

John Brundage, B.S. Seton Hall College, 1950. "A Critical Analysis of the Periodical Social Justice toward a Minority Group." *Catholic.*

James G. Bullock, A.B. Oberlin College, 1950. "An Analysis of Selected Contributions by Sociologists to Industrial Relations Research." *Southern California.*

Andrew Gillespie Bumpas, B.S. Alabama, 1950. "A Comparison of Selected Factors Associated with Criminal Behavior of First Offenders and Recidivists." *Alabama.*

Donald L. Burkholder, B.A. Fordham College, 1950. "A Study of Fifty-seven Large Standard Metropolitan Areas, 1950, by the Methods of Factor Analysis." *Wisconsin.*

Shirley Willis Bushnell, A.B. Washington (Seattle), 1951. "Family Adjustment to Military Living." *Washington (Seattle).*

John W. Buxton, A.B. Columbia, 1948. "Some of the Contributions of Franklin H. Giddings to Sociology." *Southern California.*

Denise Bystryn, B.A. Bryn Mawr College, 1952. "Parental Influence on the Attitude of Jewish Adolescents toward the Observance of Religious Customs." *Columbia.*

Hervé Carrier, S.J., B.A. St. Mary's College, 1944. "Étude sur la méthode de recherche du sociologue Léon Gérin." *Catholic.*

Loftus C. Carson, B.A. Livingstone College, 1946. "The Negro and the Practice of Law: A Study of the Professional Status and Patronage of Negro Lawyers." *Fisk.*

Bernard Chabner, B.A. Chicago, 1950. "Union Security as a Device for Organizational Survival: Changing Opinions and Practices of Unions, Management, and Government Agencies." *Chicago.*

Frank Talley Cherry, B.S. Alabama State College, 1951. "The Structure and Function of Informal Groups: An Empirical Research on the Function of Informal Groups in Two Diverse Urban Neighborhoods." *Fisk.*

Chang-soo Cho, A.B. MacMurray College, 1950. "The Correlates of Cultural Assimi-

lation of Two Groups of Issei Women." *Washington (Seattle)*.

Margarete Clemmens, Physicum, Medical School Berlin, 1935. "Collective Bargaining in the Bituminous Coal Industry." *New School.*

Jerry Stephen Cloyd, B.S. Nebraska, 1951. "Television and Cultural Process: A Suggested Approach through Middle-Range Theory." *Nebraska.*

Raymond M. Cole, B.S. Ohio State, 1952. "An Analysis of Glacial Kame Crania." *Ohio State.*

Ralph Gordon Conner, B.S. Washington (Seattle), 1949. "An Investigation of Parental Attitudes toward Drinking and Five Additional Factors in the Childhood Environment of Alcoholics." *Washington (Seattle).*

George C. Cox, A.B. Southern California, 1949. "Methods and Techniques Utilized in Intercultural Education to Change Attitudes." *Southern California.*

Mary J. Cunliffe, B.A. New Jersey College, 1945. "Meaning of Concept of Neighborhood for Residents of a Selected Area in New York City." *Columbia.*

Yusuf Suliman Dadabhay, B.A. Stanford, 1950. No thesis. *Yale.*

Vahakn N. Dadrian, A.B. Pertevniyul College (Istanbul, Turkey), 1941. "A Typological Study of Modern Nationalism." *Wayne.*

Henry Frank Dale, M.D. Friedrich Wilhelm (Berlin), 1935. "Selections from Max Scheler: Translated and Edited." *Texas.*

Bobby Wayne Daniels, A.B. Agriculture, Mechanical, and Normal College (Pine Bluff, Ark.), 1951. No thesis. *California (Berkeley).*

Evelyn S. Davis, B.S., M.A. New York, 1940, 1944. "Collective Bargaining and Union Activities in the New York City Transit System up to 1944: TWU Activities in the New York City Transit System." *New School.*

Virginia Palmer Davis, B.A. Smith College, 1951. "Feedback Cycles in Social Processes." *Illinois.*

Ann Jane Dennison, B.A. New York, 1950. No thesis. *Yale.*

Irwin Deutscher, A.B. Missouri, 1949. "Public Drunkenness and the Social Structure." *Missouri.*

Thomas R. DeVault, A.B. Colorado College, 1939. "A Critique of Television Problems

by Selected Groups with Respect to Certain Social Aspects." *Southern California.*

David Henry DeYoung, B.S. Utah, 1950. "A Study of Marriage and Nonmarriage in Utah." *Utah.*

Richard H. Dick, B.S. Nebraska, 1952. "The Office Girl: A Study of Value Orientations." *Nebraska.*

Frank Martin DiPaul, A.B. Alabama, 1952. No thesis. *Alabama.*

Torcuato S. DiTella, Indus. Eng., Buenos Aires, 1951. "Worker's Education: Its Relation to Industrial Democracy." *Columbia.*

Vojislav Dosenovich, B.A. Serbia, 1940. "A Study of Displaced Persons in Omaha." *Omaha.*

George V. Douglas, B.F.A. Ohio, 1950. "Some Basic Characteristics of the Residents of the Williamsport, Pennsylvania, Rural-Urban Fringe." *Columbia.*

Fernand Dumont, A.B. Laval, 1950. "L'Institution juridique: Essai de situation du problème." *Laval.*

James Russell Dumpson, B.A. New School, 1947. "Some Social Factors Apparent in Use of Narcotic Drugs by Teen-Age Youth in New York City." *New School.*

Warren Guldahl Eames, B.A. Southern, 1947. "Acculturation and the Processes of Social Change as They Affect Parent-Child Relations." *Illinois.*

Joseph Ellenberg, B.A. Yeshiva College, 1944. "Religious Issues in Israel." *Columbia.*

Arthur Elliott, A.B. Baylor, 1951. "A Sociological Study of One Hundred Active Church Members and One Hundred Irregularly Attending Church Members in Five Protestant Churches in Louisville, Kentucky, 1953." *Louisville.*

Robert Ellis, B.A. Yale, 1952. No thesis. *Yale.*

Leon S. Eplan, A.B. Tennessee, 1950. "The Knoxville Civic Center Referendum: A Case Study." *Tennessee.*

Donald Esken, A.B. Chicago, 1950. "A Comparison of Two Research Methods of Collection Data in an Industrial Setting: The Attitude Questionnaire and the Nondirective Interview." *Chicago.*

Robert Lawrence Etchart, A.B. Southern California, 1948. "An Analysis of the Social Theories of Fichte, Hegel, and Nietzsche as Factors in German National Socialism." *Southern California.*

James Etheridge, Ph.B. Chicago, 1947. "The

` Use of Residential Rental Value in the Determination of Natural Areas of a City with Special Reference to the City of Chicago." *Chicago.*

Thomas W. Evans, "The Psychological Induction of Nurses into the Professional Group." *Chicago.*

Edward R. Fagan, B.S. Wisconsin, 1950. "The Tavern and the Juvenile Delinquent." *Wisconsin.*

Robert H. Fernn, B.S.A. American, 1948. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Elizabeth Marshall Fink, B.S. East Tennessee State College, 1946. "Some Aspects of Nonwhite Migration to the South, 1935–40." *North Carolina.*

Phyllis H. Finkel, B.A. California (Berkeley), 1952. "Acculturation in Two Low-Country Sinhalese Villages." *Wisconsin.*

Bruce Fischberg, B.A. Chicago, 1950; "Sociological Problems of Love in Balzac's *Comédie humaine." New School.*

Thomas A. Flanigan, B.S. Pittsburgh, 1951. "Television and the High-School Student: A Study of the Student Body of Greensburg (Pa.) High School and Its Relationship with Television." *Pittsburgh.*

Rev. Edwin G. Foley, B.A. St. Mary's Seminary, 1946. "A Study of Some Socioreligious Factors in the Home Backgrounds of a Vocation." *Catholic.*

Maryann B. Foley, B.Sc.H.E. Ohio State, 1951. "Tanville: A Frontier Community That Failed To Mature." *Ohio State.*

Owen Westley Fonseca, B.A. McGill, 1945. "Family Responses to the Crisis of Mental Illness." *McGill.*

Linton Freeman, M.A. Hawaii, 1953. "A Study of the Relationship between Age and Cultural Assimilation among the Second-Generation Japanese-Americans in Chicago." *Hawaii.*

Cecil Lynn French, A.B. Washington (St. Louis) 1951. "The Social and Economic Correlates of Isolation for the Counties of Missouri." *Washington (St. Louis).* ˙

Jack French, Jr., B.S. Concord College, 1950. "Segregation Patterns in a Coal Camp." *West Virginia.*

Robert Lester Fulton, A.B. Illinois, 1951. No thesis. *Toronto.*

' Bessie Jean Garnant, B.A. Iowa, 1942. "Press Leadership in Social Change: Analysis of the *New York Times* Editorial Page for 1929 and March 1, 1932, and March 1, 1933." *Columbia.*

Robert Earl Garren, B.A. California (Berkeley), 1950. "Individualism versus Pluralism in Human Relations in Industry." *North Carolina.*

Latimer Weldon Garrett, B.A. Southern California, 1948. "The Negro Community in a Southern Town." *Illinois.*

Donald Garrity, A.B. Colorado State College of Education, 1950. "Tacoma, Washington: A Demographic and Ecological Analysis." *Washington (Seattle).*

Basil Spyros Georgopoulos, A.B. Bowling Green State, 1942. No thesis. *California (Los Angeles).*

Donald Gibbons, A.B. Washington (Seattle), 1950. "Spokane, Washington: A Demographic and Ecological Analysis." *Washington (Seattle).*

Barbara M. Gibbs, B.A. Texas, 1951. "The Norms of Science and Their Implementation in a University Community." *Texas.*

John Charles Gibson, B.A. Beloit College, 1951. "Popayán, Colombia: A Study in Ecological Technique." *North Carolina.*

Sarah A. Glass, A.B. Alabama, 1950. "A Comparative Analysis of Socioeconomic Characteristics of Occupational Groups in Talladega, Alabama." *Alabama.*

Morris Goldman, B.A. New York, 1949. "The Garvey Movement, 1916–27." *New School.*

Harriet Fishman Goodwin, A.B. California (Berkeley), 1950. "The Promotion of Fair Employment: A Study of Ideological Orientations." *California (Berkeley).*

Marilyn M. Graham, A.B. Nebraska, 1947. "Isolation: A Problem in the Aging Process of Patients in the Lincoln State Hospital." *Nebraska.*

Bennie Dwane Graves, B.S. West Texas State Teachers College, 1950. "Attitudes toward the Use and Conservation of Underground Water for Irrigation among Farmers in Two Counties in the South Plains of Texas.": *Texas.*

Charles Graves, Jr., A.B. North Carolina, 1938. "Factors in Job Roles Affecting Co-operation of Employees in a Retail-Store Setting." *Chicago.*

Leonard Gravitz, A.B. New York State Teachers College, 1952. "Social Participation and the Blind." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Corrine Gray, A.B. Earlham College, 1951.

"Orientations to Fashion." *Michigan State College.*

Vernon Elmer Greaver, A.B. George Washington, 1951. "An Analysis of Suicide in the District of Columbia, 1941–50." *George Washington.*

Stanley Grupp, B.A. Iowa State Teachers College, 1951. No thesis. *Iowa.*

John Eugene Haas, A.B. Upland College, 1950. No thesis. *California (Los Angeles).*

Joseph R. Haas, A.B. Vanderbilt, 1951. "Factors Influencing Orientation to the Catholic In-Group Dating Norm." *Vanderbilt.*

Robert B. Hagedorn, A.B. San Francisco State College, 1950. "Developing a Technique of Direct Observation To Test the Relation between Behavior and Verbal Response." *Washington (Seattle).*

Suzanne Hall, B.A. Texas, 1951. "The Generality of Some Motivational Factors within the Individual as Expressed Overtly and Covertly and Inside and Outside the Marital Relationship." *Northwestern.*

Richard F. Hamilton, B.A. Chicago, 1950. "A Consideration of Some Deficiencies in 'Status' Approach to Stratification." *Columbia.*

Paul Shelley Hanna, Ph.B. North Dakota, 1948; LL.B., North Dakota, 1951. "An Analysis of the Assimilation of White Culture by Hidatsa Indians of North Dakota." *North Dakota.*

VanCourt M. Hare, B.S. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1950. "A Study of Two Research Teams Having a Specified Payoff Date." *Columbia.*

James Harkness, A.B. Michigan State College, 1951. "A Critical Evaluation of Radcliffe-Brown's Science of Society." *Michigan State College.*

John W. Harless, B.A. West Virginia, 1948. "Stratification in Recent American Sociology: Some Trends and Concepts." *West Virginia.*

Dean H. Harper, B.S. Iowa State College, 1951. "Some Scaling Techniques Applied to the Study of Awareness of Selected Social Problems." *Iowa State College.*

William H. Harris, B.A. Youngstown College, 1952. "A Study of the Treatment of Minority Groups in Social Science Textbooks." *Kent State.*

Heinz Hartman. "Communication and Participation in a Local Union." *Chicago.*

Stella V. Haskey, B.A. Toronto, 1949. No thesis. *Toronto.*

Norman G. Hawkins, A.B. Washington (Seattle), 1949. "A Research Application of Case Material in the Sociology of Tuberculosis." *Washington (Seattle).*

David Glenn Hays, A.B. Harvard, 1951. No thesis. *Harvard.*

Jerold Sheldon Heiss, A.B. New York, 1951. "A Study of Student Attitudes concerning the Causes, Prevention, and Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency." *New York.*

Rev. Joseph Hoc, B.S. St. Paul Seminary (Phat Diem, Indochina). "Théorie sociologique de M. P. Gourou." *Catholic.*

Lois Hoffman, A.B. Buffalo, 1951. "Some Social Influences on Attitudes toward Wages." *Purdue.*

Ruth E. Hoffman, A.B. Nebraska, 1948. "The Unattached Transient Male: A Study of Personal and Social Disorganization." *Nebraska.*

Jerome Irving Horowitz, A.B. Long Island, 1949. "Juvenile Delinquency in a Model Residential Community." *New York.*

David H. Howard, B.A. Fisk, 1950. "A Study of Attitudes of Negroes toward Whites and Negroes of Varying Socioeconomic Status." *Indiana.*

Lyman Allen Hurd, B.A. Michigan, 1949. "Public Service versus Private Interest in the Career of the Lawyer." *Illinois.*

Yukio Ikuchi, A.B. Denver, 1952. "Social Studies of the Japanese-American Community in Denver." *Denver.*

John Gilbert Jackson, A.B. Central YMCA College, 1941. "Attitudes of New York City Negroes toward Taking Action under Provisions of the New York State Law against Discrimination in Employment." *New York.*

Phillip S. Jaffee, A.B. Wayne, 1950. "Differentials in Length of Life, Detroit and Chicago: 1940." *Wayne.*

Rev. Paul James, B.A. Providence College, 1942. "The Expressed Effects of a Certain Premarital Lecture Course." *Catholic.*

Clarence T. Jane, A.B. Michigan State College, 1948. "Health and Health Services in Two Michigan Communities." *Michigan State College.*

Irene Landof Jerison. "Study of Redistricting of Chicago Public Elementary Schools." *Chicago.*

Guy Benton Johnson, A.B. North Carolina, 1947. No thesis. *Harvard.*

Miles Beardsley Johnson, A.B. Gustavus Adolphus College, 1947; M.A. Minnesota, 1951. "A Study of Oversimplified Editorializing in the *Rocky Mountain News.*" *Denver.*

Walfrid J. Jokinen, B.A. Minnesota, 1951. "The Finns in Minnesota: A Sociological Survey." *Louisiana State.*

Warren Edwin Kalbach, A.B. Washington, 1949. "A Preliminary Analysis of Parent-Child Dominance Attitudes and Control Techniques." *Washington (Seattle).*

Abraham S. Kampf, B.S. New York, 1951. "Chagall in Paris (1910–14): A Study in Artistic Interaction." *New School.*

Robert Edwin Kantor, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1935. No thesis. *California (Berkeley).*

Abul K. Karim, M.A. Dacca (Pakistan), 1946. "An Outline of Transition in Social Stratification of India and East Pakistan Today." *Columbia.*

Thomas M. Kelly, A.B. Denver, 1952. "A Sociological Description and Evaluation of the Juvenile Bureau of the Denver Police Department." *Denver.*

Mark C. Kennedy, B.A. Texas, 1951. "Drilling and Drilling Crews: A Study of Contract Drilling Organizations in the Petroleum Industry with Specific Reference to Mobility and Occupational Security." *Texas.*

Duncan Campbell Killen, A.B. California (Berkeley), 1952. "A Criticism of Various Psychological Concepts of Needs and Drives." *California (Berkeley).*

Bernice Kinard, A.B. Hunter College, 1951. "Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Intolerance." *Columbia.*

Cannon Parm Kinchelow, A.B. Hastings College, 1948. "A Proposed Rehabilitative Program for Alcoholics in Denver." *Denver.*

John Itsuro Kitsuse, B.S. Boston, 1946. No thesis. *California (Los Angeles).*

Gunther Herman Knoedler, B.A. Wheaton College, 1951. "The Personality Inventory as a Test of Psychological Needs." *Northwestern.*

Richard Allen Kurtz, B.S. Teachers College of Connecticut, 1951. No thesis. *Connecticut.*

Alvin S. Lackey, A.B. Washington State College, 1951. "A Study of the Association between Social Characteristics and Vertical Mobility within a Military Organization." *Washington (Seattle).*

Wilfrid D. Lahaie, B.S. Boston College, 1950.

"Two Catholic Approaches to American Society." *Fordham.*

Edwin W. Lambert, B.A. Texas, 1951. "Utilization of Older People in the Labor Force." *Texas.*

W. Clayton Lane, A.B. Goddard College (Vermont), 1950. No thesis. *Stanford.*

Nelson L. Le Ray, B.S. Louisiana State, 1952. "The White Older Rural Youth of Six Selected Louisiana Parishes: A Sociological Study of Their Characteristics, Interests, and Problems." *Louisiana State.*

Dorothy Riehl Leader, B.S. New York, 1949. "The Social Control of Tuberculosis: The Iowa Program." *Illinois.*

Seymour Leventman, B.A. State College of Washington, 1951. "A Sociological Analysis of Musical Taste." *Indiana.*

Perry Levinson, B.A. West Maryland College, 1951. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Robert Lee Lockhart, A.B. Illinois, 1951. "A Comparison of Small-Town Novels and Sociological Studies of Smaller Communities." *Illinois.*

Herman J. Loether, A.B. Los Angeles State College, 1951. "A Study of Best-Buddy Choices on a Small Military Installation." *Washington (Seattle).*

Juarez R. Lopes. "High-School Graduates and Drop-outs." *Chicago.*

Eunice D. Loseff, A.B. Southern California, 1951. "A Comparative Study of Names and Naming Patterns in Selected Cultures." *Southern California.*

Anton I. Lourie, Institute of Technology (Vienna), 1926. "Social Adjustments of German Jewish Refugees in Los Angeles." *Southern California.*

Thomas Luckmann, Innsbruck, 1950. "Limits of Insurrection: Albert Camus." *New School.*

Earle H. MacCannell, A.B. Washington (Seattle), 1950. "Life-Tables for Selected Populations in the State of Washington, 1949–51." *Washington (Seattle).*

John McCollum, A.B. Washington, 1951. "The Chicago Electrical Apprentice: Conceptions of Role of Status." *Chicago.*

Gerald McEntire, B.S. Texas A. & M. College, 1952. "The Effects of Bus Transportation. on Grades, Attendance Records, and Participation in Extra-curricular Activities of High-School Students in Tyler County, Texas, 1953." *Texas A. & M. College.*

Reece J. McGee, A.B. Minnesota, 1952. No thesis. *Minnesota.*

Donald G. McKinley, A.B. Washington (Seattle), 1949. "A Study of the Relationship of Social Objectivity and Group Status." *Washington (Seattle).*

Quin McLoughlin, B.A. Columbia, 1948. "Analysis of Some Possible Effects of Expectation of Retest on Stability of Response." *Columbia.*

Joseph R. Marches, B.A. Minnesota, 1952. "Ecological Segregation in Washington, D.C." *Maryland.*

Marvin O. Margolis, A.B. Roosevelt College, 1951. "A Theory of Urban Development and Primary-Group Relationships: A Study of Such Relationships in a Selected Sample of Sixty Urban Families." *Wayne.*

Robert M. Marsh, B.A. Chicago, 1952. "Marginal Projectivity and Communications Behavior in Modern Syria." *Columbia.*

Frank J. Mazzei, A.B. Fairmont State College, 1952. "A Study of the Factors Influencing Job Satisfaction among Factory Workers of Clarksburg, West Virginia, and Coal-Miners of Morgantown, West Virginia." *West Virginia.*

James B. Mead, B.A. Omaha, 1951. "A Sociological Study of Ward Five in Omaha." *Omaha.*

Otto E. Merklinghaus, A.B. Washington (Seattle), 1946. "Social and Economic Correlates of Interstate Migration." *Washington (Seattle).*

Sheldon L. Messinger, Ph.B. Chicago, 1947; A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1951. No thesis. *California (Los Angeles).*

Dale Henry Meyer, A.B. Nebraska, 1939. "A Study of Juvenile Delinquents and Nondelinquents in Relation to Their Degree of Social Adjustment." *Southern California.*

Vincent A. Miller, A.B. Pennsylvania State College, 1947. "Forecasts of the Population of a Small Area Utilizing a Modified Cohort-Survival Technique." *Washington (Seattle).*

W. R. Mills, A.B. North Carolina, 1949. "The Equilibrium Concept in a Sociological System." *Ohio State.*

Ephraim Mizruchi, A.B. Roosevelt College, 1951. "A Study in Community Participation and Class Differentials." *Purdue.*

Joan Moore, Ph.B. Chicago, 1948. "Some Political Attitudes of Metal Products Manufacturers." *Chicago.*

Jacob Moshief, B.S. New York, 1950. "Theodor Herzl: His Social, Political, and Economic Views and His Zionism." *New School.*

Gilda Moss, London School of Economics and Political Science. "Elite and Upper Class in Metropolitan America: A Study of Stratification in the Social Register, City of Buffalo." *Columbia.*

John Margaret Sister Munick, A.B. DePaul, 1945. "The Social Thought of the Encyclicals from Pope Leo XIII to the Present." *Southern California.*

David A. Munro, B.S. Northwestern, 1929. "The Effect of Environmental Influences upon the Incidence of Mental Disorder in the Detroit Area." *Wayne.*

Rev. Martin Murphy, A.B. St. Mary's College, 1944. "The Catholic Teaching on Private Property (Based on the Papal Pronouncements from Pope Leo XIII to the Present Pope)." *Catholic.*

Roger W. Nathan, A.B. Wayne, 1951. "Parity of Birth for the City of Detroit, by Economic Status and Class, 1940–50." *Wayne.*

Sonia Elizabeth NeJame, A.B. Syracuse, 1951. "Factors in the Determination of Political Ideology." *Cornell.*

Peter Kong-ming New, A.B. Dartmouth College, 1945–48. "Neonatal and Mesonatal Mortality Rates and Their Relationship to Certain Socioeconomic Factors in Rural Missouri, 1945–50." *Missouri.*

Robert W. Nickless, B.A. Iowa, 1951. No thesis. *Iowa.*

Catherine Norton, Sr., B.S. Edgewood College, 1945. "Vocational Achievement: A Study of Parents and Children in a Parochial School Area." *Catholic.*

Glen T. Nygreen, B.S. Washington (Seattle), 1939. "Alternative Polling Techniques as Applied in a Closed Community." *Washington (Seattle).*

Rita K. Olsen, A.B. Virginia, 1951. "Trends in Pacifism: Content Analysis of a Pacifist Journal." *Columbia.*

Virgil Olson, A.B. Southern Methodist, 1952. "A Comparative Study of Negro Slum Dwellers, Public Housing Project Dwellers, and Project Move-outs in Dallas, Texas." *Southern Methodist.*

Thompson P. Omari, B.S. Central State College, 1952. "The Rural Family in the Gold Coast, West Africa." *Wisconsin.*

Martin Oppenheimer, B.S. Temple, 1952. "The Problem of Bureaucracy in the Light of a

Comparative Study of the Russian and German Social Democratic Labor Parties." *Columbia.*

William Adolphus Osborne, B.S. Fisk, 1952. "A Partial Analysis of Industrial Pension Plans Leading to a Clearer Understanding of Their Fundamental Aims." *Fisk.*

John Osoinach, B.A. Cornell, 1940. "The Place of Power in Social Organization." *Illinois.*

Ørjar Øyen. "The Relationship between Distance and Social Interaction: The Case of Message Diffusion." *Washington (Seattle).*

Emery Eugene Palsgrove, A.B. Manchester College, 1948. "An Analysis of the Conflict in Kenya Colony, Africa, with Emphasis on the Land Factor." *Illinois.*

Albert George Parker, A.B. Princeton, 1943; B.D. McCormick Theological Seminary, 1949. "Crisis in Tuscola." *Illinois.*

Harold P. Parker, A.B. Middlebury College, 1947. "Critical Analysis of Some Major Theories of Prejudice." *Columbia.*

Rev. Thomas Parrot, B.A. St. Mary's Seminary, 1950. "The Treatment of the Negro in Eight Catholic Periodicals for the Years 1939 and 1949." *Catholic.*

Salme Anne Pekkala, B.A. Helsinki, 1951. "The Naming of Racially Mixed Groups." *Duke.*

Geraldine Madeline Pendro, A.B. Pittsburgh, 1951. "A Sociological Analysis of Adjustment to Campus Life." *Pittsburgh.*

Antoon Pennings, Licentiate, Economics, Catholic University of Louvain (Belgium), 1951. No thesis. *Stanford.*

Carl L. Perian, B.A. Maryland, 1951. "Narcotic Addiction among Middle-Class Adolescents in Washington, D.C." *Maryland.*

Evan Ty Peterson, B.S. Brigham Young, 1952. "Expressed Religiosity of Five Hundred Seventy B.Y.U. Students." *Brigham Young.*

Guy Procaccio, S.B. George Williams College, 1947. "A Study of Juvenile Delinquency in the City of Evanston, Illinois." *Chicago.*

Mike Prpich, B.S. Utah, 1948. "A Comparative Study of Personal and Social Adjustment of American-born Descendants of Greek Immigrants and of Native Americans in Salt Lake City." *Utah.*

Enrico Quarantelli, A.B. Chicago, 1948. "A Study of Panic: Its Nature, Types, and Conditions." *Chicago.*

Donald Rand, A.B. Tennessee, 1952. "Atti-

tudes toward Adoption in Knoxville, Tennessee." *Tennessee.*

Robert Parks Rankin, A.B. San Jose State College, 1935; B.D. Union Theological Seminary, 1938. "Protestant Religious Observance as a Factor in Personality Adjustment." *California (Berkeley).*

James Rasmussen, B.A. Conception Seminary, 1949. "The Reaction of Selected Diocesan Newspapers to the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* (May 15, 1931–December 31, 1932)." *Catholic*

Robert Raymond, A.B. California (Berkeley), 1949. No thesis. *California (Berkeley).*

Rev. Anthony Rechtin, B.A. St. Mary's Seminary, 1951. "A Study of the Dating Pattern of Catholic College Senior and Junior Students." *Catholic.*

Richard Renck, Ph.B. Chicago, 1948. "Status in an Industrial Organization." *Chicago.*

Douglas Lloyd Claver Rennie, B.Sc., B.A. Sir George Williams College (Montreal), 1950, 1951. "The Ethnic Division of Labour in Montreal, 1931–51." *McGill.*

Joseph Ribal, S.B. Northwestern Illinois Teachers College, 1952. "The Role of the Public-School Teacher in the City of Chicago." *Chicago.*

Arthur Richardson, B.S. Purdue, 1952. "Class Homogamy in the Marriages of College Students." *Purdue.*

Paul David Richardson, B.D. College of Bible (Lexington, Ky.), 1948. "Participation in Organized Activities in the Bedford, Kentucky, Community." *Kentucky.*

Edwina Rickard. "A Study of Ethnocentric Tendencies in Order To Find Effective Means of Dealing with Them." *New School.*

Marianne Rigsby. "The Summer Camp as a Special Purpose Institution with Attention to Role of Formal Discussion Groups" (with Leon Bramson). *Chicago.*

Randall S. Risdon, A.B. George Pepperdine College, 1949. "Selected Problems Arising from Interracial Marriages in the Metropolitan Zone of Los Angeles City." *Southern California.*

Kenneth Rivkin, A.B. Chicago, 1950. "Forms and Factors of Jewish Identification in Adolescents." *Chicago.*

Patricia Gunn Robinson, Dip.Ed. London, 1950; Dip.Admin. Oxford, 1952. "A Case Study of Psychiatry in Relation to Other Medical Specialties in a Hospital." *McGill.*

Hyman Rodman, B.A. McGill, 1952. "In-

formal Behavior of Infantry Recruits." *McGill*.

Arthur Marvin Rosen, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1952. No thesis. *Yale*.

George Rosenbaum, A.B. Chicago, 1949. "Personalization in Neighborhood Retailing." *Chicago*.

George S. Rosenberg, B.A. Chicago, 1951. "Visibility of Class Differences in Five Selected Counties in New York." *Columbia*.

Miriam Rosenblum, Ph.B. Chicago, 1949. "The Supreme Court and the Legal Status of the Negro." *Chicago*.

Albert Jules Rosenstein, A.B. Los Angeles State College of Applied Arts and Sciences, 1951. "A Sociological Analysis of Selected Works of E. A. Ross." *Southern California*.

Mack A. Rouzee, B.S. Mississippi State College, 1938. No thesis. *Mississippi State College*.

Judith Shulman Rowe, B.A. Drew, 1951. No thesis. *Yale*.

Mary Faith Pellett Russell, A.B. Wichita, 1950. "Cost of Segregated Schools in St. Louis." *Washington (St. Louis)*.

Gerald M. Sabath, A.B. Illinois, 1951. "Men without Goals: A Study in the Area of Occupational Mobility Focused on Minimally Motivated and Nongoal-directed Persons." *Columbia*.

June G. Sachar, A.B. Michigan, 1950. "Cross-Pressures of Race and Class on Urban Negro Middle and Upper Classes." *Columbia*.

John E. Scanlan, B.A. Washington Square College, New York University, 1949. "A Study of the Relation between Newspaper Content and Public Opinion." *Columbia*.

John Scanlon, B.A. Westminster College, 1950. "An Investigation of the Relationship between Morale and Attitude toward International Relations." *Bowling Green State*.

Nathalie Schacter, A.B. Barnard College, 1948. "Fertility in Relation to Fertility Planning and Fear of Pregnancy." *Columbia*.

Albert Schaffer, B.A. Chicago, 1950. "A Comparative Analysis of the Roles and Status of the Aged." *Columbia*.

Erica Schmidt, "Child Immigration to Israel (Youth Aliyah)." *New School*.

Anna Frances Shand, Assoc. of Arts, Blackburn College (Carlinville, Ill.), 1949; B.S. Northwestern, 1951. "Occupation Mobility Intention: A Sociological Analysis of the

Intended Occupations of Twenty-five Hundred Potential Entrants into the Civilian Labor Force." *North Carolina*.

Hershel Shanks, A.B. Haverford College, 1952. "Attitude of Jewish College Students toward Intermarriage." *Columbia*.

Leonard Shenson, A.B. Louisville, 1947. "A Study of the Aged Receiving Old Age Assistance and Residents of the Home for the Aged and Infirm, Louisville, 1949." *Louisville*.

Kenneth L. Shimota, A.B. Minnesota, 1950. "A Literal Replication of a Sociometric Study of Informal Social Participation in a Homogeneous Neighborhood." *Minnesota*.

Ernest V. Shulman, B.A. Toronto, 1952. "The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and Its Youth Movement in Ontario." *Wisconsin*.

Harold Richard Siciliano, B.A. Washington and Jefferson College, 1943; B.D. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1945. "The Church of the Open Door: A Study of a United Protestant Church and Its Ministry in a Public Housing Project." *New School*.

Sanford Silverstein, A.B. Illinois, 1952. "The Early Development of the Mormon Church: A Study of the Routinization of Charisma." *Illinois*.

Richard Grey Sipes, B.A. Mexico City College, 1952. "The Ecological Organization of the Primitive Community." *Pennsylvania State*.

Jerome Herbert Skolnick, B.A. City College of New York, 1952. No thesis. *Yale*.

N. Bradley Slattery, B.A. New York, 1941. "Public Relations of the Liquor Industry." *New School*.

Alexander B. Smith, B.S. City College of New York, 1930; B. L. Brooklyn Law School, 1930. "A Study of Peno-correctional Legislation in California and New York." *New York*.

Robert B. Smock, A.B. Adrian College, 1951. "Types of Delinquency: An Investigation of the Differences between Serious and Nonserious Delinquency." *Wayne*.

Leonard M. Snider, B.A. Kent State, 1949. No thesis. *Kent State*.

Eloise Colleen Snyder, B.A. Lycoming College, 1952. "Marital Selectivity with Respect to Five Variables: A Study of Assortative Mating." *Pennsylvania State*.

Charles A. Sobel, A.B. Columbia, 1949. "Community Involvement and Political Behavior." *Columbia*.

Asher Soloff, Ph.B. Chicago, 1946. "A Comparison of the Mandates of Several Occupations." *Chicago.*

Helenan Sonnenburg, B.A. Michigan State College, 1951. "Interviewer Problems and the Nonprofessional Interviewer." *Michigan State College.*

Sydney Spivack, B.A. Harvard, 1929. "Foundations and Accountability: A Preliminary Exploration of American Philanthropic Foundations and Attitudes with Respect to Accountability." *Columbia.*

George M. Stabler, B.A. Earlham College, 1950. "Wisconsin Farmer Movements: A Quantitative Approach." *Wisconsin.*

Stanley Starkman, "Aspects of Role-playing by the Owners of Small Business." *Chicago.*

Richard Walton Stephens, A.B. Franklin and Marshall College, 1951. "The Organization of Service Activities in a Military Unit: An Analysis of an Instrumental Social System." *North Carolina.*

Robert L. Stewart, B.A. Iowa, 1950. "An Empirical Test of the Reference-Group Hypothesis: A Study of Junior and Senior Engineering Students at the State University of Iowa." *Iowa.*

Samuel James Surace, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1951. No thesis. *California (Los Angeles).*

Marc Jerome Swartz, A.B. Washington (St. Louis), 1952. "Societies in Formation: A Study in Social Dynamics." *Washington (St. Louis).*

John D. Sweeney, B.A. Missouri Valley College, 1932. "A Proposal To Form a New Greater Kansas City Area Government." *Kansas City.*

Jean K. Szaloczi, B.A. American, 1950. "Parental Roles in Families of Employed Mothers." *Maryland.*

Harold Taxel, A.B. New York, 1950. "Authority Structure in a Mental Hospital Ward." *Chicago.*

Iola Miles Taylor, A.B. Prairie View A. & M. College, 1948. "Hometown: A Cultural Analysis of a Small Southern Town." *Prairie View A. & M. College.*

Elizabeth A. Teigland, B.S. Duluth State Teachers College, 1947. No thesis. *Minnesota.*

Frank L. Thomas, B.S. Pittsburgh, 1952. "A Sociological Analysis of Pittsburgh's Suburban Shopping Centers." *Pittsburgh.*

Chester R. Titus, A.B. New Hampshire, 1950. "Roman Catholic and Protestant Marriages: A Problem in Human Relations." *New Hampshire.*

Richard Finn Tomasson, A.B. Gettysburg College, 1949. "The Intellectual Life of the Students in a Small College: An Empirical Study." *Illinois.*

Eiji Tominomori, B.A. Dashisha University (Kyoto, Japan), 1951. "The Editorial of a Japanese Prestige Paper: Content Analysis." *Columbia.*

Geoffrey H. Tootell, A.B. Harvard, 1951. "The Place of the Labor Leader in the American Community." *Columbia.*

Robert Trees, A.B. Oberlin College, 1952. "Communications and Leadership in a Folk Society: Analysis of a Syrian Village in Transition." *Columbia.*

Kenneth Tucker, A.B. Alabama, 1951. "An Analysis of Institutional Adjustment of Boys Released from the Alabama Boys Industrial School, January 1, 1950, to May 31, 1952." *Alabama.*

Pierre Louis Van den Berghe, A.B. Stanford, 1953. No thesis. *Stanford.*

James Bradford Vaughan, A.B. Southern Methodist, 1950. "An Ecological Study of 770 Cases Referred to a City-County Venereal Disease Clinic by a State Department of Health." *Southern Methodist.*

Arthur Vener, A.B. Queens College, 1950. "Stratification Aspects of Clothing Importance." *Michigan State College.*

Edward Detmer Vieths, Jr., A.B. Stanford, 1950. "Demographic and Economic Effects of Dam Construction in the Central Valley of California." *Stanford.*

George Vranesh, B.A. Iowa, 1950. "Classification in American Indian Languages." *Iowa.*

Aviva Shedroff Waitzman, A.B. Illinois, 1950. "A Study of the Effects of Social Situational Changes on Attitudes." *Illinois.*

Barbara Jean Waldron, B.A. Nebraska, 1951. "The Conflicting Social Norms of a Minority Group." *Fisk.*

Milton Glenn Walker, A.B. Stanford, 1952. No thesis. *Stanford.*

Laurene Alice Wallace, B.S. Florida State, 1952. "A Limited Readership Survey of a Syndicated Comic Strip." *Illinois.*

L. K. Walters, Jr., B.Sc.Ed. Ohio State, 1948.

"A Study of the Social and Marital Adjustment of Thirty-five American-Japanese Couples." *Ohio State.*

Richard S. Wander, A.B. Wayne, 1951. "The Influence of Negro Infiltration upon Real Estate Values." *Wayne.*

Charles R. Wanniger, B.S. Milton College, 1951. "A Study of Retired Schoolteachers: The Effect of Change in Social Participation of Personal Adjustment." *Wisconsin.*

David N. Webber, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1950. "A Study of Two Contrasting Approaches in Sociology to Social Planning." *Southern California.*

W. Dwight Weed, B.S., B.A. Ohio State, 1936, 1936; B.D. Garrett Biblical Institute, 1943. "Composite Social Subregions of New York State." *North Carolina.*

Sidney Weinstein, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1951. "The Documentary Motion Picture as an Instrument in Social Change in Japan, 1949–51." *Columbia.*

Walter Jacob Wertheimer, B.S. New York, 1948. "An Experimental Study in Mass Communication: The Influence of a Radio News Commentator on Attitudes and Knowledge Levels of a Group of College Students." *New York.*

Stanley B. Wexler, A.B. Yeshiva University,

1949. "Religious Issues and Parties in Israel." *Columbia.*

Vernon R. White, A.B. Louisville. "Family-Life Education on the Elementary Level: A Sociological Study and Outline of Materials." *Tennessee.*

Robert Wilcox, A.B. Denver, 1949. "The Reaction of Delinquent and Nondelinquent Boys to Questionnaire Items Favoring Cooperation and Individualism." *Denver.*

Frank Wilkerson, B.A. Omaha, 1948. "The History and Functions of the Urban League." *Omaha.*

Robert Willoughby, S.B. Elizabethtown College, 1947. "The Attendant in the State Mental Hospital." *Chicago.*

Warren L. Wittry, B.A. Wisconsin, 1950. "The Preceramic Occupation of the Smith Site, Units I and II, Delaware County, Oklahoma." *Wisconsin.*

Beatrice M. Woof, A.B. Fresno State College, 1937. No thesis. *California (Berkeley).*

John Zawacki, B.S. Purdue, 1951. "Value Orientations of Protestant and Catholic Students: A Study of the 'Protestant Ethic.'" *Purdue.*

Joseph F. Zygmunt, A.B. Illinois, 1942. "Social Estrangement and the Recruitment Process in a Chiliastic Sectarian Movement." *Chicago.*

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN SOCIOLOGY, 1953

The following list of doctoral dissertations in preparation in universities and colleges in the United States is compiled from returns sent by thirty-five departments of sociology. The number of candidates now working for doctoral degrees is 224. This list includes dissertations in social work, divinity, and other related fields whenever the local department of sociology undertakes to direct them.

John Aird, A.B. Oberlin College, 1946; A.M. Michigan, 1951. "Fertility and Marriage in Rural Bengal." *Michigan.*

Cecil Wylie Alford, A.B., A.M. Texas Christian, 1948, 1949. "Social Control in the Parent-Child Relationship." *Duke.*

Robert O. Andrews, A.B. Upper Iowa, 1949; M.S. Purdue, 1950. "Discrepancies in Official Marriage and Birth Records." *Purdue.*

Wade Andrews, B.S., M.S. Utah State Agricultural College, 1947, 1948. "A Study of Some Basic Correlates of Rural Leadership and Social Power in Clinton County, Ohio." *Michigan State College.*

Julian Aronson, B.S.S. City College of New York, 1928; M.A. Columbia, 1929. "Sociological Aspects of Modern Secondary Education in the United States." *New School.*

Sidney Asch, B.S.S. City College of New York, 1940; L.L.B. Columbia, 1943. "Procedures in Labor Arbitration." *New School.*

Herbert A. Aurbach, B.S. Western Reserve, 1948. "A Study in the Application of the Folk-Urban Continuum to the Classification of Kentucky Counties." *Kentucky.*

Carl W. Backman, A.B. Oberlin, 1948; A.M. Indiana, 1950. "Sampling Problems in Content Analysis." *Indiana.*

Panos Bardis, A.B. Bethany College, 1950; M.A. Notre Dame, 1953. "Attitudes toward and Patterns of Dating and Marriage among the Foreign Students of Purdue University." *Purdue.*

Delbert Barley, B.A. McPherson College, 1939; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1951. "The Process of Assimilation of Refugees in St. Märgen (Germany)." *Pennsylvania.*

Frederick Leroy Bates, A.B., A.M. George Washington, 1949, 1950. "The Synchronization of Maintenance Activity in Four Bomb Wings: A Sociometric Study of Communication and Allocation." *North Carolina.*

Jerome E. Bates, A.B. Long Island, 1941; M.S. New School, 1947. "The Metropolitan Abortionist in His Cultural Setting." *New York.*

Rev. Theodore Beauchamp, B.Litt., B.Theol. Montreal, 1926, 1932; M.A. Fordham, 1949. "Probation Systems in Canada." *Fordham.*

Stephen Johnson Beeley, B.A., M.A. Utah, 1945, 1946. "The Sociological Aspects of Apprenticeship in Utah." *Utah.*

Peter Ludwig Berger, B.A. Wagner Memorial Lutheran College, 1949; M.A. New School, 1950. "Sociology of the Bahai Movement." *New School.*

Elizabeth Anne Betz, B.A. Wisconsin, 1938; A.M. Williams College, 1950. "A Comparative Study of Juvenile Delinquency Treatment in Selected Areas of the World." *New York.*

Goddard Binkley, B.S. Northwestern, 1946. "Conversation and Sociability." *New School.*

Frances Marian Bishop, B.A. Drury College, 1949; M.A. Kansas, 1950. "The Problems of Middle-Income Families." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Thomas L. Blair, B.A. Northwestern, 1950; M.A. Boston, 1951. "Analysis of Attitudes and Values Associated with Position in Social Structure in Rural Brazil." *Michigan State College.*

Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., A.B. Dartmouth College, 1949; M.A. Brown, 1953. "An Analysis of Some Statements in Race Relations Theory." *North Carolina.*

Leonard Blumberg, A.B., A.M. Wayne, 1947, 1949. "Wielders of Community Influence: Their Location in the Status System, Their Associational Activities, and Their Orientation toward the Community." *Michigan.*

Robert Boguslaw, B.A., M.A. Brooklyn College, 1940, 1947. "Role Tensions and Role Perceptions: An Approach to the Analysis

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of Labor-Management Relations." *New York.*

Joe M. Bohlen, B.S., M.S. Iowa State College, 1947, 1948. "Selected Social and Personal Factors Related to Levels of Knowledge and Opinion concerning Agricultural Cooperatives before and after a Public Relations Campaign." *Iowa State College.*

Charles Bolton, A.B. Denver, 1947; A.M. Stanford, 1948. "The Development Process of Friendship and Love Relations." *Chicago.*

Ernst Borinski, A.B. Halle (Germany), 1923; M.A. Chicago, 1946. "The Sociology of the Judicial Process: The Doctrine of 'Separate but Equal' before the Courts." *Pittsburgh.*

Clark H. Bouwman, B.A. Kalamazoo College, 1941; B.S. Western Michigan College, 1946; M.A. New School, 1949. "The Effects of Industrialization on a Small Rurally Oriented Southern Community." *New School.*

LeRoy Bowman, A.B. Chicago, 1911. "Funerals and Funeral Directors: A Sociological Analysis." *Columbia.*

Richard Brenneman, B.S. Lehigh, 1942; M.Litt. Pittsburgh, 1952. "The Growth and Development of Industrial Sociology since 1920." *Pittsburgh.*

Henry Bruck, B.A. California (Los Angeles), 1948; M.A. Princeton, 1952. "Decision-making in the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements." *Princeton.*

Jack V. Buerkle,· B.S., M.A. Illinois, 1948, 1949. "The Prediction of Supervisory Success in the Operating-Room: A Study of Occupational Selection and Adjustment." *Iowa.*

Max M. Burchard, A.B. San Jose State College, 1949; M.A. Nebraska, 1951. "A Study of the Maturation of Career Criminals." *Nebraska.*

Donald Lyman Burkholder, B.A. Earlham College, 1950; M.A. Wisconsin, 1953. . "Some Problems of Scale Analysis in Sociology." *Wisconsin.*

Jay G. Butler, B.S. Brigham Young, 1949; M.S. Purdue, 1951. "A Study of Interaction Patterns of Families with Mentally Deficient Children." *Illinois.*

Anthony J. Cacioppo, B.A., M.A. Kent State, 1948, 1949. "Some Theory of Criminality: Test of a Deduction." *Iowa.*

Leonard D. Cain, Jr., B.A., M.A. Texas Chris-

tian, 1948, 1949. "The Role of Social Myth in Social Movements." *Texas.*

Ray R. Canning, B.S. Utah State Agricultural College, 1942; M.S. Brigham Young, 1948. "A Study of Marriages and Completed Families in the Central Utah Area, with Reference to Religious and Cultural Homogeneity of Spouses." *Utah.*

Kenneth L. Cannon, B.S. Brigham Young, 1935; M.S. Iowa State College, 1947. "Sociometric scores among High School Students and their Relationships to Selected Variables of Family Living." *Iowa State College.*

Tilman Cantrell, B.A., M.A. Texas, 1947, 1948. "The Consensus on Role Expectations within an Oregon Community." *Oregon.*

Wilmoth Carter, A.B. Shaw, 1937; A.M. Atlanta, 1943. "Study of the Negro Main Street of a Contemporary Urban Community." *Chicago.*

Ely Chinoy, B.A. Newark, 1942. "Tradition of Opportunity and Aspirations of Automobile Workers." *Columbia.*

Yung Teh Chow, B.A. Feing Hua, 1937; M.A. Chicago, 1951. "Gentry of China: A Study of Social Mobility in a Rural Community." *Chicago.*

Burton Robert Clark, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1949. "Adult Education in Transition: A Study of Institutional Insecurity." *California (Los Angeles).*

Walter J. Cobb, A.B. Wyoming, 1940; A.M. Southern California, 1947. "Stereotypes of Selected White College Students concerning Negroes." *Southern California.*

Ruth Mathilde·Connor, A.B. Hunter College, 1947; M.S. Pennsylvania State, 1949. "Relationship of the Social Structure of Salem, Massachusetts, to a Self-study of Health." *North Carolina.*

Jack R. Conrad, A.B., A.M. Emory, 1949, 1951. "The Bull Fight: The Cultural History of an Institution." *Duke.*

Robert E. Corley, A.B. Illinois Wesleyan, 1942; M.A. Illinois, 1948. "A Sociological Evaluation of Some Urban Planning Programs." *Illinois.*

James Cowhig, A.B. Miami, 1950; M.A. Michigan State College, 1951. "The Impact of Technological Innovation upon the Social Structure of an Organization." *Michigan State College.*

Irving Crespi, B.S.S. City College of New York, 1945; M.A. Iowa, 1946. "A Functional Analysis of Social Card-playing as a Leisure-Time Activity." *New School.*

Margaret Elaine Cumming, A.B. Saskatchewan, 1948. "Attitudes toward Mental Illness: An Analysis of the Functions and Dysfunctions of Response to a Form of Deviance." *Radcliffe College.*

Gordon Cummins, B.S., M.S. Cornell, 1948, 1950. "The Major Value Orientations of New York State Farmers with Reference to the Role of the Federal Government in Agriculture." *Cornell.*

Sarah T. Curwood, A.B. Cornell, 1937; M.Ed. Boston, 1947. "Interaction Relationship between a Mother and a Preschool Teacher." *Radcliffe College.*

Harry K. Dansereau, B.S. Maryland, 1943; M.A. West Virginia, 1948. "Relationship between the Sentiments of Union Members and the Latent and Manifest Functions of a Union Local." *Michigan State College.*

Benjamin Darsky, A.B. Youngstown College, 1948; M.A. State College of Washington, 1949. "A Field Study of Some Sociological Determinants of Occupational Satisfaction in the Detroit Labor Force." *Michigan.*

Cecilia Gonzalez Davila, A.B.Ed. Puerto Rico, 1943; A.M. Columbia, 1946. "A Proposal for Community Education in Selected Resettlements in Puerto Rico." *New York.*

Sydney Denman, A.B. Mississippi State College, 1947; A.M. Tulane, 1949. "The Minister as a Professional Person." *Duke.*

Robert M. Dimit, B.A., M.S. Pennsylvania State College, 1948, 1949. "Diffusion of Approved Farming Practices in Virginia." *Iowa State College.*

George I. J. Dixon, A.B., M.A. Montana State, 1947, 1948. "A Theory of Urbanism: A Critical Study." *Nebraska.*

Everett Dixon Dyer, B.A. Houston, 1941; M.A. Texas, 1947. "Roles and Role Expectations in the Two-Income Family." *Wisconsin.*

William Gibb Dyer, B.A., M.A. Brigham Young, 1950, 1951. "A Study in Job Perception of the Worker and His Family." *Wisconsin.*

Richard Emerson, B.S. Utah, 1950; A.M. Minnesota, 1952. "Status Security and Social Inductibility: An Experimental Study." *Minnesota.*

Ellen Z. Erchul, B.E. Minnesota, 1938; M.S.W. Tulane, 1943. "A Comparative Analysis of the Sociological Methods of Frédéric Le Play and Émile Durkheim." *Southern California.*

Alex Fanelli, A.B., M.A. Dartmouth College, 1946, 1948. "Communications and Consensus in Community Action." *Michigan.*

Raymond O. Farden, A.B. Concordia College, 1947. "An Exploratory Study in the Ex Post Facto Predictions of Occupational Adjustment." *Minnesota.*

Sylvia Fleis Fava, B.A. Queens College, 1948; M.A. Northwestern, 1950. "Urban-Suburban Contrasts in Social Participation: Rural Orientation as a Factor in Suburban 'Neighboring.' " *Northwestern.*

Arnold Feldman, A.B., M.A. Wayne, 1949, 1951. "The Effect of Social Structure on Fertility and Fertility-related Variables in Puerto Rico." *Northwestern.*

Paul H. Fischer, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1948; A.M. Southern California, 1950. "A Sociological and Statistical Analysis of Selected Primary Groups." *Southern California.*

Frederick Christian Fliegel, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1949, 1952. "An Analysis of Certain Variables Associated with Acceptance of New Farm Practices." *Wisconsin.*

Noel Francisco, A.B., A.M., B.D. Drake, 1945, 1948, 1948. "Pacificism as a Social Movement." *Duke.*

Hyman H. Frankel, B.S., M.A. Illinois, 1947, 1948. "The Sociological Theory of Florian Znaniecki." *Illinois.*

Walter Freeman, B.S. Northern Illinois Teachers College, 1949; M.S. Michigan State College, 1952. "The Relationship of Sentiments within a Social System: A Study of Social Imagery." *Michigan State College.*

Ernestine Freud, B.A., M.A. Vienna, 1922, 1930. "The Social Implication of Language Disturbances." *New School.*

Mary G. Gabig, B.S. St. Louis, 1942; M.S. Catholic, 1948. "Graduates of the Catholic University School of Nursing Education." *Catholic.*

Zelma Mary Watson George, Ph.B. Chicago, 1924; A.M. New York, 1943. "A Guide to Negro Music: An Annotated Bibliography of Negro Folk Music, and Art Music by Negro Composers or Based on Negro Thematic Material." *New York.*

Gerhard F. Gettel, B.S. Michigan State College, 1942; M.S. Cornell, 1950. "An Empirical Study of Interorganizational and Intraorganizational Power Structures in St. Clair County, Michigan." *Michigan State College.*

Margaret Giovanelli, B.A. Indiana State College, 1935; M.A. Illinois, 1937. "Montaigne: Moral Aestheticism." *New School.*

David I. Golovensky, A.B. Yeshiva, 1932; M.S.S. New School, 1944. "In-group and Out-group Attitudes of Young Pupils in a Jewish Day School Compared with an Equivalent Sample of Pupils in Public (Mixed) Schools." *New York.*

Raymond Gorden, M.A. Chicago, 1949. "Interviewing Techniques in Relation to Interview Success." *Chicago.*

Robert Gray, B.S., M.S. Utah, 1949, 1949. "A Study of the Personal Adjustment of the Aged Member of the Mormon Church." *Chicago.*

Joseph Green, B.A. Harvard, 1945; M.A. Boston, 1947. "Patrick Henry Callahan: A Case History of an American Catholic Social Leader." *Catholic.*

A. Bartlett Hague, B.A. Yale, 1950; M.S. Michigan, 1951. "The Relationship of Norms Shared through Relations to Soil Conservation and Woods Practices." *Michigan.*

Archie Orben Haller, B.A. Hamline, 1950; M.A. Minnesota, 1951. "Status and Personality: The Relation between Various Indexes of Status and Measured Personality." *Wisconsin.*

Robert L. Hamblin, B.S. Utah, 1951. "An Experimental Study of the Relationship of Control and Co-ordination to Size in Small Populations." *Michigan.*

Marion B. Hamilton, A.B. Georgia State College for Women, 1946; A.M. Duke, 1948. "Some Aspects of the History of Sociology in the South." *Duke.*

David Bixby Hawk, A.B. Iowa State Teachers College, 1940; A.M. Chicago, 1948. "The Theory of General Education Courses in the College Curriculum." *Duke.*

F. Eugene Heilman, A.B. DePauw, 1929; M.A. Wisconsin, 1950. "Theories of Social Problems and Social Disorganization: A Historical and Analytical Study." *Nebraska.*

Sylvia Janovsky Heimbach, A.B. Hunter College, 1932; M.A. Radcliffe College, 1933.

"Empathic Ability and Reading Comprehension: An Exploratory Study of Their possible Correlation and Improvement." *New York.*

Daniel Grafton Hill, B.A. Howard, 1948; M.A. Toronto, 1951. "The Canadian Negro Community." *Toronto.*

George A. Hillery, Jr., B.A., M.A. Louisiana State, 1949, 1951. "The Negro Population of New Orleans." *Louisiana State.*

Robert K. Hirzel, B.A., M.A. Pennsylania State, 1946, 1950. "Rural-Farm Fertility in South Carolina, 1930–50." *Louisiana State.*

Charles W. Hobart, B.A. Redlands, 1950; M.A. Southern California, 1951. "Marital Role Expectation of College Dating, Courting, and Married Couples." *Indiana.*

Wade F. Hook, A.B. Newberry College; B.D. Southern Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1949; A.M. South Carolina, 1950. "A Sociological Analysis of Religious Leaders." *Duke.*

Gladys Marie Brase Hotz, A.B. Washington (St. Louis), 1948; M.A. Northwestern, 1951. "A Study of Migration and Aging." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Leah S. Houser, A.B., A.M. Michigan State College, 1933, 1938. "Sociometric Analysis of Informal Group Relationships among School Children." *Michigan State College.*

Perry H. Howard, B.A. Harvard, 1950; M.A. Louisiana State, 1951. "Political Ecology of Louisiana." *Louisiana State.*

John C. Howell, A.B., A.M. Texas Christian, 1951, 1952. "An Experimental Study of Small-Group Structure." *Duke.*

Harold Scott Huff, B.S. Oregon State College, 1940; M.S. Wisconsin, 1949. "The Role of the Minister in the Rural Community." *Wisconsin.*

James Hughes, B.S., M.S. Temple, 1939, 1949. "Juvenile Drug Addiction." *Indiana.*

John E. Hughes, B.A. Temple, 1948; M.A. Pennsylania, 1949. "A Study of Occupational Prestige." *Pennsylvania.*

Yung-lian Hwang, A.B. Kwang Hua, 1937. "Chinese-American Cultural Pattern." *New York.*

Mamoru Iga, B.A. Nishinomiyam (Japan), 1943; M.A. Brigham Young, 1949. "Acculturation of the Japanese Immigrants in Davis County, Utah." *Utah.*

Robert James, A.B., M.A. Wayne, 1948, 1950.

"An Examination and Testing of the Hypothesis of Thorstein Veblen concerning the Socioeconomic Distance between Classes." *Oregon.*

Florence E. Jay, A.B. Pennsylvania College for Women, 1924; M.A. Pittsburgh, 1948. "Analysis of Social Change in a Community over a Period of Twenty Years." *Pittsburgh.*

C. R. Jeffery, A.B. Indiana, 1949. "An Institutional Approach to a Theory of Crime." *Indiana.*

Clarence Johnson, A.B., M.A. Minnesota, 1950, 1952. "Political Cycles: A Study in Cultural Changes." *Minnesota.*

Miriam Massey Johnson, A.B. North Carolina, 1948; M.A. Radcliffe College, 1951. "Personality and the Feminine Role: A Functional Analysis." *Radcliffe College.*

Frank Edward Jones, A.B., M.A. McGill, 1949, 1950. "Sociological Aspects of Role Acquisition among Infantry Recruits." *Harvard.*

Walter Juergensen, A.B. Concordia College, 1942; M.A. Omaha, 1947. "Changes in the Institutions of Marriage and the Family in Germany during the Reformation." *Nebraska.*

Lee Roy Just, A.B. Tabor College, 1947; A.M. Kansas, 1948. "An Analysis of the Social Distance Reactions of Students from the Three Major American Mennonite Groups." *Southern California.*

Etta Elis Karp, A.B. Hunter College, 1928; A.M. Columbia, 1943. "Crime-Comic Role References of an Antisocial, Overly Socialized, and Average Group of Boys as Revealed in Responses to Crime-Comic Sequences." *New York.*

Bernard Karsh, M.A. Chicago, 1950. "The Labor Strike in a Small Community: A Study of Social Conflict." *Chicago.*

Benjamin Katz, Ph.B. City College of New York, 1924; B.S. New York, 1931. "Argentine Sociology: The Social Ideas of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento." *New York.*

Benjamin J. Keeley, A.B. Kearney State Teachers College, 1947; M.A. Nebraska, 1950. "Factors Associated with Value Convergence in a Social System: With Special Reference to the Marriage Group." *Nebraska.*

Suzanne Keller, A.B. Hunter College, 1948; M.A. Columbia, 1949. "Social Origins and Career Lines of Three Generations of American Business Leaders." *Columbia.*

James Carlton Kimberley, A.B. Emory, 1950. "Culture Conflict and Personality Disorganization." *Duke.*

Harry Vincent Kincaid, A.B. California (Santa Barbara), 1949; M.A. Stanford, 1951. "Urbanism and Dependency: A Test of a Value Theory in Rural Sociology." *Stanford.*

William J. Klausner, A.B. Redlands, 1941; A.M. Southern California, 1948. "The Relationship of Articulatory Disorders to Marital Adjustment and Parental Permissiveness in a Selected School District of Southern California." *Southern California.*

Arthur Kline, A.B. Ball State Teachers College, 1946. "Prediction of Marriage with Reference to Women Graduates of Indiana University." *Indiana.*

Clarence Kraft, B.S., M.S. Illinois, 1937, 1940. "Adjustment in Mixed-Religion Marriages." *Purdue.*

Louis Krause, A.B. South Dakota, 1948; A.M. Chicago, 1950. "A Study of Older Employed Women Living in Chicago." *Chicago.*

Richard Kurtz, A.B. Teachers College of Connecticut, 1951; M.S. Connecticut, 1953. "Marginality in Fringe." *Michigan State College.*

Joseph Lagey, B.S. Boston, 1942. "Relationship of Social Factors to Attitude Change." *Chicago.*

Ralph Lane, Jr., B.A., M.A. Columbia, 1946, 1947. "Change and Organization in Rural Ireland." *Fordham.*

Herbert R. Larsen, B.A. Brigham Young, 1938. "A Functional Analysis of the Mormon Family with Special Reference to Fertility." *Utah.*

Paul Lasakow, A.B., M.A. Illinois, 1948, 1950. "Occupational Background of Father and Sib Constellation in the Famility of Orientation and Their Relation to Levels of Aspiration and Mobility among Salesmen from Select Companies." *Northwestern.*

Jerome Laulicht, B.S.S.S. City College of New York, 1949. "Rural Conflict Resolution." *Kentucky.*

Lawrence Lawson, B.A. Toronto, 1927; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "The Protestant Minister in Chicago." *Chicago.*

William Lawton, B.A., M.A. Texas, 1933, 1935. "The Du Ponts: The Continuity of

a Combined Family and Business Institution in Relation to Its Culture Matrix." *Chicago.*

Charles N. Lebeaux, A.B. Dartmouth, 1935; M.S.W. Michigan, 1947. "Rural-Urban Influences in a Factory Population." *Michigan.*

Richard LeBlond, B.A., M.A. Cincinnati, 1950, 1950. "The Italian Military Elite: A Sociological Analysis." *Michigan.*

Albert Levak, B.S., M.Litt. Pittsburgh, 1947, 1949. "The Social Correlates of Farm Tenure." *Michigan State College.*

Gordon Fielding Lewis, A.B. Rutgers, 1949; M.A. Kentucky, 1951. "Occupational Mobility and Career Patterns of Small Businessmen in Lexington, Kentucky." *Kentucky.*

Roger Little, A.B. Harvard, 1948; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "A Study of Combat-Role Performance and Participation in Informal Social Systems." *Michigan State College.*

Hui Chen·Wang Liu, B.A. Fu Jen (Peiping, China), 1942; M.L. Pittsburgh, 1950. "Family Roles in Traditional China." *Pittsburgh.*

Juarez Lopes, B.A. Escola Sociologia e Política, 1950. "Industry and the Local Community." *Chicago.*

Albert E. Lovejoy, B.A., M.A. North Carolina, 1947, 1949. "The Structure of American Churches: A Study in the Typology of Religious Bodies." *North Carolina.*

Frank Lovrich, B.A. Southeastern Louisiana College, 1951; M.A. South Dakota, 1952. "The Yugoslavs in Louisiana: A Study of Social Change." *Louisiana State.*

Sheldon Lowry, B.A. Brigham Young, 1946; M.A. Michigan State College, 1950. "Differentials in Morbidity in Relation to Use and Cost of Health Services in Wake County, North Carolina." *Michigan State College.*

.Amos Lytton, A.B. Akron, 1946; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "Retirement in the Rubber Industry." *Chicago.*

Robert B. McGinnis, B.A. San Francisco State College, 1950; M.A. Stanford, 1951. "An Analysis of Reproductive Attitudes and Reproductive Behavior of Puerto Rican Couples." *Northwestern.*

Charles McKendrick, B.S. Manhattan College, 1943; M.A. Columbia, 1942. "The

Treatment of Youthful Offenders in New York State." *New York.*

Lewis J. McNurlen, A.B., A.M. Drake, 1948, 1949. "Influence of Lobbying upon Public Opinion." *Duke.*

Rita Mao, B.S. Catholic (Peiping, China), 1944. "Cyclical Theories of Social Change and Chinese History." *Fordham.*

Rev. John Vincent Martin, Studium Philosophicum, Belgium (Order of S. Benedicti), 1933; A.M. Harvard, 1951. "Comparison between Theoretical System of Talcott Parsons and Georges Gurvitch." *Harvard.*

Leonard W. Moss, B.S., A.M. Wayne, 1947, 1950. "The Master-Plumber in Detroit: A Study of Role Adjustment in a Handcraft Occupation undergoing Technological Change." *Michigan.*

Vincent Mott, B.A. Xavier (New Orleans), 1938; M.A. Fordham, 1947. "Local 9, John Wanamaker Employees Independent Union: An Analysis in the Field of Industrial Sociology." *Fordham.*

Peter Munakata, B.A. Sophia (Tokyo), 1942; M.A. Fordham, 1953. "A Study of the Analysis of Bureaucratic Organization by American Sociologists." *Fordham.*

Byron E. Munson, B.S., A.M. Illinois, 1949, 1950. "Attitudes concerning Urban versus Suburban Residency in Indianapolis." *Illinois.*

Raymond John Murphy, B.A., M.A. Rochester, 1948, 1950. "Situs and Occupations of Prestige." *Northwestern.*

Antanas Musteikis, B.A. University at Jilnius (Lithuania), 1941. "Religious Fluctuations during the Period of the Reformation in Lithuania." *New York.*

Norman Painter, B.A. Baylor, 1947; M.A. Tulane, 1949. "Delineation and Demographic Comparison of Locality Grouping in a Latin-American Community." *Michigan State College.*

Neil M. Palmer, A.B., M.A. Texas, 1947, 1949. "An Empirical Investigation of the Association of Selected Variables with the Use of Membership Groups as Reference Groups." *Iowa.*

Genan Pamir, A.B. American College (Stamboul), 1943. "Some Special Expectations Pertaining to Occupational Statuses." *New York.*

J. Albert Pennock, B.S., M.S. Utah, 1948, 1949.

"A Study of the Marital Crises on Divorce and Postdivorce Adjustment." *Utah.*

Warren Peterson, B.S. Western Michigan College, 1943; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "Aging and Career Patterns of Public High-School Teachers." *Chicago.*

Harold Pfautz, A.B. Brown, 1940; A.M. Chicago, 1947. "Christian Science as a Social Movement and Religious Sect: Its Ecology, Demography, and Social Psychology." *Chicago.*

Jesse Richard Pitts, A.B., A.M. Harvard, 1941, 1950. "The French Family: The Family and Economic Traditionalism in France." *Harvard.*

Louis A. Ploch, B.S., M.S. Pennsylvania State, 1950, 1951. "Motivational and Situational Factors in Social Participation: A Case-Study Analysis." *Cornell.*

Vernon C. Pohlmann, A.B., A.M. Washington (St. Louis), 1941, 1948. "Relationship between Socioeconomic Status and Choice of High School." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Alphonso S. Powe, B.S., B.D. Johnson C. Smith, 1929, 1932. "The Role of Negro Pressure Groups in Interracial Integration in Durham City, North Carolina." *New York.*

Lois V. Pratt, B.S. Connecticut, 1946; M.A. Michigan State College, 1948. "The Influence of Postmarital Nonfamilial Participation and Premarital Experience on Internal Family Functioning." *Michigan.*

Jack J. Preiss, B.A. Dartmouth College, 1949; M.A. Columbia, 1951. "Social Correlates of Selected Agricultural Extension Programs." *Michigan State College.*

Gladys Putney, A.B., M.A. Nebraska, 1949, 1950. "The Acceptors of Fundamental Education Projects in Two Mexican Villages" (with Snell Putney). *Oregon.*

Snell Putney, A.B., M.A. Nebraska, 1950, 1951. "The Acceptors of Fundamental Education Projects in Two Mexican Villages" (with Gladys Putney). *Oregon.*

Mel Jerome Ravitz, A.B. Wayne, 1948; M.A. New School, 1949. "Factors Associated with the Selection of Nursing or Teaching as a Career." *Michigan.*

Horace D. Rawls. B.S., M.S. North Carolina State College, 1943, 1946. "The Sociological Problems of Aging among North Carolina Industrial Workers." *Duke.*

Raymond E. Ries, A.B., M.A. Illinois, 1949,

1952. "A Study of Bureaucratization in a Sales Organization." *Illinois.*

Dorris Rivers, B.S. Mississippi Southern College, 1937; M.Ed. Duke, 1946. "Study of a Poor White Community in Mississippi." *Duke.*

Richard H. Robbins, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1947; M.A. State College of Washington, 1948. "The Immigration Act: A Case Study in Political Sociology." *Illinois.*

Wayne C. Rohrer, B.S., M.S. Texas A. & M. College, 1946, 1948. "The Nature of Large-Scale Farmers' Organizations and Its Relationship to Nonvocational Adult Education Programs." *Michigan State College.*

Donald E. Roos, B.S., M.A. Northwestern, 1941, 1949. "Complementary Needs in Mate Selection: A Study Based on *R*-Type Factor Analysis." *Northwestern.*

Morris Rosenberg, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1946; M.A. Columbia, 1950. "Occupational Values and Occupational Choice." *Columbia.*

H. Welton Rotz, B.A. Hastings College, 1931; B.D. McCormick Theological Seminary, 1935; M.A. Drew. "A Study of the Recruitment, Training, Support, and Efficiency of the Protestant Church Leadership in the Philippine Islands." *Cornell.*

Elliott Rudwick, B.S. Temple, 1949; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1950. "An Examination and Evaluation of the Contributions of Du Bois in American Racial Ideology." *Pennsylvania.*

Mary Faith Pellett Russell, A.B. Wichita, 1950; M.A. Washington (St. Louis), 1953. "Some Behavior Correlates of Ecological Urbanism." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Leo Francis Schnore, A.B. Miami, 1950; A.M. Michigan, 1951. "An Ecological Analysis of Population Changes in Metropolitan Satellites of the United States, 1900–1950." *Michigan.*

Delbert Schrag, A.B. Bethel College, 1948; B.D. Bethany Seminary, 1952; M.A. Chicago, 1952. "The Sectarian and Liberal Protestant Minister." *Chicago.*

Robert O. Schulze, A.B. Michigan, 1947; A.M. Columbia, 1952. "Power and Influence in the Local Community." *Michigan.*

Richard Fowler Scudder, A.B. Georgetown College, 1934; M.A. Peabody College, 1940. "A Study of the Reliability of Social Sta-

tus Indexes in a Blue-grass Community." *Kentucky.*

Harry P. Sharp, A.B. Michigan State College, 1949; A.M. Michigan, 1951. "The Integration of Migrants to a Metropolitan Community." *Michigan.*

Benjamin D. Shratter, B.S., M.L. Pittsburgh, 1951, 1952. "The Sociologist as a Professional Employee in Industry." *Pittsburgh.*

Kenneth Skelton, B.A. Waynesburg College, 1928; M.A. Pennsylvania State, 1930. "Sociological Aspects of Mark Twain." *New School.*

Sara Elizabeth Smith, B.S. Indiana State Teachers College, 1939; M.A. North Carolina, 1947. "The Occupational System and Migration within the United States." *North Carolina.*

David B. Stafford, A.B. Guilford College, 1938; A.M. Haverford College, 1939. "Sociocultural Change and Quakerism: A Case Study in the Functional Sociology of Religion in Terms of Reference-Group Theory." *Duke.*

Charles Steinberg, A.B., A.M. New York, 1937, 1939. "Exclusive Television Channels for Education." *New York.*

Chalmers K. Stewart, B.A., M.A. Akron, 1932, 1933. "A Sociological Analysis of the American War Novel of World War II." *New School.*

Clarence A. Storla, B.A. Minnesota (Duluth), 1949; M.A. Louisiana State, 1951. "Knowledge and Attitudes Relative to Heart Disease in Selected Areas of Louisiana." *Louisiana State.*

Murray A. Straus, B.A., M.S. Wisconsin, 1948, 1949. "Child Training and Child Personality in a Rural and Urban Area of Ceylon." *Wisconsin.*

Gordon F. Streib, B.A. North Central College, 1941; M.S.S. New School, 1947. "Patterns of Communication among the Navaho Indians." *Columbia.*

Joseph Stycos, A.B. Princeton, 1947. "Family and Fertility in Lower-Class Puerto Rico." *Columbia.*

Rev. Stanislaus Sypek, B.A. St. Mary's College (Michigan), 1938; M.S.W. Boston College, 1947. "Adjustment and Maladjustment of Polish Displaced Persons' Families in the Boston Area." *Fordham.*

Stanley Taylor, B.A., M.A. Toronto, 1932,

1938. "Conceptions of Institutions and the Theory of Knowledge." *Chicago.*

Paul Thomas, A.B., M.A. Oberlin, 1932, 1938. "Family Size Preferences in Two Selected Student Groups." *Indiana.*

Thomas E. Thompson, B.S. Tuskegee Institute, 1942; M.A. New York, 1946; Specialist in Ed., New York, 1952. "A Study of the Changes in the Political Allegiance of the American Negro." *New School.* ,

Alice Thorpe, B.S., M.A. Michigan State College, 1931, 1949. "The Home as the Physical Setting for Family Interaction." *Michigan State College.*

Jean Beattie Tompkins, B.A., M.A. Iowa, 1927, 1929. "Reference Groups and Status Values as Determinants of Voluntary Group Memberships: A Study of Women's Voluntary Groups." *Iowa.*

Rev. Stanislaus Treu, M.A. Fordham, 1940. "Factors in the Selection of Marriage Partners among Three Generations of Women Graduates of Selected Catholic Colleges." *Fordham.*

Harrison Miller Trice, B.A. Louisiana State, 1946; M.A. Wisconsin, 1948. "The Social Organization of Drinking Behavior in the Tavern." *Wisconsin.*

Robert O. Trout, B.A. Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, 1938; M.A. Louisiana State, 1942. "A Demographic Analysis of the North Louisiana Hill Parishes." *Louisiana State.*

Peter Trutza, M.S. Bucharest, 1939; Th.M. Southern Baptist Seminary, 1944. "A Study of Religious Acculturation of the Romanian Group in Chicago." *Chicago.*

John A. Tumblin, Jr., A.B. Wake Forest College, 1948; A.M. Duke, 1950. "Sociological Analysis of Religious Conversion and Religious Converts." *Duke.*

Robert C. Vanderham, B.A., M.A. DePauw, 1947, 1949. "A Study of the Ingham County Hospital as a Social System." *Michigan State College.*

David W. Varley, A.B. Oberlin College, 1948; A.M. Michigan, 1951. "An Analysis of Some Factors Affecting Regionalism in the United States, 1910–40." *Michigan.*

Arthur Vener, A.B. Queens College, 1950; M.A. Michigan State College, 1953. "Social-Psychological Aspects of Adolescent Clothing Attitudes." *Michigan State College.*

Paula Verdet, Double License and Diploma Sorbonne, 1946. "A Study of Preaching in

Relation to Discrepancies between Lay and Professional Definitions of the Institution and of the Membership in the Roman Catholic Church." *Chicago*.

Helmut R. Wagner, Technical College (Dresden), 1924; M.A. New School, 1952. "Weber's General Sociology of Religion: A Study in Concepts." *New School*.

Frederick B. Waisanen, B.A. North Michigan College, 1950; M.A. Iowa, 1952. "The Prejudice Variable: A Social, Psychological, and Methodological Study." *Iowa*.

Cheng Wang, A.B., M.A. Stanford, 1930, 1931. "The Kuomingtang: A Sociological Study of Demoralization." *Stanford*.

Lester Weinberger, B.S.S.S., B.S. Library Science City College of New York, 1938, 1939; M.A. New School, 1951. "The Teacher's Union: A Study in White-Collar Unionism." *New School*.

Eugene Weinstein, B.A. Chicago, 1950; M.A. Indiana, 1951. "The Development of Children's Conceptions of Occupational Prestige." *Northwestern*.

Robert S. Weiss, A.B. Buffalo, 1949; A.M. Michigan, 1952. "Organization and Individual: A Conceptualization Emphasizing Role Behavior as a Linking Variable." *Michigan*.

Benedict Wengler, B.A. St. Francis College, 1949; M.A. Columbia, 1951. "Sociology of the Apprentice." *Fordham*.

Roy A. West, B.S., M.S. Utah State Agricultural College, 1928, 1931. "The Factors That Hold Marriage Together." *Utah*.

David Wheatley, A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1946, 1948. "A Study of Ecological Expansion in Japanese Communities." *Michigan*.

James W. Wiggins, A.B. Georgia State Teachers College, 1934; A.M. Duke, 1943. "The Ecology of Atlanta, Georgia." *Duke*.

Harold Wilensky, A.B. Antioch College, 1947; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "The Staff Expert: A Study of the Intelligence Function in American Trade-Unions." *Chicago*.

Marvin E. Wolfgang, B.A. Dickinson College, 1948; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1950. "Criminal Homicide in Philadelphia." *Pennsylvania*.

Charles Emmert Woodhouse, A.B. Colorado, 1947; M.A. California (Berkeley), 1950. *California (Berkeley)*.

Margot Haas Wormser, B.A. Elmira College, 1943. "Community Studies on Anti-Semitism." *New School*.

George K. Yamamoto, A.B., A.M. Hawaii, 1947, 1949. "The Career of the Japanese-American Lawyer in Honolulu." *Chicago*.

Morris Zelditch, Jr., A.B. Oberlin, 1951. "Value Standards and the Acceptance of Authority Figures in Four Southwestern Cultures." *Harvard*.

Henry Zentner, A.B. British Columbia, 1949; M.A. Stanford, 1950. "Primary-Group Affiliation and Institutional Group Morale: A Study in Institutional Group Dynamics." *Stanford*.

Hans Zetterberg, M.A. Minnesota, 1951; Fil.-Lec. Uppsala, 1952. "Attitudes toward Democracy in a Swedish Town." *Minnesota*.

Basil G. Zimmer, A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1947, 1949. "Adjustment of Migrants in the Urban Community." *Michigan*.

NEWS AND NOTES

University of Bridgeport.—Joseph S. Roucek, chairman of the departments of sociology and political science, will be visiting professor of education at the University of Oregon during the summer. He is the co-author, with Philip L. Harriman and George B. deHuszar, of the recent book *Contemporary Social Science*, is currently revising *Social Control*, and is co-author of two chapters in T. V. Kalivarji's revised *Modern World Politics*.

Abraham E. Knepler, associate professor of sociology, will be on leave during the fall of 1954 as the recipient of a study award from the Fund for Adult Education. He will combine study of community organization and adult education at Columbia University with field work and a survey of adult education in several of the Fund's "test cities." Professor Knepler has been elected 1954 president of the Connecticut Association of Adult Education.

William T. DeSiero, instructor in sociology and political science, has served as adviser to the Sociology Colloquium, undergraduate society for sociology majors. He has been appointed faculty adviser to the university student representatives to the annual Mock Legislature held at the State Capitol in Hartford every spring.

University of British Columbia.—Kaspar Naegele has accepted an appointment as assistant professor in sociology.

. The Dominion Department of Citizenship and Immigration has requested the University of British Columbia to make a comprehensive study of the contemporary Indian, with a view to assessing his present social and economic status and making recommendations for future policy. The project will be administered by Harry B. Hawthorn, with C. S. Belshaw, assistant director, and Stuart Jamieson, economist. Dr.

Belshaw will take a year's leave of absence to give full time to the work. Advanced students will conduct community studies, as well as some specialized studies in welfare and economics. Senior specialists will participate in reviewing the position of the Indians in agriculture, fishing, trapping, welfare, law and correctional programs, and government. This is the first time the government of Canada has called on the social sciences for a project of this nature and magnitude, and it is regarded as a pilot project, forerunner of others across Canada.

The report of the Doukhobor Research Committee has been revised so as to be a book of more general interest; it will be published by J. M. Dent.

University of California.—Herbert Blumer, chairman of the department of sociology and social institutions, has been elected president of the American Sociological Society, to assume office in 1955.

Wolfram Eberhard, professor of sociology, has been elected president of the western branch of the American Oriental Society. Professor Eberhard is a specialist in oriental cultures, particularly Chinese culture.

Philip Selznick, assistant professor, has been awarded a Faculty Research Fellowship by the Social Science Research Council which will allow him to devote one-half of his time to special research for three years in the sociology of law.

William Kornhauser has been elected a fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences under the auspices of the Ford Foundation.

Kenneth Bock, assistant professor, will resume teaching in the department during the 1954 summer session. He is currently on leave as a holder of a faculty fellowship under the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation.

Catholic University of America.—The fourth annual Workshop in Intergroup Education will be held at the university from June 28 to August 7. Special attention will be devoted to community problems. Staff members include John J. O'Connor, of Georgetown University; Gunnar Haugh, principal of the Fletcher Elementary School, Cambridge, Massachusetts; and Ethel James Williams, director of Southeast Settlement House, Washington, D.C., supplemented by visiting experts. The major fields of investigation will be group dynamics, educational methods and curriculum, and social group work.

Six graduate and undergraduate credits are given for workshop attendance. Registration is open to teachers, community leaders, and all those interested in human-relations problems and techniques. A limited number of scholarships are available.

University of Chicago.—Richard Wohl has been awarded a year's Guggenheim Fellowship, to begin in October. He plans to write a book on ideologies of success in the United States, working at the Harvard Research Center in Entrepreneurial History.

The Thirty-first Annual Institute of the Society for Social Research was held on May 21 and 22, 1954, jointly with the annual meeting of the Illinois Council on Family Relations. The theme was "Applied Science and Social Science." The sections and contributors of papers were as follows:

Research Methods (Otis Dudley Duncan, University of Chicago, chairman): Dan C. Lortie, National Opinion Research Center (N.O.R.C.); Fred L. Strodtbeck, University of Chicago; William Long, University of Chicago.

Social Psychology (Anselm Strauss, University of Chicago, chairman): S. Kirson Weinberg, Roosevelt College; Warren Peterson, Kansas City Project on Aging; James Carper, University of Illinois.

Population Studies for Social Engineering Uses (Philip Hauser, University of Chicago, chairman): Eugene Weinstein, Northwestern University; Beverley Duncan, Chicago Community Inventory.

Studies in Social Class (Peter Blau, University of Chicago, chairman): Leonard Schatzman, N.O.R.C. (with Anselm Strauss, University of Chicago); Harold L. Sheppard, Wayne University; James Abegglin, Social Research, Inc.

Survey Research (Clyde Hart, N.O.R.C., University of Chicago, chairman): Shirley A. Star, Robert Endleman, and Jack Ellinson (all N.O.R.C.).

Social Psychology and Communication (Donald Horton, University of Chicago, chairman): Rhoda L. Goldstein, Harold Garfinkle, and Norman H. Martin (all University of Chicago).

Functional versus Sociological Marriage Textbooks (Peter Klassen, University of Illinois, chairman): Panel discussion by Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago; Ruth Shonle Cavan, Rockford College; Evelyn Millis Duvall, Chicago, Illinois; Robert F. Winch, Northwestern University.

Social Research and Applied Research (Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago, chairman): Panel discussion by Joseph Lohman, University of Chicago; Lillian Ripple, University of Chicago; H. W. Saunders, Iowa State University; Clifford R. Shaw, Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research; Howard Stanton, University of Chicago and Chicago Child Care Society.

Legislative Efforts in Illinois To Promote Family Stability (Eugene Litwak, University of Chicago, chairman): Panel discussion by Benjamin B. Davis, member of the Chicago Bar; Wesley Hall, member of the Chicago Bar; Max Rheinstein, University of Chicago; Luigi Tagliacozzo, Association for Family Living; Philipp Weintraub, Hunter College.

Criminological Research (Lloyd Ohlin, University of Chicago, chairman): Alfred R. Lindesmith, Indiana University; Daniel Glaser, University of Illinois.

Role of Urban Analysis in Urban Problems (Donald Bogue, University of Chicago, chairman): Harold M. Mayer, University of Chicago; Philip Hauser, University of Chicago.

Research on the Family (Nelson N. Foote, University of Chicago, chairman):

Robert Peck, University of Chicago; Dorothy Flapan, University of Chicago; Thomas D. Eliot, Northwestern University; and Arthur Hillman, Roosevelt College.

Committee for the Scientific Study of Religion.—The fall meeting will be held at Harvard University on Saturday, November 6, 1954. The program is to be divided between reports on empirical investigations and presentations concerning theories and techniques. Those who have papers not longer than twenty minutes to propose should send two copies of a 300-word abstract to Professor Richard V. McCann, 48 Mount Auburn Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts, before September 30, 1954.

For further information apply to the secretary, Dean W. H. Clark, Hartford School of Religious Education, Hartford 5, Connecticut.

Eastern Sociological Society.—The annual meeting was held in New York on April 3 and 4. President Ira DeA. Reid gave an address on "The Social Protest: Cue and Catharsis" at the annual dinner. Dr. Ralph W. Tyler, of the University of Chicago, director of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, was guest speaker for the occasion, his topic being "The Center: Its Principles and Purposes." Sections of the meeting included "Methods in Social Research," "Stratification and Occupation," "Social Structure," "Frontiers in Social Theory," and "Studies in Social Problems."

Three hundred and eighty-seven persons were present. The members voted to request that the American Sociological Society make space available in the *American Sociological Review* for official statements of professional interest transmitted to it by the regional societies through their representatives on the National Council. They also voted that the American Sociological Society define the powers of its new committee on committees to assure the broadest possible participation by the whole council in the process of nominations and elections. A regular committee of the Eastern Sociologi-

cal Society was established: the Committee on Freedom and Responsibility in Teaching and Research.

Persons previously elected by mail ballot who took office for the forthcoming fiscal year were Alfred McClung Lee, president; Vincent H. Whitney, vice-president; Ray H. Abrams, elected member of the executive committee; and Arthur L. Wood, secretary-treasurer. Other members of the executive committee are Ira DeA. Reid, Wilbert E. Moore, August B. Hollingshead, and James H. Barnett.

University of Edinburgh.—The department of social anthropology is conducting a program of research into racial and cultural contacts between Britain, West Africa, and the West Indies. Completed projects include a study of the colored community of Manchester (E. B. Ndem), colonial students in London and in one of the "older" universities (A. T. Carey and Sheila Webster), the colored social elite in London (Violaine Junod), the colored population of Stepney and colonial immigration into Britain (Michael Banton), the Negro and Moslem group on Tyneside (S. F. Collins), and the tribal organization of Freetown (Michael Banton).

Studies in progress include social mobility in Jamaica (S. F. Collins), new forms of leadership and social change in a Gold Coast and a Nigerian community (A. T. Carey and Tanya Baker), and a mining community in the Sierra Leona Protectorate (James Littlejohn).

Fifth International Congress on Mental Health.—The congress will meet at the University of Toronto, August 14–21. The theme is "Mental Health in Public Affairs."

There will be round-table sessions on "Mental Health and Education," "Parent Education," and "The Role of the Volunteer in Mental Health Work," and technical sections with papers on (a) "Areas of Partnership in Mental and Public Health: Mental Health and Mental Disorder, Industrial Mental Health, Mental Health and Public Health Partnership, Alcoholism and Drug

Addiction"; (b) "Mental Health of Children and Youth: Early Childhood, Mental Health in Education, the Special Mental Health Needs of Handicapped Children"; (c) "Mental Health in Government Activities: The Role of the Social Scientist in Governmental Affairs, Mental Health and Technological Change, Mental Health and Population Movements, and Mental Health in the Administration of Justice"; (d) "Community Partnership in Mental Health: The Function and Organization of Mental Health Societies, Development of Informed Public Opinion, Community Organization for Mental Health, and the Relationship of Mental Health Societies to Governments"; (e) "Professional Advances in the Mental Health Field: Biological Adaptation, Psychosomatic Illness, Learning and Psychotherapy, and the Operative Factors in Effective Therapy."

Send inquiries regarding the program of the Child Psychiatry Institute to Miss Helen Speyer, Executive Officer, International Association for Child Psychiatry, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, New York, U.S.A.

For further information write to the congress office, 111 St. George Street, Toronto, Canada.

Gerontological Society.—Although preliminary plans and announcements have been made for a September meeting, the dates of the annual meeting have been changed to December 28, 29, and 30. The meeting will be held in Gainesville, Florida.

Institute of General Semantics.—The Eleventh Summer Seminar-Workshop in General Semantics will be held from August 14 to 29, 1954. Basic courses will be conducted by a group of co-workers who studied with Alfred Korzybski: O. R. Bontrager; Harry Holtzman; Charlotte Schuchardt; J. S. Bois; Daniel Wheeler, M.D.; Lillian R. Lieber; M. Kendig; James M. Broadus; and others.

The workshop offers intensive training in theory and practice of general semantics to those interested in improving their skills in evaluation, communication, and human relations.

There are full and partial scholarships. Teachers, research and other professional workers, and university students are eligible for tuition reductions.

For detailed information write to the Institute of General Semantics, Lakeville, Connecticut.

International Institute of Sociology.—The institute will hold its 1954 meeting in Paris in September. This is the sixteenth congress.

The International Institute was founded by René Worms in 1893. Since then, the institute has been continuously active, with the exception of the abnormal periods of the two world wars. The *Proceedings* of the first ten annual congresses were published in their entirety (sixteen volumes in all); reports of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth congresses were published in the *Revue internationale de sociologie*. The *Proceedings* of the fourteenth congress (Rome, 1950) are in press and consist of four volumes, including also some papers that were presented at the Bucharest congress but were not published. (A number of papers presented at Bucharest were edited by Professor Gusti in five volumes, of which all copies were lost, owing to the political and military events in Rumania.)

Publication of the *Revue internationale de sociologie* was begun immediately after the foundation of the institute and continued regularly until about 1935, when it was suspended in consequence of the closing down of the Giard publishing office. The *Revue* is to be continued with articles and sections in French, English, Italian, German, and Spanish.

The institute also edits the *Bibliothèque sociologique internationale*, comprising some fifty volumes, many of which are among the classic works on sociology. The publication is planned of a series of volumes offering a comprehensive view of the most significant contributions to the various branches of sociology by scholars of all countries. That

series, to be edited with the collaboration of eminent sociologists, will continue the *Bibliothèque*, though the plan underlying it will be somewhat different from that of the first volumes, which had a predominantly monographic character.

Japan Sociological Society.—The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Japan Sociological Society was held on October 10–11, 1953, at the Tohoku University of Sendai. Over four hundred sociologists and specialists of neighboring sciences took active part in the series of discussions and lectures.

The topics and participants were as follows: Saturday, October 10, "Mass Communication and Social Psychology" (Kiyoji Honda and Toshio Kaba, chairmen; Toshiro Sakai, Yasuji Ito, Shigeki Nishihira Tomoo Sato, Atsushi Misaki, Kosaku Matsuura, and Kentaro Kihara, reporters); "Fishing Village Problems" (Jyuri Tanabe and Tomio Yonebayashi, chairmen; Takeshi Numata, Takeshi Matsubara, Susumu Yoshioka, Jyuri Tanabe, Fumio Miura, Masao Mori, Teruo Tanozaki, Yoshitaro Shiratsuchi, and Eiichi Yamaoka, reporters); "Industry and Labor" (Keizo Yoneyama and Yoshiro Tomita, chairmen; Joji Watanuki, Shoji Kato, Hiromichi Nakamoto, Takayoshi Kitagawa, Mikio Saegusa, and Yoshimatsu Aonuma, reporters); "Education and Crime" (Tatsumi Makino and Seiichi Nakano, chairmen; Noboru Yanagida, Hyoichi Saitoo Terumi Sato, Jyuichi Oyabu, Sadao Yokoyama, and Keiichi Chikazawa, reporters); "Sociological Theory" (two sections) ([1] Akio Baba and Fumio Anzai, chairmen; Sukeji Takahama, Arata Haneda, Keiichi Sakuda, Otoyori Tahara, Toshiaki Mukai, Kikuji Ito, Tatsuo Matsuno, Yoshio Atoji, and Motoshiro Sadahira, reporters; [2] Yasujiro Daido and Monkichi Nanba, chairmen; Kozo Iwao, Hayao Tachi, Tokutaro Tamazu, Minoru Kanazawa, Shoji Saito, Kishio Horii, Kojyu Suzuki, Hisao Okamura, and Tetsuo Watanuki, reporters); "Rural Society" (Hikoichi Oyama and Toshio Hayase, chairmen; Mitsuyoshi Kikuchi, Kazuo Goto, Tsutomu

Kamiya, Haruhiko Nishida, Noboru Yamamoto, Masataro Abe, Hikoichi Oyama, Tadashi Fukutake, Tetsundo Tsukamoto, Yuichi Minagawa, Kazuo Noda, Takayoshi Kitagawa, Jyoji Watanuki, Minoru Miyakawa, Haruro Matsubara, Miyuki Ohashi, Kazue Koda, and Takeo Shinohara, reporters); "Population and Urban Society" (Eiichi Isomura and Toshio Hayase, chairmen; Kyuichi Yoshida, Kazuo Aoi, Eiichiro Tamura, Mariko Sakaeda, Akira Hamajima, Shinichiro Suga, Hideo Sasamori, Fumio Yamanoto, Hiroshi Hara, Ryoichi Yokoyama, Giko Nakamura, Seiichi Okamura, and Isao Nishinoiri, reporters). Sunday, October 11, "Family and Marriage" (Yuzuru Okada and Takashi Koyama, chairmen; Kiyoshi Ezawa, Inaki Iino, Tadashi Kanno, Yoshio Saito, Hideichi Imazaki, Tooru Kitamura, and Shotaro Sakurai, reporters); "Rural Society" (Rikuhei Imori and Kiyohide Seki, chairmen; Tsuneo Mizuno, Toshibumi Yokomori, Masako Yamagishi, Akinori Hagimura, Yoshihiko Nakano, Keido Yamada, and Rikuhei Imori, reporters); "Morals and Religion" (Shintaro Tokunaga and Kanji Naito, chairmen; Michio Murata, Eiichi Mukai, Bonsen Takahashi, Inae Hayashi, Arata Yamamoto, and Shintaro Tokunaga, reporters); "Race and Social Class" (Eizo Koyama and Kentarō Komatsu, chairmen; Susumu Suzuki, Tomio Yonebayashi, Eizo Koyama, Takeo Yazaki, Tetsuro Sasaki, Ryotaro Nakajima, and Fujio Tomita, reporters). In conclusion, "A Collaborative Study of the Japanese Village—North Eastern Japan" (Kizaemon Ariga, chairman; Akira Kinoshita, Hideo Goto, Shoichi Hirono, Osamu Saito, Yoshio Ishizaki, and Goro Iname, reporters).

University of Kentucky.—At the recent annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Atlanta, Irwin T. Sanders, distinguished professor of sociology, was elected president for the year 1955–56.

This year, for the fourth consecutive summer, a six-week Seminar on Intergroup Relations will be held on the campus. Gordon Lovejoy will again serve as director, and

Sidney Kaplan, instructor in sociology, will serve as assistant director. The seminar is jointly sponsored by the University and the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Howard W. Beers, head of the departments of sociology and rural sociology, has been elected chairman for 1954–55 of the North Central Regional Rural Sociology Committee, sponsored by the Farm Foundation.

C. Arnold Anderson, professor of sociology, will be on sabbatical leave during the academic year 1954–55 and is planning a research itinerary in Scandinavia and elsewhere in Europe.

Ralph J. Ramsey has been appointed to the faculty for the Southern Regional Extension School, to be held on the University of Arkansas campus during the summer. He will teach "Use of Groups in Extension Work."

Gilbert Hardee, graduate student, has been appointed a community development specialist on the staff of the Point IV–Near East Foundation Mission to Iran. He leaves June 1. A year ago he returned from a sojourn in Australia, as a Fulbright research scholar.

James W. Gladden, associate professor of sociology, recently conducted a Workshop on Marriage and Family Life Education, at Mississippi State College.

Recent consultants for the "Societies around the World" course, offered jointly by the anthropology, geography, and sociology departments, have been William Kajubi, a member of the Baganda kingdom, Uganda, Africa, and Mr. and Mrs. Paul Jones, Navaho Indians from Window Rock, Arizona.

The following are currently serving as graduate assistants in the departments of sociology and rural sociology: Leonard Griswold, Edwin Hanna, Jerome Laulicht, Paul Richardson, and James N. Young. Gordon Lewis holds a university scholarship, and Herbert Aurbach is a technical assistant.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology.—A two-week special summer program on the problems of organizational communication will be given from June 21 to July 2, 1954, as part of the summer session. The program is designed for business executives and administrators who are interested in technical and psychological problems in the human communication networks. Alex Bavelas, associate professor of psychology in the department of economics and social science, will direct the program.

There will be seminars on the communication problems of the individual as a member of an organization; the effect of certain formal communication channels on productivity and morale; and special problems of administrative communication systems. Members of the faculty assisting with the program are Thomas M. Hill, associate professor of accounting; Jerome B. Wiesner, professor of electrical engineering; and Herbert A. Shepard, assistant professor of sociology. There will also be special lectures.

Full details and application blanks may be obtained at the Summer Session Office, Room 7-103, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge 39, Massachusetts.

University of Michigan.—The Seventh Annual Conference on Aging will be held from Monday to Wednesday, June 28–30, 1954.

It will be organized in four divisions to represent communities of the following populations: Division A, 500,000 and over; Division B, 100,000–500,000; Division C, 10,000–100,000; and Division D, under 10,000 and rural areas. To facilitate discussion, each of the divisions will be subdivided into six work groups, as follows: Health and Mental Hygiene; Economics, Employment, and Retirement; Family, Living Arrangements, and Housing; Education, Recreation, and Citizenship; Religion and Voluntary Services; and Over-all Programs.

For further information write to Wilma Donahue, Chairman, Division of Gerontology, University of Michigan, Room 1510, Rackham Building, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Mississippi State College for Women.—Evelyn Ellis, associate professor of social

studies, has resigned to be married this sum-
mer to Glaister A. Elmer, assistant professor
of social science at Michigan State College.

*National Conference of Christians and
Jews, Inc.*—The commission on Educational
Organizations, together with the sixty-two
regional offices of the National Conference,
is co-operating with twenty-six colleges and
universities in conducting workshops in
human relations this summer. Information
about these workshops may be obtained
from Herbert L. Seamans, National Con-
ference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth
Avenue, New York 16, New York.

National Institutes of Health.—A new
edition of the publication *Training and Re-
search Opportunities under the National Men-
tal Health Act* has been revised to reflect re-
cent policy changes with respect to trainee-
ships (formerly called "stipends") and re-
search fellowships.

In addition to traineeships available in
psychiatry, psychiatric nursing, psychiatric
social work and clinical psychology, a fifth
area of study known as "public health men-
tal health" has been added. These public
health mental health traineeships are avail-
able to psychiatrists, clinical psychologists,
psychiatric social workers, public health
nurses with undergraduate degrees, and
public health officers.

Research fellowships are now awarded to
postdoctoral investigators only. This pro-
gram is designed to assist young scientists
and physicians in obtaining training and ex-
perience in research techniques and method-
ology which may be applied to the problems
of mental health and illness. These fellow-
ships are available to qualified research
workers in many fields of science and medi-
cine, such as biochemistry, neurophysiology,
psychiatry, psychology, and sociology.

The new edition of the pamphlet also in-
cludes more detailed information on the pol-
icies and procedures of the research-grant
program of the National Institute of Mental
Health. Single copies of *Training and Re-
search Opportunities under the National Men-*

tal Health Act may be obtained free of charge
from the National Institute of Mental
Health, Bethesda 14, Maryland. If the per-
son who is interested in applying for a train-
eeship will indicate in which profession he
wishes to apply, a list of the universities and
training centers awarding Public Health
Service traineeships in that profession will
be inclosed with the pamphlet.

New Century Cyclopedia of Names.—Wer-
ner J. Cahnman is the consulting editor for
European social geography of the *New Cen-
tury Cyclopedia of Names.* The three-volume
reference work, which has been in the
making since 1947, has just appeared.

Ohio State University.—Raymond F.
Sletto was recently elected to the executive
committee of the Sociological Research As-
sociation for five years.

Melvin Seeman has been promoted to the
rank of associate professor. Lee Burchinal,
Albert Quade, Robert Stuckert, and Edward
Dager were appointed to the rank of assist-
ant instructors.

Leo Estel, who has been on leave to the
University of Hawaii at Honolulu, will re-
sume teaching this summer.

A. R. Mangus has returned as professor of
sociology and rural sociology after a two-
year leave of absence. While on leave, Dr.
Mangus served as lecturer in psychiatry at
the University of California Medical Center
and as research sociologist at the Langley
Porter Clinic.

Grants from the Carnegie Corporation
and Ohio State University are now aiding
the research of Kurt H. Wolff, who served as
a specialist for the United States Depart-
ment of State at the Institut für Sozialfor-
schung at the University of Frankfort during
the summer of 1953. He organized a study
on the effects of denazification in small- and
middle-sized communities in the three oc-
cupation zones of West Germany.

John W. Bennett is continuing his studies
of Japanese social relations and particularly
of the personal-social adjustments of orien-
tal exchange students. The latter is being

supported by SSRC and Ohio State University funds. Herbert Passin is serving as a research associate on the project. Foreign students who are here on fellowships are employed on these projects.

Brewton Berry has received a grant from Ohio State University to initiate research on the adjustment of postwar refugees now living in the United States.

C. T. Jonassen is nearing completion of his contract research project on urban decentralization sponsored by the National Research Foundation.

Robert P. Bullock will shortly complete his study on the Job-Satisfaction of Nurses for the Ohio Nurses Association.

John F. Cuber, Alfred C. Clarke, and Russell R. Dynes are currently engaged in a research project sponsored by the USAF in the prediction of psychiatric fitness of Air Force pilot trainees.

Simon Dinitz has extended his research on attitudes toward insurance and medical care to three additional regions in the United States.

Harold Gould has received a Fulbright award to study in India next year.

Ohio Valley Sociological Society.—The sixteenth annual meeting was held at Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, on March 19 and 20, 1954. The thirtieth annual meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society met at Purdue at the same time, and a number of joint sessions of the two societies were held. Dwight W. Culver, of Purdue, was the program chairman for the sociology meeting.

The officers elected for the year 1954–55 are Brewton Berry, Ohio State University, president; Wilbur Brookover, Michigan State, vice-president; Howard Rowland, University of Pittsburgh, secretary-treasurer; C. T. Jonassen, Ohio State University, editor. In addition to electing these officers, the Ohio Valley Sociological Society voted to amend its constitution, making the representative of the society to the American Sociological Society an elected officer. W. Fred Cottrell was elected to this new office. The 1955 meeting will be held in Cleveland, Ohio, and the 1956 meeting in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

University of Pennsylvania.—The *Journal* learns with regret of the death of Carl Kelsey, professor emeritus and fourth chairman of the department of sociology.

Carl Kelsey was born September 2, 1870, at Grinnell, Iowa, and died at his home near Mendenhall, Pennsylvania, on October 15, 1953. He received his undergraduate training at Grinnell College (then called "Iowa College"), studied in Europe, and subsequently completed the work for the doctorate in sociology at the University of Pennsylvania in 1903. He joined the faculty of that school in 1903 and taught until his retirement as professor emeritus in 1941. Subsequently, he returned as special lecturer during World War II. He was chairman of the department of sociology from 1904 to 1935 and also served as director of the summer session of the New York School of Social Work from 1905 through 1913. Among his best-known works are *The Negro Farmer, 1903; The Physical Basis of Society, 1916 and 1928;* and *The American Intervention in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, 1922.* He was one of the best-read scholars of his time, having mastered the literature of the social sciences in several languages. Always a forceful and colorful personality, he was regarded by some of his colleagues as the most brilliant teacher of sociology in America.

Renaissance Society of America.—This new society was organized on January 30, 1954, at Columbia University, by representatives of leading American libraries, learned societies, and universities, with membership at about one thousand. It will unite the various fields of learning in order to study the Renaissance as a whole, thus joining art, history, literature, music, philosophy, religion, science, and all the other subjects now usually investigated separately. The new learned society will be the scholarly and professional organization for all those pa-

trons and scholars who are interested in the study of the Renaissance.

John H. Randall, Jr., of Columbia University, is the president. The organizational meeting was sponsored by the Columbia University Seminar on the Renaissance, established at Columbia by Frank Tannenbaum. The seminar also provided funds for the considerable expense incident to founding the society. Co-operative interest and help also came from the American Council of Learned Societies Committee on Renaissance Studies.

The Renaissance Society begins its corporate life with a well-established journal. In 1947, with some help from the American Council of Learned Societies and Dartmouth College, a quarterly journal, *Renaissance News*, was founded by Frederick W. Sternfeld of Dartmouth, and the Renaissance Society will continue its publication under his editorship. This journal has been invaluable in providing information about research in progress, reporting the activities and programs of the several regional and local conferences, reviewing important books and articles, furnishing data on the resources of libraries and museums, and bringing the research and publications of English and European scholars to the attention of patrons and scholars.

The society voted to authorize the publication of a series of Renaissance studies by its members, as its first co-operative research project. The work will include articles and bibliographical surveys, with emphasis on contributions from the several regions affiliated with the society. The University of Texas has agreed to bear the cost of the volume, with Professor William Peery serving as editor. The society will encourage intellectual co-operation on an international level.

Membership is extended to art and book collectors, publishers, writers, private and academic scholars, as well as to all those interested in the serious and mature investigation of the intellectual traditions which furnish the basis of our modern world. Members will receive a subscription to *Renais-*

sance News, the official organ of the society, and all other publications of the society, including, this year (1954), Volume I, a survey and bibliography of Renaissance studies. Annual dues for patron, sustaining, and regular members are $25.00, $10.00, and $4.00, respectively. The officers are John Herman Randall, Jr., president (philosophy, Columbia University); Josephine Waters Bennett, executive secretary (English, Hunter College); and Edwin B. Knowles, treasurer (English, Pratt Institute). The executive board consists of Albert H. Buford, chairman of the committee for memberships and regional conferences (English, Fordham University); Curt F. Buhler, chairman of the finance committee (bibliography and rare books, Pierpont Morgan Library); Paul O. Kristeller, chairman of the committee for foreign contacts (philosophy, Columbia University); Gustave Reese, chairman of the committee for constitution and by-laws (music, New York University); Matthias A. Shaabar, chairman of the committee for projects and new activities (English, University of Pennsylvania); Frederick W. Sternfeld, editor of *Renaissance News*, ex officio member of the board (music, Dartmouth College); William W. Peery, special editor pro tempore, ex officio member of the board (English, University of Texas). There is also a large advisory council.

Those interested should get in touch with Josephine Waters Bennett, Executive Secretary, 200 East Sixty-sixth Street, New York 21, New York.

Southern Sociological Society.—The seventeenth annual meeting was held at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia, on March 25 to 27, with over three hundred in attendance.

The section meetings were on theory and methodology, chaired by Abbott L. Ferriss and Homer L. Hitt; the teaching of sociology, under the chairmanship of Marion B. Smith; social psychology, presided over by Robert C. Stone; and population and ecology, chaired by Lorin A. Thompson.

Officers elected for the ensuing year were

Morton B. King, Jr., University of Mississippi, president; Irwin T. Sanders, University of Kentucky, president-elect; Edgar T. Thompson, Duke University, first vice-president; Lorin A. Thompson, University of Virginia, second vice-president; Melvin J. Williams, Stetson University, secretary-treasurer. Elected to membership on the executive committee were James S. Himes, Jr., North Carolina College, and Meyer F. Nimkoff, Florida State University, for three-year terms, and C. A. McMahan, Maxwell Air Force Base, for a two-year term. Continuing to serve as elected members of the executive committee are Selz C. Mayo, North Carolina State College; Vernon J. Parenton, Louisiana State University; and Haskell M. Miller, University of Chattanooga. William E. Cole was elected as the society's representative to the council of the American Sociology Society.

Southwestern Sociological Society.—The annual meeting was held in Dallas on April 16 and 17, 1954. Officers elected for the coming year are Sigard Johansen, New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, president; Sandor B. Kovacs, University of Tulsa, vice-president; Alvin E. Bertrand, Lousiana State University, secretary-treasurer; Marion B. Smith, Louisiana State University, and Kenneth Evans, East Texas State Teachers College, past presidents on the executive committee; Tillman Cothran, Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College, and Hiram Friedsam, North Texas State College, elected members of the executive committee; Walter Firey, University of Texas, sociology editor of the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly;* and William L. Kolb, Tulane University, representative to the executive council of the American Sociological Society.

Symposium on Mathematical Models and Human Behavior.—A symposium was held in New York on February 26 and 27, sponsored by Dunlap and Associates, Inc., and the Commission on Accidental Trauma of the Armed Forces Epidemiology Board, Office of the Surgeon-General, United States Army. The proceedings, which will be published in two or three months, included the following papers of interest to sociologists: "Groups versus Individuals in the Solution of Eureka Type Problems," by Irving Lorge and Herbert Solomon, Teachers College, Columbia University; "Preference Experiments," by Merrill M. Flood, Columbia University; "Development of Stochastic Learning Models with Three or More Response Classes," by Robert Bush, Harvard University; "Some Considerations Relating to the Classification of Individuals on the Basis of Accident Behavior," by Herbert H. Jacobs, Dunlap and Associates, Inc.; "ψ Stability: A New Equilibrium Concept for n-Person Game Theory," by R. Duncan Luce, Columbia University; "Mathematical Models and Experiments in Decision-making," by Jacob Marschak, Cowles Commission for Research in Economics; "The Utility of Wealth," by Harry Markowitz, RAND Corporation; "Theory of Elementary Predictive Behavior: An Exercise in the Behavioral Interpretation of a Mathematical Model," by William K. Estes, University of Indiana; "On the Multidimensional Analysis of Monotonic Single Stimuli Data," by Clyde H. Coombs, University of Michigan; "Probability Estimates and Gambling," by Murray E. Jarvik, Mount Sinai Hospital, New York City; "An Attempt To Predict Gambling Decisions," by Ward Edwards, Johns Hopkins University.

For further information write, phone, or telegraph B. J. Covner, 429 Atlantic Street, Stamford, Connecticut.

University of Toronto.—The Harry M. Cassidy Memorial Research Fund offers social welfare research awards for 1955–56 and 1956–57, to provide opportunities for fundamental research in social welfare and the practice of social work to persons with appropriate qualifications. The following awards are offered for the academic years 1955–56 and 1956–57: the Cassidy Research

Visiting Professorship, normally for one year of full-time research; the Cassidy Research Senior Fellowship, for one year, with possibly limited responsibilities in the School of Social Work's program of research and instruction; research assistance grants toward the cost of research projects which fall within the general purposes of the Fund; publication grants—in order to encourage the publication of research findings, the Fund has established a small publications reserve. All holders of awards from the Fund will be required to report on their research from time to time during the progress of their work. Any publication arising from researches undertaken under the Fund's auspices must first be submitted to the Fund with a view to publication by the Fund. If the Fund is unable or unwilling to undertake full responsibility for publication, it may assist the research worker to publish the results of his work. The Fund also reserves the right to dissociate itself from any publication arising out of research supported by it.

All awards will be open to both men and women from all parts of Canada and from other countries throughout the world. Where appropriate, provision will be made for office assistance and travel expenses directly related to the research project supported by the Fund. The committee recommending the awards will be composed of representatives of the advisory committee of the Harry M. Cassidy Memorial Research Fund and the faculty of the School of Social Work of the University of Toronto.

For further particulars, apply to the Director, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada.

Tulane University.—A $27,000 grant has been awarded by the Edward G. Schlieder Educational Foundation, for research in social science by staff members of the university's Urban Life Research Institute. The award is for three years, $10,000 being allotted to the university for the current school year. The grant will support and extend the scope of the present program of the institute, which is concerned with research on basic problems in human relations in which research workers in the social sciences contribute their research skills.

The institute was established at Tulane in 1950 with the assistance of a $30,000 grant by the Edward G. Schlieder Educational Foundation. In the three years of its existence, the institute, through its staff members and its director, John H. Rohrer, has conducted a number of significant research projects in the New Orleans area. An important project was the publication of the *New Orleans Population Handbook*, an extensive account of the characteristics of the population of the city, such as distribution by race, age, earning capacity, housing, marital status, and home-ownership. Other research projects included a plan for the redistribution of voting precincts in Orleans Parish; the publication of the *Police Handbook on Human Relations;* a study on social organization and function involving the nursing services in the premature infant center at Charity Hospital, New Orleans.

Future projects will involve extensive studies of problems of urban areas, the impact of rural migrants upon the city, and other studies of social problems in the Deep South.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Study of Culture at a Distance. By MARGARET MEAD and RHODA MÉTRAUX (eds.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. x+480. $5.00.

This volume reports on certain aspects of method and some results of the Columbia University Project for the Study of Contemporary Cultures, founded by Ruth Benedict as an outgrowth of her wartime work for the government and carried on by Margaret Mead after Dr. Benedict's untimely death. The book is offered as a "manual on interdisciplinary research practices as they apply particularly to the study of cultural character structure in cultures that are spatially or temporally inaccessible" (p. 4). The volume contains a widely varied content: theoretical essays, studies of team research methods, samples of interviews and personal documents, specimens of mass media and literary analysis (particularly important in "distance" studies), and reviews of practical applications. All the work pertains to the cultures of nations or complex societies, not small primitive groups. The fact that "distance" studies of societies are more difficult to make than contact studies is acknowledged, but the authors feel that their approach permits them to accomplish more than would be the case with other methods. Basically it consists of the reasoned inference combined with the projection upon an extensive population of behavioral trends, observed in documentary materials or a few available individuals.

Work of the national culture or national character school has been subjected to an extensive critical review by sociologists and other social scientists in the past few years, and it goes without saying that many of these critics will appraise the present volume in similar terms. All the irritating ingredients are here once more: the stress on "culture" and "a culture" to a point where all things are cultural by definition, and since everything is cultural then culture is nothing; the exotic interests in symbol and in the more obscure areas of child rearing, which seem irrelevant to many critics; the interest in wholes and the ignoring of institutional variation; and the emphasis on intuitive methodologies, often untestable and uncommunicable.

The vehemence of much of the criticism undoubtedly attests to a certain value in the work under attack: its stimulation of fertile ideas, hypotheses, and theoretical examination. Moreover, much of the criticism pertains to the specificially theoretical or research-oriented aspects of the research; the practical and applied aspect, which is profoundly important for adequate appraisal of this material, has generally been ignored. The national character studies deal with broad, sensitizing concepts and informational syntheses which serve as orienting hypotheses for people in practical roles. The fine details and the analytical dimensions of concrete situations, which are recommended by most of the critics in place of holistic analysis, are beyond the capabilities of most administrators and are often too time-consuming to work through in the field. It is strange that the national culture group has not seen fit to say this openly, to recognize that their work has serious shortcomings from the purely theoretical-methodological standpoint but that this really does not matter because of the practical demands. Moreover, it is only fair to recognize that the national character group simply has not been interested in the fine-grained analysis of concrete situations but rather has been interested in wholes.

Basically, the argument centers on how to bring to the attention of the practical man the specific flavor and context of behavior which

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will weigh in his calculations—the fundamental principle being "alter won't necessarily view the situation the way alter would like him, or expect him to" (to phrase it sociologically). The national character school has boldly asserted, and demonstrated in part, that such differences can be wrapped up in packages which they call "cultures" and that a general understanding of such packages equips ego for work with alter. The critics, on the other hand, eschew the package and, instead, concentrate upon the situation itself. The behavior is seen not as part of a defined culture but as issuing forth according to the demands of the situation; and, accordingly, a set of rigorously defined "analytical variables" is called into play: norms, roles, expectations, institutions, and the like. For example: on page 19, Dr. Mead suggests that eastern European Jews learn new cultures rapidly and that this is a distinguishing characteristic of their culture, in contrast to Englishmen, who learn slowly. The critic would immediately reply, "Nonsense. That has nothing to do with culture. Any group placed in the special position of enclaved alienation—Jews, Chinese in south Asia, the Greek trader, etc.—will learn cultures rapidly, because they must in order to survive in the hostile surroundings." The national culture group would fire back with: "Possibly, but we can relate this rapid learning with other and reinforcing patterns in eastern European Jewish culture which make it part of a comprehensible whole, and it is desirable to know that whole."

They might also add to this the observation that rapid learning may become a style of life, a *custom* among a particular group, and therefore transmitted by learning experiences from generation to generation—often long after the situational "need" which called forth the behavior initially has been left behind.

Given these interests in wholes, the stress on highly irregular (from the critics' viewpoint) methods follows. For this "manual" is weakest when it tries to communicate to the reader precisely how to fit together the pieces of a national culture analysis. There are confident statements like Dr. Métraux's: "Handled only as a separate unit, each piece of material must then be linked up to each other one; handled as integral parts of larger units, one creates multiple links so that the final organization is explicitly included in the ongoing process" (p. 220). This tells us precisely nothing, and there is throughout the volume an ambivalent note which seems to wish to communicate the "scien-

tific" character of the process, on the one hand, and the entirely individualistic, intellectual nature of the operation, on the other. Clearly the writers have been under critical pressure, and the desire to give a "scientific" impression is evident. However, it would appear that such an effort is misplaced. No amount of talk about "method" and "quantification" (see p. 7) and so on will convince the jaded critics; one should take the bull by the horns and acknowledge the fact that the construction of whole-culture configurations at this early stage of our knowledge —or at *any* stage—is fundamentally an affair of *verstehen* and that perhaps it always should be.

In the last analysis *verstehen* does predominate, as suggested by the strong emphasis on the "special skills" needed to accomplish the creative, imaginative linkages and transformations of the data. There is no mistaking the claims: Dr. Mead writes, "Special native gifts in the handling of imagery and the perception of pattern are necessary for work of this sort" (p. 11). Or "who have the particular type of imagination required to work from small partial pieces of material when it is impossible to study the society" (p. 16). Dr. Métraux informs the reader: "I tend to feel the structural relationships in my muscles as a way of then visualizing them as abstract patterns" (p. 361). And, "The construction I make and that made by another anthropologist will differ in terms of the kinds of clues we habitually use and of models with which we work, but providing we have chosen our material carefully and have worked with some clear model, trusting our own perceptions, the two constructions will match, and, taken together, will be a more complex statement of the configuration of the culture" (p. 362).

Such an individual approach to the data is absolutely necessary in constructing holistic configurations, and it is also a source of fertile insight and imaginative combinations of parts, when extended and on-the-spot research is impossible. But how is the intellectual process communicated? The problem is that this national culture material unquestionably has validity—often a very great deal. It makes broadly true and certainly penetrating summaries of behavioral trends and meanings. Yet this validity is obtained by intuitive methods which from any "scientific" standpoint absolutely lack reliability. The critics may grant the validity (although frequently they mistakenly do not) and insist on a little more reliability, and with this one feels a certain sympathy.

If the interest turns from culture and holism

toward the segmental studies so abundantly represented here, perhaps some meeting ground may be envisaged. These studies may give many readers an entirely different impression from that presented by the theoretical essays. For example, John Weakland's study (Part X) of the way Chinese utilize images drawn from the normative Chinese family system to interpret international relations is a convincing demonstration of the possibilities of segmental analysis done within the general framework of national character research. In a different vein, the literary analyses (Part V) are illuminating essays on how values and images are projected into mass media—considerably more suggestive than much of the pedestrian "mass media" analysis emanating from more "scientifically" oriented research groups. In other studies Gregory Bateson's imaginative "end-linkage" technique (e.g., analyzing group relations from the standpoint of polar constructs like exhibitionism-spectatorship) clears up certain complex patterns of cultural evaluations which otherwise give the impression of random variation (see, for example, Natalie Joffe's study in Part VII). (Parsonian "pattern variables" have not yet been introduced, but it is clear from the drift of this material that they are being discovered independently, as it were, and one looks forward to their more explicit use in the future.) Methodologically speaking, the interview and test materials presented in the volume are convincing proof that hard work has been done on the segmental analyses; intuition there may be —but it is accompanied by much rich data.

These segmental studies will probably do more to recommend the national culture approach than the so-called "whole culture" portraits. Granting the sensitizing utility of the latter for the literary artist, the journalist, and the administrator, they are often unconvincing to the analytical scientist who is concerend with situations and with variation. I am perhaps intellectually and temperamentally disinclined to participate in whole-culture research, but my own work on Japanese-American interaction systems certainly finds no unfamiliar position among the segmental studies reported in this volume. On the other hand, while I acknowledge the brilliance and ingenuity of Ruth Benedict's "distance" whole-culture analysis, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, its omissions, historical confusions, and mismated items make it difficult to apply to any problem of Japanese society where a knowledge of institutional differences and concrete roles are required. Yet

again—to give the other side—my own research certainly benefited in no small way from the use of Dr. Benedict's work.

I would recommend to the national character group that they explore the possibility of a somewhat greater discipline in the area of problem: construct concrete problems in interaction and role conflict among members of different societies, in order to discover precisely how, where, and under what circumstances "cultural" behavior is called forth. When are Americans discriminatory *in re* race and when not? When does a Japanese feel like a "Japanese" and when does he feel like a "student"? In studying the social behavior of East Indians, when are considerations deriving from "industrialization" relevant, and when are more "traditional culture" patterns in the picture? Questions of this sort would certainly not be external to national culture research; they would merely eschew the large holistic portraits for more concrete segmental problems. This is not to recommend dropping the holistic studies—but merely to suggest that *more* of the problem-oriented research, with its analytical controls, be brought into the program.

Even though the practical man has need of larger syntheses, he also has need of concrete investigations of people in given role and institutional positions: if he wishes to predict whether factory workers in X nation will defect under pressure, he must know the immediate motivations, fears, hostilities, malnutrition, etc., of people in factories. The national culture people would immediately reply, "Granted. But we will be able to show that even though people of X nation in factories behave differently from X nationals in the government, there is something common to the behavior of both, and this is the factor of X-national culture." Back comes the critic: "Yes, there may'be something in common behaviorally, but this merely describes the extent to which people in X nation share common experiences, common roles, common needs." Conclusion: Do you really need the concept of culture at all? Could not the same research, using the same methods, construct the same insightful patterns, but without the stress on "culture"? Is it not possible that the emphasis on cultural wholes often leads to a diminished sense of segmental problem, a certain disorderliness of approach?

In conclusion, one may recommend this "manual" to sociological readers as an exceedingly comprehensive and honest portrayal of a large and varied research program which needs

no apologies or defenses. There is something in it of interest and value for everyone. Certain criticism is valid, but this does not mean indifference to the work itself. Sociologists as well as anthropologists and psychologists have much to learn from research of this kind, since it penetrates to depths and regions inaccessible by more rigorous methods.

JOHN W. BENNETT

Ohio State University

The House and the Art of Its Design. By ROBERT WOODS KENNEDY. New York: Reinhold Publishing Corp., 1953. Pp. xi+550. $9.00.

This is not a scholarly book but a document of interest to social science. It is written to educate the minority who "build" not "homes" but "fine houses" in some contemporary manner. It is, therefore, expensive, lavishly illustrated in the off-beat fashion current in such literature, rather carelessly proofread, impressively heavy, and terribly sophisticated.

For the newer arrivals in the well-known "Quality Group," Mr. Kennedy provides a valuable introductory course in how to become a "good client" to a "good architect," how to shun both the "Internationalist" *and* the "Do-It-Yourself" crowds, and how to float, if not swim, in the "creative" current of the American main stream of domestic architecture. No less a critic than Lewis Mumford has long since hailed this as a much-needed book, whose author is almost as sound as he is courageous (Lewis Mumford, "The Sky Line," *New Yorker*, March 20, 1954).

For some social scientists the book may reveal a large area of contemporary life that needs more research. It shows how, from a professional architect's viewpoint, the manifold elements and forces in the house-building field may be labeled and organized to facilitate effective thinking about them. For the sociology of literature, perhaps, it represents another contribution to the growing *genre* in which professionals seek to educate their clients. And as such, it is a document of the sophisticated sort for the study of architecture as a profession (inasmuch as the author relies heavily upon, and adds something to, the unpublished work of a graduate student in sociology at Wayne University, Irving Rosow, who in turn apparently derived his leading ideas from the work of Everett C. Hughes). It is also a document reflecting the current

thinking of an aggregate of persons (clients) who work with architects to "build" what each family can call "our house."

Mr. Kennedy tosses out suggestions in rich profusion. He asks the social psychologists, for example, to provide "typologies of clients" (p. 312). But in a more important connection he shows social scientists the present state of our knowledge about "the house" in contemporary society, and it is hardly a situation that calls for complacency.

In an even larger perspective Mr. Kennedy is raising the question, "What can a thinker learn from a maker or doer, and vice versa?" Social scientists have traditionally had more success in learning from, and in furthering the learning of, persons in society whose activities are largely matters of verbal communication or are at least matters about which it is relatively easy to communicate in discursive symbolism. The social scientist as "thinker" can interact with mutual profit with the "doer,"but the record of such interaction with persons of the "maker" category is less assuring. The architect, the artist, the interior designer, or even the lowly interior decorator (never the chef and hardly the cook) are all in some sense "makers" —along with the economist's "homemaker"— and when they *talk*, the social scientist can see them in a work situation (or some such social matrix) and can therefore "make sense" out of what is going on, in terms of social interaction or what you will. When they *make*, however, the social scientist has no language to deal with what is predominantly visual and affective in such situations, unless he turns to the terminology of recent and earlier psychological explorations—studies in perception, in individual psychodynamics, and so forth—or unless, on the sociological front, he attempts new explorations in his interactional, relational, situational *group* tradition.

As a rough indicator of Kennedy's coverage of the present state of our knowledge about his subject, the house, a listing of some authors frequently quoted or cited may be useful: Carl Binger, M.D., Ruth S. Cavan, F. Stuart Chapin, James T. Fisher, M.D., Arnold Gesell, M.D., Frances Ilg, M.D., Lewis Mumford, David Riesman, Irving Rosow, Edward K. Strong, Thorstein Veblen, and W. Lloyd Warner. The following selection of other authors. cited in addition to these suggests the universe of discourse into which Kennedy attempts to set himself and his potential client-audience:

Louis Sullivan, Henry Thoreau, Ernest Hemingway, Thomas Mann, Frank Lloyd Wright, T. S. Eliot, Sigfried Giedion, Herbert Read, Otto Fenichel, M.D., Leonardo da Vinci, John Ruskin, Ortega y Gasset, and Benjamin Spock, M.D. As the dazzled reader closes this book, he can only say: "And he can give you an argument on every one of 'em!"

BUFORD H. JUNKER

University of Chicago

Psychosis and Civilization: Two Studies in the Frequency of Mental Disease. By HERBERT GOLDHAMER and ANDREW W. MARSHALL. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953. Pp. 126. $4.00.

Psychosis and Civilization contains the results of two studies, "A Century of Mental Hospital Admission Rates in Massachusetts" and "The Conditional Expectancy of Mental Disease." This review will be confined largely to a discussion of the first study because the problem as to whether or not there has been a long-term increase in mental disease in Western society is of considerable theoretical as well as practical significance. This book was first published in July, 1949, by the RAND Corporation, United States Air Force, under the title, *The Frequency of Mental Disease: Long-Term Trends and Present Status.* The current edition is word for word the same as the early RAND report with a few minor exceptions.

The hypothesis of the first study that "in the central age groups the incidence of the major mental disorders has not increased over the last two to three generations" (p. 50) has interested careful investigators during the last three decades. Their various studies have given rise to two opposing views—that mental disease has been increasing and that it has not. Now, the significant question is: Have Goldhamer and Marshall provided sufficient evidence and made reasonable enough inferences to support the latter hypothesis?

At the outset Goldhamer and Marshall point to the inadequacy of the total rate as a measure of the incidence of mental disease used in most previous studies and show that, because of the changes in the population structure, age-specific rates are better measuring devices. Thus, toward the end of substantiating their hypothesis, they present eight series of rates for making comparisons between the nineteenth century and the contemporary period. Five comparisons are age-specific rates broken down by sex; in all, the data give reasonable support to the hypothesis that there has been no increase in the incidence of mental disorders in the central age groups over the last two to three generations. In order to point to the evidence and the inferences, we will examine two of these comparisons.

That there are tremendous technical difficulties involved in attempting to compare current statistics on hospital admissions with statistics of hospital records fifty to seventy-five years old is obvious. Not the least of them was the necessity of assuring themselves that, psychiatrically, the nineteenth-century mental patients correspond to the mental patients received in mental hospitals today. The evidence from the older records certainly supports this contention.

The next relevant consideration is to examine the factors which affect hospital admission rates. They recognize that their comparisons should attempt to secure comparability with respect to five specified factors or take them into account in their interpretations, but they admit that their choice of contemporary rates to insure such comparability is "to a considerable extent impressionistic" (p. 52). It seems relevant to point out here that three of the factors can refer to persons who are mentally sick but who may never be hospitalized.

In two other comparisons contemporary age-specific rates are in one case based on nine northeastern states and in the other on the entire United States.

In their various comparisons, Goldhamer and Marshall have attempted to take account of the various factors which affect first-admission rates. This problem is generally posed in the following manner. If N equals the number of people who develop a psychosis and N' equals the number of first admissions in a given year, can we assume that $N = N'$ for any year? It can be assumed, of course, that if the proportion of N not included in N' is constant for any series of years under examination, then it would be reasonable to accept a first-admission rate as an index of incidence of mental disease. Here, of course, is the rub; it results in much controversy. Now, it is generally held that N is closer to N' in 1940 than was the case in 1850–80.

If this final proposition can be accepted, then the logic of the situation would certainly point to some increase in the rate of first admissions today as contrasted with sixty years ago, even

though this might represent no increase in the incidence of mental disease.

While the authors hold that their findings support the hypothesis that there has been no long-term increase in mental disease for the central age groups, they do not overlook the possibility that short-term fluctuations may indicate changes in true incidence. Malzberg's age-specific rates of 1910–34 for New York State may be an example. While the over-all increase in the central age groups was indicated between 1910 and 1934, there was a decided drop in such rates between 1915 and 1926. Malzberg argued that his figures show an increase in the rate of mental disease for New York State, but Goldhamer and Marshall would ask if these short-term fluctuations represent true increases and decreases. They conclude that this issue calls for further research.

This study is a significant contribution to what has long been a very controversial issue. If their findings stand the test of time and are eventually supported by other similar studies, these investigators will have indeed helped "to sharpen the formulation of alternatives, narrow the range of possible solutions to the theoretical problems at issue and indicate promising directions for further research" (p. 97). If certain negative evidence is brought to light, however, they may have succeeded only in prolonging the argument. However, their research has been carefully done; and its thorough statement of assumption, procedures, sources, and reasoning is a model which other social scientists might well emulate.

H. WARREN DUNHAM

Wayne University

Struktur und Funktion von Landgemeinden im Einflussbereich einer deutschen Mittelstadt. By HERBERT KÖTTER (Mono. 1). *Landbevölkerung im Kraftfeld der Stadt.* By KARL-GUENTHER GRÜNEISEN (Mono. 2). *Der Nebenerwerbslandwirt und seine Familie im Schnittpunkt ländlicher und städtischer Lebensform.* By GERHARD TEIWES (Mono. 3). *Jugend der Nachkriegszeit: Lebensverhältnisse und Reaktionsweisen.* By GERHARD BAUMERT (Mono. 4). *Schule und Jugend in einer ausgebombten Stadt.* By IRMA KUHR. *Mädchen einer Oberprima: Eine Gruppenstudie.* By GISELHEID KOEPNICK (Mono. 6 and Mono. 7 in one vol.). *Behörde und Bürger:* *Das Verhältnis zwischen Verwaltung und Bevölkerung in einer deutschen Mittelstadt.* By KLAUS A. LINDEMANN (Mono. 8). *Gewerkschaft und Betriebsrat im Urteil der Arbeitnehmer.* By ANNELIESE MAUSOLFF. (Mono. 9). Darmstadt: Eduard Roether Verlag, 1952. Pp. xv+182; xvi+113; xvi+196; xviii+266; xl+313; xv+213; xix+176.

These nine monographs, plus two still to be published, are the result of the German "Middletown Survey," as the sponsors call it, conducted by the Institut für sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung, Darmstadt, in this city and its environs between 1949 and 1952. They are of interest as the first large-scale attempt to apply American research methods to the empirical study of a German community and also because they supply systematic information on the long-range effects of wartime destruction on the social life of a middle-sized city and its satellite communities. (Nearly three-quarters of Darmstadt's 100,000 inhabitants were made homeless by an air raid in 1944.) An English abstract in every monograph summarizes the main findings admirably.

The first three monographs report surveys of urbanization in four villages of between 500 and 2,300 inhabitants, three to twelve miles from Darmstadt. In *Struktur und Funktion von Landgemeinden*, Kötter traces the influence of the city, which decreases with increasing distance from the city. But even in the remotest of these rural communities, the full-time farmers are now in a minority; in the other three villages, they constitute less than 10 per cent of the households, and half or more of the gainfully occupied work in the city. This tendency of rural people to work in the city without moving there is seen as the major source of urbanization of the country. Assimilation of urban values, which weakens traditional beliefs and bonds, first strengthens the pull of the city (e.g., people go there to specialized stores); but later it alters the structure of the rural community (e.g., such stores are established in the village). Grüneisen's *Landbevölkerung im Kraftfeld der Stadt*, in which representative samples in the four rural communities are compared in terms of two conservatism scores, is less interesting, and the statistical analysis is deficient.

The intensive study of the part-time farmer (*Der Nebenerwerbslandwirt*) by Teiwes, just as Kötter's study, implicitly combines a historical and a functional orientation. He shows that two historical developments led to part-time farm-

ing: (1) As farms, divided through inheritance, became too small to support a family, their owners took up other occupations. (2) After the emancipation of peasants, rural laborers bought small parcels of land in the hope of ultimately becoming independent farmers. Part-time farming is in some part dysfunctional. It makes the worker somewhat independent and protects him against the worst effects of the depression; but it interferes with child rearing, since it overburdens the farmer and particularly his wife, who does most of the work on the part-time farm.

Monographs 4, 6, and 7 are concerned with growing up in a bombed city, contrasting the new social conditions and the reactions to them of young people (samples of the age groups ten, fourteen, and eighteen). Baumert's *Jugend der Nachkriegszeit*, the most stimulating volume of the series, contains a host of suggestive, systematically analyzed findings. The differential effects of war are most dramatically evident in the fact that fewer middle-class children have lost their fathers in the war, since fewer middle-class fathers were in military service. Class differences in child-rearing practices similar to those found in Chicago by Davis, Havighurst, and Ericson exist also in Darmstadt. Baumert's data challenge the stereotype of the patriarchal German family; the large majority of the parents report that the mother exerts the greatest influence upon children (pp. 78 ff.). Most surprising, perhaps, is the finding that American high-school students (data from a 1948 poll) prefer a secure to a high-paying job in greater numbers than do German students.

Schule und Jugend, by Kuhr, a study of education, investigates the overcrowded conditions in the schools in Darmstadt and the attitudes of pupils toward school and teachers, with particular emphasis on class differences. In the same volume is a case study of a small class of girls in the last year of the German high school (Koepnick's *Mädchen einer Oberprima*), a readable description of interpersonal relations and cliques.

In the first part of *Behörde und Bürger*, Lindemann examines six government bureaucracies. A careful analysis of the processing of applications indicates that depersonalization and formalization, while intended to assure impartiality and efficiency, often produce inefficiency and put the clients at a disadvantage. The second part deals with attitudes of a sample of the Darmstadt population toward bureaucracy. Since negative attitudes are not related to nega-

tive experiences with government agencies, they are explained as the expression of an authoritarian *(gebundenen)* personality structure. This psychologism, although its dangers are recognized by the author (p. 131), mars an otherwise interesting study. A better integration between the two parts could have been achieved, had the analysis of bureaucratic organizations been supplemented by interviews with the clients of the agencies rather than by answers of a cross-section to only two questions on bureaucracy.

Gewerkschaft und Betriebsrat, by Mausolff, is a study of attitudes to unions and shop committees (which are not formally part of the union in Germany), based on interviews with a representative sample of employees in Darmstadt. Half of the employees are unionized; the proportion is greater among men, married persons, employees in large firms (although there are no closed shops), the *middle*-income group, and individuals over forty years old (that is, those old enough to have had some trade-union experience before 1933). The data on occupational movement (but not on upward or downward mobility) and observations on cross-pressures in strike situations are also of interest. The statistical analysis in this monograph is superior to the rest; thus, Mausolff is the only author who uses statistical controls to test her interpretations (p. 62).

Suggestive generalizations emerge from this project, but the empirical evidence in support of them is not fully exploited, since the findings discussed in the various monographs are not systematically integrated. For example, the thesis that inferior status discourages opposition to the existing order, because it engenders insecurity, is supported by the following data: working-class children are less critical of their poor living conditions than middle-class children are of their better homes, and the former are more interested in a secure job than the latter (Baumert, pp. 123, 176); refugee pupils are less critical of their teachers than others, and working-class students report less conflicts with their teachers than middle-class students (Kuhr, pp. 123, 125); the group with lower status is less critical of bureaucracy, more conservative, and more conformist than those with higher status (Lindemann, pp. 108, 126); and fewer of the poorest employees than of those with medium income are union members (Mausolff, p. 73).

Methodological perfection can, of course, not be expected from such pilot studies, but a few serious shortcomings should be pointed out. Too

many studies are based on a few surveys, which results in some tedious discussions of scanty empirical data, especially in Monograph 2. Percentages are presented, in tables as well as in text, without information as to their numerical base. These data have particularly little meaning, since there are indications that percentages have been computed for exceedingly small totals (see Monographs 1, 2, and 3). Attitude scores are sometimes reified—as in Teiwes' statement that 81 per cent of the farmers are conservative (p. 71)—without the realization that their usefulness is confined to comparisons, since the raw score depends on question-wording and score construction.

It is particularly significant that most authors are not content with reporting empirical findings but view them in historical perspective and attempt to derive generalizations from them in terms of a theoretical scheme, be it functionalism or psychoanalysis (notably Baumert and Lindemann). To be sure, many interpretations appear remote from the empirical data, since lack of sophistication in statistical analysis prevents the full utilization of research findings for the testing of explanatory hypotheses. More important than these present limitations, however, is the future promise implicit in the studies: to stay clear of the Scylla of sterile empiricism and of the Charybdis of speculative theorizing and to develop systematic sociological theories based on rigorous empirical research.

PETER M. BLAU

University of Chicago

The Volunteer Work Camp: A Psychological Evaluation. By HENRY W. RIECKEN. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1952. Pp. xviii+262. $3.50.

This is a study more than a descriptive monograph; it is a detailed report of an attempt to assess some effects of the experience upon the participants of the Work Camp Program of the American Friends Service Committee through the application of several standard techniques of psychological measurement. It is designed mainly as an "evaluation study" and attempts to compare the "intended" with the "actual" consequences of the program. It has the broader aim of making "a contribution to the technique of psychological evaluation of social action programs" and devotes considerable attention to methodological problems.

An effort is first made to infer and state the avowed objectives of the Work Camp Program, chiefly through an examination of the sponsoring group's literature. Since this statement of goals is too general and vague to serve as a guide to careful inquiry, an additional attempt is made to translate these objectives into more explicit and testable form. Eleven "institutional expectancies" are thus isolated, all formulated in terms of anticipated "increases," "reductions," or changes in specified directions of certain characteristics of participants. These are taken as the leading hypotheses of the study, although some provision is also made for discovering "unanticipated consequences." The characteristics in which changes were hypothesized to occur include, for instance: prejudice expressed toward minority groups; belief in democratic group procedures; agreement with authoritarianism; agreement with the pacifist position; choice of service-oriented vocation; and "concern" or altruistic orientation.

The basic assessment instrument was a combination questionnaire-rating scale, called "The Sentiments Inventory." It was administered to a sample of campers before, immediately after, and ten months after the camp experience. The representativeness of the samples is supported by some indirect evidence. This "extensive" study was supplemented by a more "intensive" study of 29 participants in two randomly selected camps, executed by participant-observers who administered some additional tests.

The campers are a rather select group with respect to some interests and sentiments, tending at the very outset to take positions consonant with the sponsoring group's ideology. Differences in test performance before and after participating in the program tend, accordingly, to be small. Statistical significance, however, is claimed for a number of such before-after differences, and these are accepted as evidence of camp-induced changes. Among the negative results was the interesting finding that "campers tend to become more different in their attitudes from their fellow citizens [as campers judge them] at the end of the summer and apparently feel less identified with the society in which they live . . ." (p. 153).

The camp is analyzed and described in an attempt to isolate some of the social-psychological processes. A brief chapter is addressed to a critical appraisal of the study itself. There is, unfortunately, little or no critical discussion of the assumptions underlying the employment of attitude scales and the other devices used to

"measure change." The author's defense of them is mostly in terms of their statistical reliability; the question of validity is given very scant treatment. While the general internal consistency of his findings lends credibility to Riecken's general conclusion that "changes" have occurred, his failure to go much beyond paper-pencil test results to demonstrate these "changes" makes his interpretations of their character rather speculative.

The systematic assessment of the social-psychological effects of social action programs is a very fruitful area of research, and Riecken's study is indeed a contribution to it. But, while research in this field will remain handicapped until a more realistic social-psychological theory and more adequate methods are developed, Riecken's book is, nevertheless, an encouraging example of what can be done even under such handicaps. If its self-critical and cautious tone is emulated by other researchers in this area, and particularly if the research problems here stimulate the development of new methods of assessing social-psychological changes, we may expect some valuable contributions to our discipline.

JOSEPH F. ZYGMUNT

University of Chicago

Theoretical Anthropology. By DAVID BIDNEY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1953. Pp. xii+506. $8.50.

This work, sponsored by the Wenner-Gren Foundation, will be relished by every thoughtful social scientist. It comes at a moment when the intellectual climate in higher education is becoming more decidedly humanistic, while some sociologists are once more veering away from creative imagination toward the smallish, the less than "middle range of theory," toward mathematical precision and possibly into isolation. Unfortunately, Bidney's volume is not quite what the title seems to promise; it actually constitutes a collection of essays many of which have been published before in widely read journals. Even as "Essays in Theoretical Anthropology," it is, however, not so carefully edited as the significance of both the topic and the author's contributions to it would warrant. With some additional effort, many fatiguing repetitions could have been avoided, making this a shorter and more readable book.

The author begins each discourse with a lucid résumé, followed by a penetrating critique, of the teachings of some prominent anthropologists (Tyler, Rivers, Malinowski, White, Boas and his disciples, particularly Kroeber, and so forth). In this manner each chapter develops one theme, or often several interrelated themes, fundamental to sociocultural theory, the underlying ontological and epistemological principles and the frequently unrecognized, implications of this or that position. In the end Bidney usually offers a resolution of his own, often a reconciliation of apparent opposites. Even if one happens to agree with his positive suggestions, their demonstration appears at times curt and is not always convincing. The themes (not clearly indicated by the chapter headings and sometimes difficult to locate in the index) include problems of conceptualization (culture, personality, cultural crisis, etc.); the relationship of empirical science to philosophy, art, and religion in general, of ethnology to other learned disciplines in particular; human nature; the primitive mind; the role of myths and ideas in cultural development (one of Bidney's most brilliant papers concerns the meaning of myth); the influence of (philosophical) positivism, idealism and historicism on anthropological thinking; various theories of evolution, social change and social origins; and, above all, the problem of human freedom and the scientific study of man.

Bidney's own position may be characterized in a general, though somewhat superficial, way as a humanistic theory of culture based on a realistic (at least, non-Kantian) ontology and the doctrine of free will, which brings it close to the Aristotelian tradition of Western thought. One of the author's merits is his demonstration of the possibility of developing sociocultural theories without postulating a closed determinate system of social or of cultural phenomena, and without basing them on either a naturalistic or an idealistic monism. Culture, according to Bidney, is a function of man in society which can be isolated methodologically for heuristic purposes but not ontologically. Man's nature is not simply a product of the organic or "super-organic," but man himself is a self-determined, creative agent originating and modifying his culture. As against the fatalism of the social Darwinists or historical materialists, the author believes in cultural perfectibility, in so far as social man is capable of self-cultivation with a view to developing the potentialities of his primary nature (which are the same for all men) in relation to a given environment.

From the wealth of pregnant ideas presented, one or two points of interest will be selected for

critical inspection. When Bidney contrasts "ethnology" (which term he uses by and large interchangeably with "cultural anthropology") with "sociology," one is never quite sure whether he thinks of sociology as a specific method of scientific inquiry, as the parent science of ethnology, or as a particular aspect of the general (anthropological) study of man and his works. On the one hand, he correctly points out that one must not assume a complete identity between empirical phenomena (such as psychological, cultural, or social facts) and ontological reality and advocates a "holistic" approach "which studies social and cultural phenomena as functional wholes." On the other hand, he rejects the identification of the cultural with the social and recognizes a specifically sociological approach. He also speaks of society as one variable in the cultural process and as a necessary but not a sufficient condition of cultural activity, of the relative independence of social and cultural evolution, and of the restraining discipline of the cultural process which checks the individual's impulse "in the interest of society." It would seem that the author takes too much for granted when he adopts the concept of society without subjecting it to the same careful analysis as that of culture. Thus he succumbs, perhaps unwittingly, to the temptation of hypostatizing society instead of treating it as a modality of interacting human beings in the same way that he considers culture as a "mode of acting and thinking which we attribute to human enterprise." It is true, he does discuss the more specifically anthropological ideas of a few authors commonly considered sociologists (especially Comte, Spencer, Sumner, Durkheim, and Sorokin). Yet he ignores significant contributions to the problems raised in this volume which have been made by many recent representatives of theoretical sociology, for instance, the Harvard group and others who have built upon Max Weber or the German school of *Kultursoziologie*.

We would also take exception to Bidney's interpretation of the scientific method (always understood by him in the narrow sense of empirical science), when he maintains that one cannot differentiate between an epistemological and an ontological definition because a valid definition has both epistemological and ontological import. Yet definitions within an empirical science are heuristic, not ontological as such, because ontological propositions cannot be formulated on the basis of empirical science alone.

Nor can we follow the author in his distinction between dedication and explanation; for, to our mind, one most desirable kind of explanatory theory in natural as well as social science is precisely a deductive formulation.

It is important for the advancement of social science that the challenge be taken up and that the controversy initiated here be kept alive.

E. K. FRANCIS

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The Organizational Revolution: A Study of the Ethics of Economic Organization. By KENNETH E. BOULDING, with a commentary by REINHOLD NIEBUHR. New York: Harper & Bros., 1953. Pp. xxxiv+286. $3.50.

A leading economic theoretician who sees the study of organization as natural science tries his hand at explaining the great increase in "the number, size and power of organizations," especially large-scale economic organizations, and appraising the consequences. What emerges is a strange but heady brew.

It is a book of analogies—familiar (e.g., biological, mechanical) and unfamiliar (e.g., political conflict in a world of big powers and mass parties, and economic conflict in a situation of oligopoly and duopoly). Some of them are set forth and later used to analyze concrete cases (e.g., control mechanisms and equilibrium in organism and organization); others are presented and later ignored (e.g., the role of catastrophe in disturbing climactic equilibrium in "biosystems" and "social ecosystems"; ecological succession in evolution and in organizational life). In general, the cogent treatment of farm, labor, and business organizations is suggestive despite the analogies, not because of them.

The book bristles with "iron laws" and principles of organization and social change. Examples: the laws of Malthus, of size, of hierarchy, of oligopoly ("if the number of independent interacting organizations is *few*, a situation of acute instability will be created, because each organization has some kind of visible coercive power over the others and can act to injure the others"), of "self-justified expectations" (i.e., self-fulfilling prophecies), of the "persistence of the role" in the interaction of organization and person. The "organizational revolution"—i.e., the growth in the size and complexity of organizations—is due on the whole to increasing op-

portunity and skill in organizing rather than to any great change in the need for organization. The new technical and social skills of the organizer who creates roles—which in turn shape men—are the prime movers. Here again, however, the general proposition sometimes gets lost in the application (e.g., pp. 129, 151), where the demand (need), not the supply (skill), is stressed.

Professor Boulding vigorously defends the institution of the free market, though he is well aware of the social and political aspects of its workings. He is at his best when he dissects organizational myths, especially those of economic protection—wages would be lower if the trade union failed to shake the boss down in an inflationary period; free imports from lower wage areas would lower real wages at home, parity prices solve the farmer's problem of income stability; co-ops are more efficient than private supermarkets; etc. No one is spared.

His admiration for the market stems from a concern with the problem of coercion. Boulding recognizes that both coercion and consent figure in most organizations and that the line between these forms of control is sometimes thin. But he believes that "on the whole . . . the organizations of a market economy are non-coercive" (p. 75). The market-dominated society has its ills, but "the only substitute for the cash-nexus is the fear nexus: a society moved not by the hope of gain but by fear of the inquisitor" (p. 178). The polemic here is directed largely against any human association which uses coercion in its own defense.

Boulding fails to distinguish the state from other types of association and thus misses an important point: the private governments of farm organization; trade union; and professional, fraternal, and business association may be the best insurance against the much greater coercion of the totalitarian state. The person whose loyalties are sought by many competing private associations in a pluralist society is in the same good position as the consumer whose patronage is sought by many competing businesses in Boulding's relatively free-market economy. The problem for research in both cases is the degrees and kinds of competition and collusion, the quality and variety of goods delivered, and the accountability of officer to member or seller to buyer. Boulding sees this when he deals with economic development but tends to miss it when he deals with coercion in political and social life.

In general, the author, a Quaker by belief,

successfully makes his value assumptions explicit at every stage of the analysis. He offers competent distillations of some things economists agree upon. His book should be read by two groups: those who have a stereotyped picture of economists as incredibly naïve fellows whose theories are hopelessly irrelevant for analysis of "real" economic behavior and those sociologists interested in the economic aspects of bureaucratization.

The force and clarity of Boulding's argument is enhanced by the comments of twenty-four academicians and practitioners at the end of the book.

HAROLD L. WILENSKY

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First Report of the National Advisory Committee on the Employment of Older Men and Women. Cmd. 8963, published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, October, 1953.

Like most Western countries Great Britain is confronted by a changing population structure, with an increasing proportion of older people; those over minimum pensionable age (sixty-five for men, sixty for women) numbered about $2\frac{3}{4}$ million in 1911, are now $6\frac{1}{2}$ million, and in 1977 will be $9\frac{3}{8}$ million—nearly 195 per thousand. This is a consequence of the increased expectation of life, and if the higher standards of living and of welfare services, which have of course contributed to greater longevity, are to be maintained, it is necessary to increase the number of active producers by encouraging the employment of older people. To advise and assist him in this task, the Minister of Labour and National Service appointed a National Advisory Committee with a widely representative membership, which presented its first report last October.

They have found a high rate of unemployment among older people and consider that the reason for this lies less in the physical or mental incapacity of these workers than in traditional attitudes toward them, certain provisions in employers' pension schemes, and policies of recruitment of those leaving school and college. The second of these factors is perhaps specially important, as many schemes have a minimum pensionable age which tends to be confused with the normal or compulsory age for retirement, and it is the view of the committee that the at-

tainment of pensionable age should be stressed as little as possible. Even in the absence of an established retirement policy, traditional attitudes associated with a particular age may affect both workers and employers.

Further difficulties in regard to the employment of older workers are connected with status; the retention of people beyond the pensionable age may block the way to higher posts for younger men and women, and the alternative of offering the older workers employment at a lower grade also has its disadvantages. The Committee recognizes these difficulties but, beyond tentatively suggesting that with a longer working life promotion might reasonably be delayed, do not do much more than admit them. In view of the tendency in recent years for marriage to take place at a younger age, the suggestion for deferred promotion is unlikely to be immediately acceptable.

Various experiments in offering employment to older workers are reviewed—for example, the revised policies in national and local government, whereby in some jobs recruitment limits are set as high as sixty-five. However, these do not amount to very much outside the public service, though there are interesting and promising developments. But the general picture is similar to what has emerged in other surveys on this subject, namely, that, while employers and trade unionists alike realize the necessity for using older people more fully, they have in only too many cases excellent reasons why such fuller use should take place in establishments other than those with which they are concerned.

This is a first report, and its main conclusions are that, while the test for employment should be capacity and not age, many questions arise which require further research and information, and they regard this as their future task.

ROSALIND CHAMBERS

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*North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century:
The North East, 1700–1750.* By EDWARD HUGHES. New York: Oxford University Press, 1952. Pp. xxi+435. $6.00.

This is one of the best historical studies of a provincial English culture ever to appear. Based on a rich find of family-estate papers,

business records, and personal letters, it is filled with fresh material of interest both to the economic historian and to any sociologically minded reader. It focuses on the upper middle class, setting the merchants and the new gentry who rose with the coal trade in contrast with the older Catholic gentry. The latter, Hughes argues, were sinking into poverty from economic reasons, quite apart from their political ill luck. The fatal loyalty to the lost Stuart cause merely made their ruin, after 1715, more dramatic.

Two families are portrayed in detail, one as typical of each of these groups. The letters of the Chaytor family tell of accumulating debt and trouble. Those of the Cotesworths show people scheming their way through one success after another, launching new businesses, managing newly purchased estates, arranging good marriages, pushing sons through the best education of the day in order that they might have a choice of careers. The Chaytors meet ruin without rancor; neither ill health nor debtors' prison can shake their amused and dogged equilibrium, and their family affections are strong and tolerant. The Cotesworths and their kind, though more anxious to impress the world, yet reach after and carry on very much the same kind of culture. An uncle's advice, treasured by a serious boy sent off to boarding school, might be taken as their motto for personal life: "Fear God, honour your father, love your relations, and be gracious."

It is to be hoped that the author will describe and analyze this society for us further. His chapter on Tyneside merchants, 1680–1726, is an important contribution to entrepreneurial history. He has already worked up his knowledge of the professions of this period into another monograph. It would be interesting to see the class relationships, so vividly sampled here, set against some statistical measures of social mobility and regional demographic movements.

SYLVIA L. THRUPP

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The Dynamics of Soviet Society. By W. W. ROSTOW. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1953. Pp. xvi+282. $3.95.

The purpose of this book is not to give new information about Soviet society but to give a

synthesis of what is already known. The author therefore used not original source materials but a selected bibliography mainly of American works on the Soviet Union. The aim of this book was also to clarify certain issues basic to making of United States policy toward the U.S.S.R. The book was written in collaboration with Alfred Levin and with the assistance of other people at the Centre of International Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In the first part of the book there is a discussion of the historical development of Soviet rule from its beginning to the period following World War II. The second part discusses cohesive forces, instabilities, and tensions in contemporary Soviet society. As positive cohesive forces the author enumerates real income incentives, public prestige, limited power, positive propaganda, a linking of the individual to the community by ideology and institutional structure, fear and suspicion of outside world, Russian nationalism, culture, and pride in certain Soviet achievements. As negative forces, he mentions bureaucratic organizations, surveillance and the arbitrary power of the secret police, the pervasive control of party, and the suppression of knowledge.

As sources of instabilities and tension, the author mentions the weakness of the executive power, notably in the matter of the succession and the instability of relations between executive power and the higher bureaucracy, particularly as between the executive power and the armed forces. Dissatisfaction throughout Soviet society is related to the political parties, the standard of living, religion, the popular distrust of propaganda, and the lack of popular participation in government.

The author also gives an account of group dissatisfactions as found among the nationalities, the intellectuals, the bureaucrats, the industrial workers, peasants, and forced laborers.

This discussion follows more or less the general consensus of students of Soviet society, particularly those selected by the author, concerning its structure, its controls and its instabilities. The book is a useful and well-made synthesis. In American research work on Soviet society there seem to be two major gaps. One is the lack of research concerning psychological agents in the dynamics of the Soviet society. The author, for instance, rightly points out that extreme power-seeking and self-perpetuation in power is one of the basic motivations of Soviet rule, but little is known about the background

and the growth of this agent. Little is known about the personality formation of party leaders, party cadres, and party rank-and-file. Even less is known about the effect of the structure of Soviet society on the personality of Soviet subjects of various strata.

The author rightly points out the importance of a knowledge of Russian culture for the understanding of the dynamics of Soviet society, but says little about the specific patterns of Russian culture and their effect on the formation of Soviet rule. Little is known, and therefore little is said, about the psychological means of total control in Soviet society.

Another shortcoming is an almost total lack of knowledge about the internal party structure, internal party control, and internal party relationships. It is impossible to understand the dynamics of Soviet society and to appraise its future trend of development without such a study, particularly the recruiting and selection of party candidates and party members and their social and psychological composition; the training and allocation of party cadres, the formation of party elites, categories of these elites and cadres, categories of rank and file, the internal relationships between various party strata, the formation of differences in orientations and attitudes, factions; rivalries and struggle for power, and the effect of these internal party conditions on Soviet society and on the international situation.

The author rightly points out the significance of bureaucratization in Soviet society, but here also research is lacking, so there is a tendency to look at the state administration and at the armed forces as bureaucracies. It is said also that the party itself is being bureaucratized. But the crucial question seems to be whether the party is successful in training its cadres and its top elites in such a way that they identify themselves in the first place with the party and not with the administrative functions which they hold. This is achieved by constantly moving party cadres and top party elites from one job to another, thus preventing the development of professional and local loyalties, and strengthening the universality of outlook and the solidarity of the party elites in relation to outsiders. Perhaps this struggle between loyalties, rather than bureaucratization, will decide the future of the Soviet world.

D. A. Tomasic

Indiana University

Twenty Years of Psychoanalysis. Edited by FRANZ ALEXANDER, M.D., and HELEN ROSS. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1953. Pp. 308. $3.75.

This volume commemorates the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Chicago Institute of Psychoanalysis. Part I contains papers and their discussions presented at meetings held on October 11, 1952, to celebrate the occasion, and Part II contains four papers which document the Institute's specific training and research activities.

In general, all the papers in Part I are of a high scientific and intellectual quality. They re-create the intellectual climate—the vigor, courage, faith, and thirst for scientific truth— which has typified the Institute from its beginning. The sea change which psychoanalysis experienced as it moved from Europe to the United States during the 1920's cannot be grasped without a knowledge of the contributions made by scientific workers at the Chicago Institute. The entire tone of the volume emphasizes the early insistence on constantly testing psychoanalytic hypotheses and theory in order to fit them into the existing validated theory of biology, psychology, and the social sciences.

Dr. Alexander's paper, "A Review of Two Decades," opens the volume. It is a delightful, partly autobiographical account of the ideals which have shaped the Institute. His moving picture of the transition of psychoanalysis from its heroic to its responsible period might almost be regarded as the theme of this volume. Alexander sees psychoanalysis reaching up toward its new stature when it begins to evaluate "what we know and do not know" and to answer pertinent questions and criticisms not only in good faith but also in accordance with the requirements of scientific method. The once valid formula, "You are asking all these questions because of your emotional resistances," Alexander finds of no value.

The new maturity is well reflected in other papers which provide the reader with a perspective on the past and current therapeutic, educational, and research functions of the Institute. He will get a glimpse of the Institute's efforts to separate cases which will benefit by short therapy from those cases which require the long orthodox psychoanalysis. The trends in training are realistically faced, and the training problems, personal analysis, theoretical instruction, supervised analytic work, and time of preparation are courageously handled in Grotjahn's paper.

In the review of various research projects conducted at the Institute one has a feeling of being on the frontiers of psychological knowledge. The problem of the probability of reductionism is present in certain reported research as well as that of the impact of unconscious mental factors upon the physiology of the organism. Thus psychoanalysis as a research technique is attempting to face the age-old problems of the interrelationship between physiology and psychology and to deny the body-mind dualisms which so many investigators complain of in orthodox psychoanalysis.

Social scientists will find Kubie's and Parsons' remarks of more than passing interest. Parsons attempts to show how his sociological theory points to the development of certain hypotheses which clarify the Oedipus complex. Kubie, along the lines of some of his recent articles, explores the contributions of psychoanalysis to the understanding of the effect of unconscious mental life upon scientific observations.

Educated laymen and social scientists who want a view of developments in psychoanalysis in the United States during the last two decades will find this volume useful. The publications of the Institute (1932–52), as well as a current faculty list, are included.

H. WARREN DUNHAM

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THE AMERICAN

JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

THE COMMUNITY-STUDY METHOD

CONRAD M. ARENSBERG

ABSTRACT

Community study has come to be one of the common methods of social science, deepening older social surveys with descriptive techniques based on field observation and contributing to sociology, anthropology, and social psychology. Critical re-examination of the use of the method shows it to be the study of social science problems and phenomena in vivo. Its success lies in its yielding priorities of relevance among factors, more realistic hypotheses, and better explanatory models. Community studies have proved communities to be structural units of cultural and social organization and transmission. They have revealed unexpected relationships among social, cultural, and psychological phenomena and a better basis for comparative ecology and urban sociology.

Community study, now one of the common methods in social science, is a research method through which many challenging problems of social psychology, sociology, and social anthropology are being attacked. Yet no summary of the progress and contributions of the community study method has yet appeared. The method has matured through use rather than through deliberate review and elaboration. The present paper belatedly attempts such a review.

Social scientists have always tried to explore their problems against the background of particular communities. They have often explored particular communities for light on the nature, functions, and connections in human social life of phenomena they have encountered. Yet, historically considered, community study can be said to have first emerged as a separate and recognized method within anthropology.[1] Never-

theless, social surveys, designed to locate and explore "social problems," are among the oldest traditions of sociology.[2] Social psychology, narrowly defined, has come later to the use of the community as the setting of problems. Dollard explored the personalities of whites and Negroes in Southerntown in the mid-thirties.[3] It was not until World War II that "action research" developed in the attempt to put social-psychological problems such as race discrimination or prejudice into their proper community settings in order to make use of community feeling and organization for a "solution."[4] Indeed, the realization that the study of the community as a causal factor in the formation of class, race, and

[2] Shelby M. Harrison, *The Social Survey* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1934).

[3] John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937).

[4] Robin M. Williams, Jr., *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions* (Social Science Research Council Bull. 57 [New York, 1947]).

[1] Julian H. Steward, *Area Research, Theory and Practice* (Social Science Research Council Bull. 63 [New York, 1950]).

subcultural or institutional behaviors and attitudes brings important rewards makes very slow progress. Nevertheless, current work such as that of David Riesman and others in exploring the metropolitan city and that of Yehoda in new residential suburbs or Bernard Kutner in problems of old age in the modern city or of Stanfield Sargent in stratification in a California city indicates that social psychologists are turning to community study along with their fellow social scientists.

THE NATURE OF THE METHOD

Community study is that method in which a problem (or problems) in the nature, interconnections, or dynamics of behavior and attitudes is explored against or within the surround of other behavior and attitudes of the individuals making up the life of a particular community. It is a naturalistic, comparative method. It is aimed at studying behavior and attitudes as objects in vivo through observation rather than in vitro through isolation and abstraction or in a model through experiment.

The fact that community study, like other naturalistic and comparative methods in science (e.g., those in geology, zoölogy, astronomy), is an observational rather than a statistical or an experimental method means, of course, that its canons of control, verification, and reliability are quite different from those, say, of attitude study or small-group experiment. Many social scientists seem confused about this difference, particularly as the canons of community study have often been left implicit. Yet the community studies already published now number many dozens. That so many continue to be made argues for some value and some consistency in the method. It is well to be as clear as possible about its character.

· The rapid and complex development of a general social science out of the earlier specialties dealing with human organization and behavior piecemeal, like economics and politics, owes much of its existence to the fact that empirical methods of research have come to be widely used across disciplinary lines. The present diffusion of community study among research departmentally separated as social psychology, sociology, and cultural (social) anthropology is another example of the spread of an empirical method. It is well to remember that the empirical and observational methods must always keep pace with the statistical and experimental in science. In social science, in particular, there will presumably always be a need to describe new occurrences, to check new hypotheses against life, to test experimental or abstract models for their relevance to real events. Empirical approaches to social, psychological, and cultural data will continue to be needed where the scientist can observe human beings acting and feeling in free situations outside the laboratory. He will need to be able to explore as yet unanalyzed data first hand and to order them as they occur in real events. He will continue to need some such empirical and observational method as community study to establish actual rather than merely logically assumed concurrences in behavior, expressions of sentiment and opinion, and group formation.

Community study, then, is a method of observation and exploration, comparison and verification. It is not the study of a community, communities, or *the* Community. The human or animal community is a perfectly legitimate object of study. Biologists, zoölogists, ecologists, economists, clergymen, jurists, social-workers, architects, etc., all study the community directly. Sociologists study directly the various forms of the community and attempt to classify them—band, village, city, nation—as do social anthropologists. All these people study communities to see what they are, how they work, how to use them or change them. The community-study method of our emerging general social science does not do this except incidentally. Its purpose rather is to use the community as a setting for the exploration, discovery, or verification of interconnections among social and psychological facts and processes.

It is important to keep this distinction

in mind. Community studies have been made *upon* a wide range of problems. That is, a good many different questions about social and psychological facts and processes have been put to the test by referring them to their natural setting within a particular community hopefully "typical." Community study is thus, like other research methods, a device for coming to grips with social and psychological facts in the raw. It is a tool of social science, not a subject matter. As with other tools of science, its use has certain advantages and certain disadvantages: at certain times it is appropriate and at others it is not. Like sociometry, attitude measurement, small-group observation, content analysis, institutional analysis, and cross-cultural survey, it is one of the new common tools of social science.

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS

As with the other tools, too, community study has its special characteristics as a method. Its use requires special techniques and gives special results. Though a community study treats a particular community, it is sharply to be distinguished from a vignette, or a novel of place, or a local history, even in its most implicit form. The logic of its purpose—to study social and psychological conditions in vivo, in their full natural, living setting and relationships—forces certain decisions upon the social scientist using it.

First, to be specific, a social scientist using the community-study method must choose a community which is a "whole," a "full round of local life." He must try to find a community in which he can at least hope to take a "cross-section" or a "sample" of the society and the culture of the persons showing the social and psychological behavior or problem he is interested in. A community study is thus necessarily comparative, at least implicitly, since one such whole of human social and cultural experience must be alike or different from another.

This requirement sets the maker of a community study squarely upon the difficult course of a theory and a research design

which will let him treat social and cultural wholes. It also requires him to mark off and define the community he studies and to justify his isolating it, as such a whole, from the surround of other places and other times. Community study is not the study of the community, as we have said, but it must be grounded in sound prior theory of the community. For it presupposes that one knows and can isolate a community when one sees one, that one can treat it as a whole, and that one can compare it with others. Many difficulties of research design and execution hinge on this point; in too many studies an urban ward or a dormitory-suburban class segregation has been mistaken for a viable and self-perpetuant human community. But a community study falls short of treating a problem in vivo if it fails to isolate a reasonably full sample of the whole life of the people concerned.

Second, and again specifically, a social scientist using community study must choose many, not just a few, techniques of observation and data collection. To date depth interviewing, participant observation, sociometrics, collecting genealogies, house-to-house canvasses, collecting cases, content-analyzing documents, to name just a few techniques usable under the community-study method, have been used quite widely. For it is the material, not the problem, that requires a manifold and a flexible use of techniques. In other social science methods, say, in attitude survey, techniques can be safely derived from the general method, as techniques of scale-building derive from questionnaires. In community study the fit of method and technique must be looser.

The reason is simply that a community study is nothing if not "multifactorial." To explore the natural, living setting of a problem necessarily involves concurrent attacks upon all the relevant factors at a single time, the moment of observation. To attempt to deal with the "whole round" of local human existence means that the research worker must treat his people, the members of the community, as full animal

and human beings, that he must deal with all facets of their lives, and that he must focus upon immediate factors relating to the problem before him only after he has discovered orders of immediacy among all the factors, as far as he can conceive them in their entirety. It has been argued against community studies that "one cannot study everything" and that this canon of community study is an impossibility. But the nature of exploration in vivo is just that one does not prejudice the discovery of relevant factors by premature isolation of particular causes. The job is to establish the priorities of relevance.

All this means that in the earlier community studies, and in those of the anthropological tradition, one did and had to make a stab, by informed guessing, at "studying everything." Today teamwork among the sciences attempts a similar holism. But whether one is a solitary or a team, it remains that to make a community study is to try, for a time anyway, to be a complete sociologist, to examine all the interfunctioning local institutions without distinction of kind and regardless of one's lacunae in skill or training. It is also to try, for a time at least, to be a complete psychologist as well, to record the recurrent life-situations and the purposes, values, and satisfactions, in everything from food and sex to religion and art, of the interlocked people of all ages, sexes, and conditions making up the community.

The important point is not exhaustion of detail but breadth of view. Community study attempts to deal with all these things as they interact in the same field of forces, in "real life," in "nature." The criterion of success is not a verifiable control of factors (not yet) but completeness and consistency in making what is now coming to be called a "model" of that field. The job is to use enough techniques, with enough personnel using them, to catch the relevant local data of whichever kind is to be found in that community and to be guided by their real-life connections to a statement of the most relevant interaction of factors. Techniques

of observation are not to be chosen a priori or by fashion, in response to some preliminary planning statement of problem alone. Far too often this point is neglected. The nature of good exploration must be kept in mind. They are to be chosen rather as they offer a chance of success in getting the research worker closer and closer to the interconnections the data themselves present. The gain to science is not that of a controlled experiment, where another possibility is checked off. One's reward is a better "model," a newer, even unexpected hypothesis about factorial interconnections.

Third among the special and specific characteristics of community study is the need to reject and rework data already extant describing the community under study or its facets. This characteristic is also little understood by critics of the method, but it arises out of the attempt to study interconnected social and psychological conditions in vivo. It means not that the student ignores extant information but rather that he cannot accept it as it stands: too many false or irrelevant assumptions incrust it.

Particularly where community studies have been made upon complex modern literate societies is the need to rework acute. In such studies authors have quite rightly drawn heavily upon existing economic and statistical data, on local records and histories, and on court records and newspaper files. But they have had to do things with them other than their compilers have either yet done or ever intended. The community-study method required these authors, as it always requires, to refer these data back to the biases of the original compilers in the community or cultural setting and to regroup and restate both extant data and new data of their own collection for their own purpose. The original compilers reported these data against some culturally given and community-derived abstraction from local life; the researcher cannot trust a "native's" abstraction unqualifiedly. He must use it instead as he does his other sources. He works back through it as far as he can to a firsthand model of the interconnections

f social, cultural, and psychological facts present in the whole round of local life. He cannot chance the abstraction's obscuring his view.

This need to rework is probably a special case of a little-noted regularity of social science research best described recently by Lévi-Strauss in a discussion of models for cultural phenomena.[5] In all cultural situations, he points out, the "natives" (i.e., bearers of the culture) have a working model in their heads of their own institution or social system. But this may be as partial and as incorrect as the pre-Copernican models of the solar system. The social scientist can gain much insight from these models, but he must make a better one. The point has been amply illustrated in sociological work on social stratification. We possess ample occupational statistics and in several conceptions of class structure, both learned and popular, classes are based on occupations. But investigations of behavior and attitude reveal only imperfect coincidences between social and occupational classes.

The fact that success in a community study lies in providing a truer model of the interconnection of the factors or in a keener or an unexpected knowledge of the priority in relevance of one factor in a problem over another accounts for a good deal of difference in attitude toward quantification between users of community-study method and others in social and psychological science.

In community study the empirical fit between an attitude and behavior, a belief and a culture pattern, an institutional norm and a custom or sanction, is of more interest than the number of persons who express the attitude or practice the behavior or the average or other statistically representative quality of these things. To date, perhaps, the difference in interest in statistical quantification has been left implicit. Defenders of community studies have perhaps not adequately defended their lack of interest

in counting attitudes or behavior in persons or groups and have preferred to appease their attackers in order to get on, unreformed, with their own work. Indeed, while attitude survey has gone further and further down the road of precision in analysis of answers to questions upon interview schedules, sociometry has grown more and more exact about interpersonal choices or interactions, and small-group experiment has gone ever deeper into the specification of organizational and communicational patterns between individuals, community study has retained an outlook that is, necessarily, structural, qualitative, topographical.

This fourth and last specific and special characteristic of the method goes back, of course, to one of its origins, to the anthropological attempts to describe unknown cultures and social "wholes." Here again clarity in social science seems only slowly to be emerging, and controversy is still rife. Where a "whole round" of local life, patterning human interaction, human expression and aspiration, human evaluation of experience, in a way comparatively different from the way extant in another time and place, is to be understood and described, the first order of business, as we have said, is a working model. As we have already pointed out, isolating particular variables or inventing technical operations for treating particular ranges of cultural, social, or psychological experience is not such first order of business. Similarly, attitudes are less interesting in themselves as objects to be isolated, studied, and quantified, and the nature of particular social and psychological processes (like, say, the formation of cliques or the mechanics of scapegoating) is a less immediate problem than the topography of interconnections, for example, say, in the "meaning" of religious attitudes for local race relations or the "use" of scapegoating in class or ethnic group defense in the community.

MODEL-BUILDING

In community study, indeed, the three main problems in executing a research de-

[5] Claude Lévi-Strauss, "Social Structure," in A. L. Kroeber (ed.), *Anthropology Today* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

sign are *sui generis*. They are not much like those of other social science methods. First is the construction of a model of the whole (e.g., community, society, or institution or psychological world) from data gathered in with the widest possible net. Second comes comparison, at least implicit comparison, with other similar wholes. Third is the fitting of any particular problem or other object of study (e.g., race relations, acculturation, industrialization, personality, illness, etc.) into its proper niche within the model.

These problems of research execution are familiar in natural science. People do not, however, seem to be used to them yet in the social sciences. The first is simply creating an adequate theoretical model of a field; the second is detailed examination of functional relationships; only with the third does quantitative analysis begin. Neither of the first two problems requires the verification procedures of attitude survey or of sociometry or of any other branch of social and psychological science except cultural and institutional analysis. They are not statistical problems. They are instead problems in systematics, congruence, and structure, like mechanics or chemistry; and, while mathematics exists or can be invented to state them, it is not the mathematics of random distributions. To complain that a community study establishing a connection between schizophrenia and winter isolation of families in Norway[6] or between anti-Negro attitudes and non-discriminatory treatment of Negro persons in Brazil[7] does not give percentage figures or sample cases is to mistake the comparative and exploratory purpose of community study.

If community study is not to be judged by its statistical precision, then it must be judged by other criteria. These depend upon the completeness and consistency with which results of its explorations are fitted into a model of the community under scrutiny. A great deal depends upon the theoretical and comparative insight of the model-builder and a great deal depends, too, upon the accuracy of the data-gathering techniques he used.

To date, as in so much of social science, much progress has been made in description in community studies, less in model-building itself. The derivation of community studies in such great part from anthropological attempts to study whole cultures has dictated a fairly general competence in techniques of field work and a fairly widespread, if implicit, agreement as to which techniques should be used. Lately these have been added to. With the introduction of Rorschach and other directly psychological personality-study techniques, and as interest in "culture and personality" and "institutional" and "national" character has grown,[8] these new techniques have been worked into the conduct of community-study field work.

FIELD TECHNIQUES

It is an oddity of the history of community study that one hunts almost in vain for a good account of the implicitly agreed-upon field techniques. They seem never to have been described thoroughly, though Warner summarized them in an article explaining his reasons for studying Yankee City and Deep South.[9] They have been relegated to brief forewords where they have usually been stated in oblique and partial language relying upon the living tradition of ethnographer.[10] There they can be extracted from an account, often painstaking, of what the field worker actually did, what contacts he made initially, where he found

[6] Christian Jonasson, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 1948.

[7] Charles Wagley *et al.*, *Race and Class in Rural Brazil* (Paris: UNESCO, 1952).

[8] Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951); also Harry Tschopik, Jr., *The Aymara of Chucuito, Peru I* "Magic" ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XLIV, Part II [New York, 1951]).

[9] William Lloyd Warner, "Social Anthropology and the Modern Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVI, No. 6 (May, 1941), 785-96.

[10] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Social Anthropology* (Glencoe Ill.: Free Press, 1952).

quarters, whom he got to serve as "informants," how he gathered his corpus of materials and what it consists of, and what parts of local life he took part in. All this is naturally part of the tradition of literary prefaces.

Such accounts of field work are usually quite particular. They extend even to confession of trials, troubles, and shortcomings, a great merit in a professional reader's judging of the work accomplished, but not yet an explicit guide for the next researcher in search of clear imperatives as to what he must do when faced with a new community of his own to study. Here again lack of explicitness is based upon a special tradition of anthropology. It has been customary for a young anthropologist to learn field work privately by word of mouth from one's master just before setting out on one's first trip into the field. Learning field technique has been a last and final act of apprenticeship at a time of maximum motivation. Nevertheless, despite tradition, it has also become clear that such apprenticeship is no longer adequate for large numbers of researchers, and recently some codification of field-work method has been attempted. We owe the five-year-long department "Field Methods and Techniques" of the journal *Applied Anthropology* to this attempt as well as the recent section on "Method" in the encyclopedic symposium report *Anthropology Today*.[11]

The relevance of general field-work method in anthropology to community study can be made clear to readers outside the tradition, who have no time for these sources, if one merely reproduces an example of directions to field workers in any specific study. I reproduce here some of my own for fellow field workers in a current community study of a coal-mining town in Germany in the Ruhr under the direction of German scholars there. The list is a plan of possible techniques that might be drawn up-

on by a large group of field workers. In actual execution, time, circumstances, training, and money, of course, are all factors cutting down the use of these possible techniques and forcing decisions as to what local information can be best mined with which technique. The techniques are presented in descriptive language rather than with technical names.

GATHERING AND ANALYZING DATA FOR COMMUNITY STUDIES

POSSIBLE TECHNIQUES FOR THE STUDY OF
D—— (POP. ±20,000)

(Four Persons Full Time; One Year in Field, One Year Write-up)

I. Spatial-temporal descriptions of the community D——
   A. Spatial description:
      1. Topography, regional position, access, subordination
      2. Form of settlement: street arrangement, business and housing concentration, etc.
      3. Quasi-organic forms; e.g., the mine as a nucleus
      4. Questions of accessibility: Who may go where? Which areas are open to all? Which to officials alone? Young? Old? Women? etc.
      5. Historical displacements and changes; e.g., location of farmers' market, old commercial centers, new settlements
      6. Community self-descriptions: what sections are distinguished, what names and nicknames applied
      7. Land use: forms of fields, dwellings, gardens, commons, private plots, properties, also as dictated by divisions and restrictions of living space
      8. Communication and traffic: spatial movement within and between settlements, mine, center, peripheries; delineation of trading area, marriage radius, etc.
   B. Temporal description:
      1. Traffic flow and communications activity: daily, weekly, seasonal, yearly rounds
      2. Work-round: production, employment, work cycles, punctuations, times of full and slack

[11] A. L. Kroeber (ed.), *Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952). Chapters by Lounsbury, Paul, Henry and Spiro, Lewis.

3. Eu- and dys-phoric cycles: communal and ceremonial calendar rounds, festivities, opportunities for personal life, etc., leisure, recreation

4. Family cycles: meals, work, sleep, festivities, birth, marriage, life-cycle, age-grading

5. Recurrent crises: sickness, dejection, etc.

6. Sporadic crises: mine disaster, fire, epidemic

7. Economic and budgetary round, periodic income, employment statistics and records

(NOTES 1, 2, 3)

The results of this typological exploration should supply answers to the question: What is D———?

II. Direct and indirect techniques for observing family structure and its relation to the community, with related topics of social and cultural organization

A. Direct observation: participant observation, biographical interviews (life-histories), family questionnaire sample, perhaps school essays, used for determining family structure and internal relationship patterns

1. Roles of family members: participations, relationships in behavior and affect

2. Patterns of conditioning of members (socialization, child-rearing) by other members, including disciplines and taboos

3. Education and vocational training: training methods and contexts, within the family, inside and outside of school, school system and content of education, school and family contact, vocational and cultural aspirations, training contents, contexts, and methods

(NOTES 4, 5)

B. Indirect observation: use of attitudinal and value materials, including individual psychology, ideological matters

1. Study of sanctions and social control measures through:

a) Collection and analysis of court, police, and relief records

b) Open-ended interviews with doctors, priests, mine officials, town and government officials

and institutional officers, school and sports officials, union, club, associational officers, fellow-members, neighbors, particularly round family and individual crises

(NOTES 6, 7)

2. Study of local evaluations of local types of persons, e.g., moral and aesthetic attitudes and beliefs about persons, classes, groups, etc., by means of:

a) Free interviews based on provocative materials, chance events, daily contact, or incidental description

b) Content-analysis of newspapers, speeches, public and ceremonial utterances

c) Biographies and local personal histories, letters, essays, personal documents

3. Study of individual and community psychology, attitudes, values, collective myth, through:

a) Clinical observations, records, or doctors' and specialists' analyses of "deviant personalities," criminals, neurotic and psychotic distortions of local values

b) Formal testing and projection methods: Rohrschach, Hellersberg, etc., according to opportunity and training

c) Content analysis of school, training and other instructional materials

d) Institutional and personal documents and utterances as in II, B, 2, a, b, c, above

e) Myths and history as locally accepted and transmitted, also songs, folklore, popular folk literature

f) Attitude survey and scales, formal attitude survey methods, perhaps constructed on local clichés and fixed beliefs, after Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality*

III. Direct description of institutional and cultural patterns, roles, and structural relationships in larger aggregates: techniques for dealing with the commune (*Gemeinde*), the parishes, and the settlements (*Seid-*

hungen), treating community rather than familial life

A. Cultural, institutional patterns of interpersonal and intergroup interaction, ordination and deference, interactive behavior, attitude, and moral evaluation

B. Role analyses, formal and informal statuses, sanctions thereupon

C. Sociometric and interactional-relationship mapping of sample groups of varying sizes

These to be used for:

D. The settlements (residential and neighborhood groupings) and class segregations (middle-class business center), to establish, delineate, and describe:

1. Age groups and age-grade patterns, including youth activities both informal and organized, adult, old age, and childhood groups, patterns, activities, with mechanisms of transition, control, exclusion, sanction, etc.

2. Intersexual patterns outside the family:

   a) Adolescence and youth, including courtship, mate search, sex education and experiment, taboos, family and community controls, exo- and endogamic tendencies or restrictions

   b) Adult sexuality, with control of sexual relations in marriage, prudery, sex morality, institutional and informal sanctions, class variations and differences

3. Ritual and ceremonial interpersonal interaction, transition and expansion of familial relationships, kinship, godparentship, neighborly and friendship patterns, inheritance and ritual and social obligation, mutual aid

4. Secular and casual interfamily relationship, visiting, gossip, quarreling, display

5. Informal communal regulation and social control over

   a) Space, as gardens, streets, animals, vehicles, and contrasts with official institutional controls over same

   b) Time, as sleep, sickness, life-crises, etc.

   c) Interpersonal relationships, disputes, etc.

E. The formal religious *Gemeinden* (parishes) and the secular commune, described through:

1. Inventory of formal offices and organizations

2. Analysis of community participation, membership in formal statuses and organizations and associations, residence, occupation, social class, etc., using official statistical and demographical sources

3. Inventory and analysis of associations and their membership through study of overlapping membership, rules, functions, leadership, activities, rituals, purposes, histories through interview (NOTES 8, 9) and documents

4. Interactional analysis, through records, observation, and anecdotal descriptions, of all official-private contacts, over sample times, at each level and in all sequences: Who brought what to whom? When? For what purpose? With what outcome?

5. Both content analysis and the above interactional analysis should be used on interviews and documents referring to local functionaries, characterizing them or giving local attitudes toward them, as well as on formal records of official projects and proceedings as city reports, court records, etc., including newspaper files (NOTE 10)

IV. Description and analysis of social stratification, class structure, and other categoric organization, larger than the community (NOTE 11)

A. Statics

1. Content analysis for class and prestige values, terms, categories, scales, or recurrent life or interaction patterns, to be made on all materials, especially on biographical, anecdotal, and case records

2. Statistical correlations from official records (e.g., parish rolls, mine rolls, tax rolls) over time of parent and child positions, other family members, or use of school records, correlating performance and social origin

3. Positional analysis (Warner), socio-

metric choices, clique studies, among membership groups in associations, occupational groups, other defined categories, with construction therefrom of measures of relative cohesion, solidarity, or social distance

4. Value scales, survey or scales of variant reactions to common stimuli (political theories, clichés, consumption standards), taste and preference inventories; also household and possessions inventories, scaled

5. Analysis of deviants, status maintenance, sanctions, studies of cross-class marriages, households, etc.

6. Matched rankings, ranking by representative members of the population of themselves and others

B. Dynamics and external relations: principally the mine and the community interrelations and mutual effects, including mobility outward of miners' children away and the attraction of new and refugee miners into the town (NOTE 12)

1. Statistical materials, employment, wages, etc., commissariat (perquisites), personnel turnover, in- and out-migration to mine and town over the years

2. Company and mine histories, officials' biographies

3. Tabular and interview inventory of mine-community contacts, by persons, ages, classes, etc., in personnel policy, public relations, social security measures, including informal controls over persons

4. Study of trend and process in mine-community relationships: situational analysis through measures of institutional equilibrium:

a) "Down the line" pressures, company initiative, company-tradesmen relationships

b) "Up the line" pressures, individual and informal channels of upward communication, worker-foreman and official relationships in town and at work; tradesmen as middlemen

c) Use of political channels, church channels

d) Use of union channels, union organization both formal and informal, internal union policies and pressures

e) Sophisticated interviewing for conscious and unconscious attitudes in management personnel, officials of town and state, associations, including motivations and rationalizations about mine-town equilibrium

f) Connections with internal mine organization, changes, disciplines, pressures at work as established by in-mine "human relations" study

5. Intensive study of crises, if any: e.g., strikes, crucial or hot elections (NOTE 13)

NOTES TO ABOVE LIST OF POSSIBLE TECHNIQUES FOR D———

NOTE 1. Owing to the importance of rent and wages and the necessary frugality of proletarian existence in a monetary economy, one should establish the budgetary round with great care. The amount is unessential in this study and can be got from official and union budget studies and is useful principally for comparison among social classes. But temporal incidence and variability is important: When paid? When spent? When without credit? When without resources? When on savings? On garden produce or animals? Most important also is the division of funds among persons of the household or family connection: Who contributes? Who disposes? In what funds?

NOTE 2. Maps and tables useful here. Official sources to be supplemented by on-the-spot mapping and checking.

NOTE 3. List both the facts here, by categories of persons, and the controls on these: What confines them so in space and time? Who reacts to violations? How?

NOTE 4. Family is to include, where necessary, all kindred.

NOTE 5. Cases needed from each social class, and including past generations.

NOTE 6. Both official and informal or private values to be sought here.

NOTE 7. Cases gathered here should be worked into scales motivation and reaction intensity after being subject to institutional and interactional analysis.

NOTE 8. Content analysis of members' speeches and of the minutes and transactions possible. Also sociometrics of meeting participations.

NOTE 9. Attitudes of participating and nonparticipation community persons not members or officials also to be got by interviewing.

NOTE 10. Records to be content-analyzed.

NOTE 11. This theme should be treated both separately for itself and through reanalysis by various means of all materials gathered with other purposes in mind.

NOTE 12. Both influences from the larger society and those from the mine and company are in point.

NOTE 13. Cases and work histories are best sources here, besides interviews. Minutes of mine company's internal meetings got through the mine study can be analyzed, as from personnel department, works council, etc. Both interactional and content analysis needed.

CRITIQUE OF THE METHOD

Julian Steward has probably best summarized the nature and history of community study and its shortcomings in actual use.[12] He sees in the method "anthropology's chief contribution to area research," that is, to knowledge of the culture, societies, and psychologies of the peoples of the principal world areas, and thinks it of interest to other disciplines of social science in making clear some of the yet unsolved problems of interdisciplinary co-operation. As we have seen, community studies developed in part in the study of primitive peoples. Describing whole cultures, they saw all forms of behavior as functionally interdependent within the context of the whole culture. Steward believes, however, that, when the method has been put to work instead upon modern communities, difficulties have arisen. The ethnographic method has proved too onerous, and few studies have really developed a cultural whole for a modern society. Furthermore, the fact that communities in complex modern societies differ in kind from those of simple and primitive cultures seems to have been disregarded.

Steward treats the difficulty of actual use in some detail. In contrast to the more specialized social science methods, as we have already pointed out, and rather than isolating their phenomena of study from social, cultural, and areal contexts as these do, community studies attempt to integrate social science data within the local framework. The difficulty arises when in doing this they treat the community as if it were a primitive tribe, a self-contained whole to be treated in terms of itself alone. Steward

feels that many studies have treated the local group "as if the larger society did not exist." Though many authors have recognized in theory that their studies need to be related to a larger universe of social, cultural, and psychological phenomena, few studies have attempted to show how the larger society affects the community under investigation. And there are no studies, he feels, which undertake fully and in detail to conceptualize the relationship between the two.

This seems to be the rock on which, in the opinion of Steward and others, community studies have foundered. His criticism is close to that directed to in-plant industrial studies, in industrial sociology and "human relations" research, where ethnographic and observational methods are also widely used in an effort to study a living industrial situation in the round.[13] Granted, with Steward, that while to isolate a small tribe as a whole community is possible, to treat a complex modern community, a part of a great national and international society, is quite a different thing. Nevertheless, with adequate conceptual models it may be possible, just as isolating a cell or an organ in physiology is not rendered impossible by the admitted complexity of a living animal body. And Steward, like other critics of monographic isolation of situational contexts in modern social science, sees failure of community study to fill its original comparative ethnographic promise in a desertion of the attempt to treat the whole systematically for a special treatment of a narrower problem object within it. Most com-

[12] *Op. cit.*, pp. 22 and 23 (paraphrased).

[13] Conrad M. Arensberg, "Behavior and Organization," in John Rohrer and Muzafer Sherif (eds.), *Social Psychology at the Cross-Roads* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950), chap. xiv.

munity studies have not in fact followed the original canon of treating a whole culture or made a systematic inventory of human activities covering every phase of local life. They have instead varied considerably in stressing some activities of a universal comparative list of activities of all human cultures and in omitting others, according to problem, circumstances, and author's predilections. Steward feels that many authors, in deserting comparability and in neglecting the problems of the isolability of their communities, have blunted the method and lessened the usefulness of their work.

Such criticism of community studies is very useful. Even if not just in every particular, it points to many problems about the nature and usefulness of the method. Nevertheless, the criticism may mistake somewhat the nature of the method as a tool of science. A method in science grows out of use; it evolves. That may be the case here. It is true that the method became conscious in ethnographic studies of whole cultures. But a method and the purpose of its first users are not the same. Community study, as we have seen, is the exploration of human cultural, social, and group behavior in vivo, in natural setting, rather like natural history methods in biology and zoölogy. To think of it as a method for any one specific purpose, even for the purpose of an anthropological characterization of a whole culture, is to mistake the nature of the method for the purpose of some of its users.

Community study is not the study of whole cultures, or of communities, as we have said. It is the study of human behavior *in* communities; that is, in the natural contexts made up of natural and full human co-operative living, of living intergenerational and intersexual relationships, of ongoing cultural and interfamilial communication and transmission. It is not even true, indeed, that community study, if not always consciously so named, is wholly anthropological in origin. Historically, social survey methods date back to the 1860's and 1870's in England, France, Germany, and Norway (Booth, LePlay, Riehl, Eiler

Sundt). The anthropologists' use of the method was a gradual historical evolution of an older tradition of social description, which has never suffered hiatus in social science and has long been cultivated under such names as social survey, sociography, folklore, human geography, national ethnography. The anthropologists seem responsible for its sophistication and partial systematization (still not yet fully achieved) but not for its invention.

HISTORICAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS
OF THE METHOD

We are thus quite ready to welcome rather than deplore the fact that community studies in modern societies have much mixed the ethnographic canon with treatment of special problems. Naming a few of them will show the variety.

Lynd's *Middletown*, Warner and company's *Yankee City* and *Jonesville*, Davis and Gardner's *Deep South*, Dollard's *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, all from the thirties, united an interest in American culture, seen from the point of view of cultural and social anthropology, with the unescapable problems of class structure, which had to be solved before American or Western culture could even be conceptualized. The studies of some seventy-two communities in the United States, organized in the Department of Agriculture by Carl Taylor, of which *Harmony, Georgia; Sublette, Kansas; Llandaff, New Hampshire; The Old Order Amish of Eastern Pennsylvania;* and *Irwin, Iowa*, as well as later Lewis' *Black Waxy* (Texas) were published, dealt less with comparative ethnographic typology, though they drew on Mangus and Odum and others who had studied the rural subcultures of the United States, than with current social problems arising out of the instability of modern rural society and the disruptive effects of the spread of the urban way of life into the open country. These studies thus all merged in interest with the original British and Continental social surveys, like those continued in Britain from Booth's *Life and Labor of the City of London*, through the

studies of *Merseyside, Cardiff*, and Tom Harrison's, an avowed anthropologist's, *North Country*. The tradition is still much alive, both in Britain and on the Continent, where it merges with modern studies of industrial and industrializing communities, in France, as, for example, Chombart de Lauve's *Les Quartiers de Paris*, in Holland, Bouman's Rotterdam in *De Groej van de grote Werkstad* and *Emmen*, in Belgium, in Germany, and in Norway and Sweden.

Thus the conviction arose, in the practice of the thirties and in rural studies as well as urban ones, that one could study problems of interest to sociologists and social-psychologists and of concern to anthropologists through community study as well as through other methods. Social stratification, migration and assimilation, power, race relations, influence of technology interested the sociologists. Such studies as Goldschmidt's of Waco (*As You Sow*), Walker's *Steeltown*, Fei's *Peasant Life in China*, West's *Plainville, U.S.A.*, Cayton and Drake's *Black Metropolis* (the Negro in Chicago), Afif Tannous' articles on the Lebanon, combined one or another of these interests. Arensberg and Kimball's studies of County Clare, Ireland, combined demographic inquiry with cultural analysis. Lewis in Tepotzlán and Tschopik in high Bolivia made signal use of psychological investigation to unite culture and personality. Hollingshead's *Elmtown's Youth* treated adolescence.

Abroad, recent UNESCO-inspired community studies are under way or about to appear in France, Sweden, Australia, and India, where industrializing influences in the countryside are of interest; in Germany a ten-volume German and partly American "German Middletown" (Darmstadt): in France Bettelheim's study of a small city; and in Wales, Alwyn D. Rees' *Life in a Welsh Countryside*. All are much influenced by particular national social problems.

More directly anthropological concerns have long been combined with ethnographic description in many community studies from an even wider covering of the world. The folk-urban antithesis and the question of folk culture appears in Redfield's early Mexican *Tepoztlán* and *Chan Kom*, in Horace Miner's *St. Denis* (French Canada) and *Timbuctoo* (West Africa). Acculturation, culture synthesis, are the themes of the many Latin-American studies, both Mexican and Andean, of Parsons, Gillin, Beals, Tschopik, Buitrón, Foster, and of Herskovits in *A Trinidad Village* and of Service in Paraguay. These and others address themselves to cultural and subcultural (regional) characterization, as in the forthcoming series on Puerto Rico, under Steward, and Brazil, under Wagley. These do not hesitate to treat such widespread modern problems as plantations and race relations by the method thus keeping to the tradition of older Brazilian studies by Willems and Pierson. Currently, also, India, Japan, and Southeast Asia are scenes of community studies, aimed at both cultural characterization and current problems.

PROBLEMS OF CONCEPTUAL INTEGRATION

With community studies in such multitude and variety, it is not difficult to see the justice of Steward's criticisms. Neither problems nor communities are common, and difficulties of comparison and generalization are inescapably great. It is nowhere really clear what a community is, in size, organization, or other characters, or how the relationship between community, culture, and larger society shall be treated. That the method should run into problems as it develops in use is no surprise, of course; rather the fact testifies to the ferment of growth in social science. But it is certainly time for stock-taking.

Thus there seems to be general agreement that what is needed is a better unification of concepts and a better building of models. Model-building, in which a truer fit is achieved between problem and context, yielding a greater understanding of problems, was and is the goal of the method. The method will continue to grow as sharper and clearer theoretical models are derived from synthesizing experience.

In general, then, in social science today studies of social stratification, urban ecology, urban life and city structure, and ethnological studies have all come to treat particular communities, large and small, and to gather immense quantities of research data from and about them. Lately, too, as we have seen, social psychology has turned to community study. Yet between these diverse efforts there has been little reconciliation and even little fertilization.

Some better integration, then, is needed. With Steward, we can say that a first need is to unite our understanding of the "horizontal structures," as he calls the pervasive institutions of nation, culture, and civilization in modern life, so often the subject of special disciplines outside community study, with our knowledge of regional and areal cultures, on the one hand, and with our theories of community integration and social structure, on the other. Human beings today are shaped by the community surrounding and supporting them and the families they grow up in—a community which is both open to the great impersonal processes of institutional form and growth that unify modern civilization and yet closed enough to impress upon them the culture and attitudes of place, time, class, and locality. What is the shape of this net about us? How study men without knowledge of it?

It is by no means enough, in this integration, to content ourselves, as do many anthropologists, with exploring the subcultures of occupation, class, or region, nor as individual psychologists to stay within the particular "world" of apperception and experience of typical individuals however "representative."[14] We must also have a theory of structure accounting both for the (if only partially) isolable community itself and for the larger sociocultural system in which it seems to repeat itself like a separate cell in a larger organism.

Steward's criticisms have well pointed

[14] Roger C. Barker and Herbert F. Wright, "The Psychological Habitat of Raymond Birch," in Rohrer and Sherif (eds.), *op. cit.*

out that national and supranational "horizontal" institutions (e.g., plantation system, Catholic church, national judiciary), uniting many communities and many areas, render inadequate any easy comparison between an isolated small tribe and a modern community. In the latter, of course, one may share more cultural and social relations with a distant colleague than with a near neighbor. Modern communities, unlike peasant villages, reflect not so much standard samples of a sociocultural whole as functionally various anatomical parts. Steward's criticisms raise the matter of sampling versus structural analysis in much the same manner as do criticisms in sociology directed to the social stratification studies, like Warner's which base classes on internal study of divisions in particular communities. In this case critics hold that any effort to establish a system of stratification from the conditions of particular communities is nullified by the fact that some communities, like factory towns or dormitory suburbs or resorts, are simply local segregations or truncations of a wider regional, national, or international class system. One community may well show two classes, and another four, out of the full number found in the system as a whole.

Nevertheless, there is still good reason to believe that in general, with proper sampling, and due attention to specializations, communities do give us some cell-like minimal duplication of the basic cultural and structural whole at each age and stage of human society. They are always the minimal pattern of social and spatial organization uniting the ages, sexes, and kinds of the human animal and providing thereby the unit of cultural transmission. They always duplicate themselves in the same way that communities in animal life duplicate themselves. If one beehive or coral reef or horse herd has many common features with the next, so has one hunting band, village, *polis*, manor, county seat, or metropolitan center. The difficulty is to separate specific from general features, as one separates histology from physiology.

The problem, then, is not only whether communities reveal culture and culture personality, in social and psychological science today, but what communities are. What is the net of conditioning influences from the organization of one's fellows about the individual? In seeking an answer for the question, the social scientist has the same responsibility to the community as a universal of human and animal life as he has toward the other universals.

For the anthropologist, committed to comparative treatment of such universals, the problem is a great challenge which he has not yet really faced. The comparability of communities, both within cultures (why is Podunk like or unlike Plainville?) and between cultures (Mormon villages, New England towns, and Russian mirs and kolkhozy; Javanese and Hindustan villages, Spanish *municipios* and southern counties; Riffian, Norwegian, and Scottish farmsteads; Andean, Celtic, Brazilian, and modern American open-country neighborhoods) raises the usual important anthropological problems of cultural invention, diffusion, distribution, environmental effects, sociological and religious consequences. The existence of so many patterns of community form, both related and unrelated, raises social-psychological problems of the cultural arrangement of basic solidarities and basic demographical and ecological controls which have as yet been little studied by social scientists of any kind. They are of particular theoretical importance to the modern combiners of anthropology and psychology who, knowing little comparative sociology or human geography, tend to think of culture as individual equipment or learning rather than as the joint and co-operative exploitation of the resources for living.

For the sociologist and social-psychologist, certainly, the data of community studies made in the spirit of comparative anthropology also offer a better integration of theory and a wider basis of co-operation. Comparative community study has already destroyed the sociologists' naïve simple dichotomy of rural and urban life.[15] French,

Guatemalan, and Chinese cities so far studied seem to be little like American ones, and what is urban and rural is very different as found in Spain, India, Brazil, and the United States.[16] If we define communities most broadly as ranges of alternating spatial and temporal dispersion and congregation from and round nodal traffic points of maximum intercommunication, using relative space and time measures unladen with affect and association and equally applicable to animal life, we soon find them far too various to allow simple treatment. Yet some processes and some structuralizations (segregation, succession, invasion, specialization, stratification) which the sociologist uses are capable of the widest generalization. The sociologist has been right in his brave onslaughts upon urban complexity.

It should indeed be clear to the anthropologist and the social psychologist, both of whom have little experience with the middle ground between great societal movements and mythologies and small groups, that communities are no residual culture patterns to be studied after one has finished with clans, cliques, parties, and mystery cults, for communities can range in size and complexity and hold loyalties and identifications for many people, from the band of hunters to the metropolitan community of up to twelve million. Metropolitan regions of today, a New York, a Detroit, a Singapore, are as much communities as any Toda tribe or Mexican Indian Mitla. To mistake the word "community" for the organizational form "The Community," because modern Americans happen to use the word for a suburban ward, which is simply a dormitory where people are segregated by class and age and race, is a failure of comparative ethnographic sense. Redfield would have made this mistake if in Tepoztlán he had studied only a single *barrio* of the *tontos*

[15] Theodore Caplow, "Urban Structure in France," *American Sociological Review*, XVII, · No. 5 (October, 1952), 544–50.

[16] Marvin Harris, "Minas Velhas" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1953).

(simple folk) and left aside the central market, town hall, plaza, and fiesta of the *correctos*.

In the same way, the semantic confusion between community as organization and "community" as an individual's maximum range of face-to-face acquaintance, which continues to appear in the literature of anthropology and social psychology,[17] is a crippling failure of sociological sense. It is in fact as if a zoölogist should require of a beehive that it not be one unless he knew every bee to brush wings with every other bee. The fact is that modern urban sociology is attempting for modern life what anthropology does for the primitives and zoölogy for the colonial animals. In all three cases certain cultural and behavioral forms correspond, in ways we cannot specify yet, to forms of the community. Steward has documented patrilineal bands and proved their connection with a community type.[18] Chapple and Coon have suggested connections between traditional frequencies of interaction and cultural patterns of familial and kinship organization.[19] In the same vein, Riesman suggests strong personality changes in motivation and identification in the "lonely crowd" of metropolitan city

[17] George P. Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949).

[18] Julian Steward, "The Economic and Social Basis of Primitive Bands," in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber* (Berkeley: University of California, 1936).

[19] Eliot Chapple and Carleton Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1942).

dwellers who belong to the new community where only one's segregated peers are seen and where class inferiors and superiors are no longer clearly distinguished.[20] The near-universal apprehension of the "massification" and "isolation" of this individual of the *Grossstadt* is no mere reaction to technological change alone. It is a consequence as well of the important and little-understood shift in the form of the community in our age, *from* the city of the railroad age, the city of factory and slum, so well documented by Lewis Mumford[21] and erected into a mistaken universal model of all cities by Park and Burgess out of their discovery of concentric zones in their simon-pure railroad-age Chicago, over *to* the "rurban," "decentralized" city of the automobile age of today.

All these scientists can come to common understanding when, perhaps under the lead of the anthropologist, since he has the widest framework for comparison, they clarify their concepts of community-study method and community, of exploration, experiment, and model-building, and relate them all back to the fundamental question so often neglected today. It is the fundamental question on which indeed the community-study method rested when it began in natural history and on which it rests still today: the comparison of the organizational forms of animal life and human culture.

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[20] David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

[21] Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1938).

LEVELS OF COMMUNAL RELATIONS[1]

BETTY W. STARR

ABSTRACT

In three rural communities in the region of Los Tuxtlas, Veracruz, Mexico, the levels of social relations which serve to integrate the individual in the local community with the wider socioeconomic environment were investigated. Published data on mestizo communities in the Tarascan area were compared with "communal levels" for Los Tuxtlas. As a result, assumptions underlying the concept of levels of communal relations were made explicit, and the concept was modified accordingly. This concept suggests a way of "measuring" the relative width of integration of small communities in rural areas of relative cultural and linguistic homogeneity.

I

The purpose of this paper is to report a series of levels of integration observed in a rural region in southern Mexico, here called "levels of communal relations," and to state the problems involved in making generalizations about the series for rural regions within the same culture area and elsewhere.

In October, 1949, I went to the region of Los Tuxtlas, in southern Veracruz, Mexico, to make a socioanthropological survey. This region consists of the three *municipios* of San Andrés Tuxtla, Santiago Tuxtla, and Catemaco, with the market town of San Andrés Tuxtla serving as it economic and social center. Most of the inhabitants are engaged in agricultural pursuits, using the primitive slash-and-burn method for clearing the land and the digging stick for planting. Principal subsistence crops are corn and beans; the principal cash crop is tobacco. Cattle are raised for sale both within the area and outside of it. There are a few small but no large-scale industries.

I had intended to make a community study of the town of San Andrés Tuxtla. However, an investigation of the economic, political, religious, and social relationships existing between its inhabitants and the inhabitants of villages and other towns in the region soon revealed that neither the town nor the *municipio* of the same name constituted the unit of study. The idea of the region, held in the minds of the people themselves, extended the area of effective social relations beyond narrower administrative units. At the same time the importance of the family, the immediate neighborhood, and the administrative subdivision of the town, with regard to the integration of social relations, were not to be overlooked.

The conception then emerged of a series of succeedingly wider levels of communal relations, extending outward from the elementary family, which serve to integrate the individual in the local community with individuals in the wider socioeconomic environment. These levels are differentiated by the degree of intensity of the common life.[2] The levels may be distinguished, one from another, on the basis of the following criteria: (*a*) the peculiarly characteristic social structure; (*b*) the definition of membership; and (*c*) the typical kinds, number, and frequency of social relations. They are here designated, respectively, as (1) the household group; (2) the dooryard group; (3) the neighborhood; (4) the village; (5) the *municipio* or county; and (6) the region.

THE CRITERION OF STRUCTURE

Each communal level is characterized by a social structure peculiar to itself, consisting of a nuclear center surrounded by satellite elements. At successively wider

[2] Godfrey Wilson and Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945), p. 24.

communal levels the nucelar center of the narrower level and the satellite elements of that level become one of the satellite elements of the wider level. The nuclear center and satellite elements characteristic of each level are shown in Table 1.

THE CRITERION OF MEMBERSHIP

Definitions of membership are self-conscious, and membership is *redefined* at each succeeding communal level. With the exception of members of the household and dooryard groups, who are designated by family name, the members at each succeeding communal level are located by a more inclusive name.

lations between two or more individuals are realized tends to decrease significantly at each successively wider level.

4. The region, for most individuals, constitutes the outer limit of effective social relations.

Based upon the criteria of structure, definitions of membership, and the kinds, number, and frequency of social relations, the characteristics peculiar to each of the levels of communal relations in the region of Los Tuxtlas are summarized as follows.

LEVEL 1: THE HOUSEHOLD GROUP

The household group constitutes the basic level of communal relations. Its nu-

TABLE 1

THE STRUCTURE OF THE LEVELS OF COMMUNAL RELATIONS

Level	Nuclear Center	Satellite Elements
1. Household group......	The household	Members of elementary or joint family
2. Dooryard group.......	Patio or common dooryard	Members of household groups sharing patio or dooryard
3. Neighborhood.........	Local store or ceremonial house	Members of household groups within the neighborhood
4. Village..............	Stores and/or market; church or school	Neighborhoods within the village
5. County.............	County seat	Villages within the county whose inhabitants make use of the county seat
6 Region..............	"Capital city" of the region	Counties within the region whose inhabitants make use of the "capital city"
Area of extraregional social relations..........	Nuclear centers of other regions	Satellite elements of other regions

THE CRITERION OF THE NATURE, NUMBER, AND FREQUENCY OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

1. Social relations tend to become less personal and more affected by the superordination-subordination principle at successively wider levels of communal relations.

2. The number of kinds of social relations existing between two or more individuals tends to decrease significantly at each successively wider level. That is, as one moves from the narrower to the wider levels, social relations cease to be many-sided and tend to become one-sided.

3. The frequency with which social re-

clear center, the household, is the area within which social interaction is characterized by the highest degree of economic co-operation, co-participation in religious and recreational activities, and the fullest expression of a feeling of unity. Although membership at this level is usually defined as the elementary family—father, mother, and children—the household group may consist of a joint family, owing to the limited practice of a patrilocal pattern of residence. The members of the household constitute a self-conscious in-group with a family name which distinguishes it from other, similar groups.

More kinds of social relations exist between members of the household group than exist between individuals at any wider communal level. Relations of respect and authority, involving the operation of the superordination-subordination principle, rest largely upon the qualifications of sex and age. When the heads of two elementary families live within the same household, social relations involving this principle necessarily become more complex. In such cases two different systems of authority are in operation—that within the man's family of orientation and that within his family of procreation.

Household economic activities are based on a sexual division of labor, supported by strong cultural sanctions. A series of warm, personal relations arise out of coresidence and commensality and out of the co-participation of members of the household group in domestic religious ritual and in recreation. In those households consisting of a joint family, tensions may arise as a result of conflicting authority. Most social relations within the household group involve frequently repeated activities; such relations continue over long periods of time, until the marriage of a son or daughter, or the death of a parent or grandparent, brings about separation.

The participation of individuals from wider communal levels is required at the time of crises attending the life-cycle—birth, marriage, and death.

LEVEL 2: THE DOORYARD GROUP

The dooryard group consists of a few families—usually from two to four—whose respective households have access to a common patio or yard. This level of communal relations is not invariably present, depending for its existence upon a particular pattern of residence as well as upon house type and location. Conditions under which a patrilineally related group of families share the same patio or yard represent the highest degree of formation of the dooryard group. In towns where formal street-planning obviates this spatial arrangement, the door-

yard group may still exist but in an attenuated fashion. This type of group tends to be more important at the outskirts of a town, where house and lot arrangements are informal.

The nuclear center at this level may be a water source located in the common yard or any facility which is used by members of the different households belonging to the group. The satellite elements of the dooryard level are, of course, the individual households. Members of the group may be patrilineally related, although this is not always the case. If they are thus related, the in-group is designated by a patronymic reflective of their kinship.

More kinds of social relations exist between members of the dooryard group than at any wider level, since the members of this group are in daily, face-to-face contact. Here, social relations are most highly characterized by visiting, borrowing and lending, and informal patterns of recreation and participation in ceremonies attending the life-cycle exist to the highest degree. Cooperative house-building, with the attendant fiesta celebrating the completion of the house, occurs most frequently at this level, but in house-building, as in other activities at the dooryard level, individuals from wider levels may participate.

LEVEL 3: THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The neighborhood may be a part of a larger settlement (village or town), in which case it may be designated as a town neighborhood; or it may be a small hamlet in the countryside, lacking the service institutions of a village, in which case it may be designated as a rural neighborhood.

These two kinds of neighborhoods are alternate, but not identical, steps in the series of communal levels.

a) *The town neighborhood.*—The town neighborhood may be defined as a subdivision—either legally formalized or informally defined by its inhabitants—of a village or town. It may be considered as similar to a ward, the Latin-American term for this type of subdivision being *barrio*. Location

of the nuclear center at the neighborhood level may be due to circumstance rather than to the result of formal social planning. Thus, the nuclear center of a town neighborhood may be a general store, a ceremonial house, or simply an open space where people gather or where *barrio* dances are traditionally held. The satellite elements are the household groups—or dooryard groups, where they exist—which are located within the town subdivision. Neighborhood membership is self-conscious; that is, individuals, when asked where they live in the town or village, will give the name or number of their *barrio*. Neighbors tend to know all persons within the *barrio*—by sight at least, if not by name. And they come together annually in the celebration of the titular fiesta of the patron saint of the *barrio*.

b) The rural neighborhood.—The rural neighborhood in the region of Los Tuxtlas typically consists of a group of thatched huts built close together and located near a water source (either stream or lake) or near a road which leads to a village or town. In most of these rural neighborhoods there are no streets; houses are connected by paths. There is no school or church; frequently there is not even a store. In order to purchase the daily necessities of the household, it is necessary to leave the hamlet and travel to the nearest village or town. Vacant houses bear witness to the exodus of former residents to the towns, dissatisfied, evidently, with local social and economic opportunities.

Such nuclear centers as exist in these rural neighborhoods consist principally of the water sources where women gather to bathe, wash clothes or maize, and gossip. Satellite elements are, of course, constituted by the household groups within the hamlet. Membership at this level is designated by the use of a locational name.

The nature of social relations existing between the inhabitants of these rural neighborhoods differs from those of individuals in town neighborhoods in that they are, in the main, primary relationships. But such

neighborhoods are autonomous neither politically, economically, nor with respect to religious activities.

LEVEL 4: THE VILLAGE

The structure of the village is constituted by a number of satellite neighborhoods surrounding a nuclear center in which basic institutions such as school or church tend to be represented. The nuclear center usually contains a number of stores or some type of market. At this level a formal social structure first appears, as well as a formal political organization. In the latter, however, authority is delegated by *municipio* (county) authorities.

The members at the village level are those individuals who live within neighborhoods satellite to the nuclear center. The in-group of villagers is frequently designated by a locational name; village membership is self-consciously recognized and emphasized, particularly in situations where intervillage rivalries are concerned.

Social relations at the village level are still largely primary, depending, of course, upon the population of the village and the space it occupies. Not all villagers are in face-to-face relation with all other villagers. Economic co-operation is limited to a system of occasional rotating, co-operative labor in road-repairing, street-cleaning, etc. Voluntary aid from all adult males is invoked in times of crisis. Economic transactions assume a more rationalistic aspect than in the neighborhood. However, villagers prefer to buy or sell locally (rather than in a near-by market town) if no great price disadvantage results. The store or market, in addition to its economic function, also serves as an informal gossip center, thus making possible the extension of personal relations from the neighborhood to the village level. Social relations of a formal nature are structured by school and church; these institutions likewise serve as informal gossip centers. Periodic religious events serve to bring villagers together and to emphasize their solidarity.

The number of kinds of social relations

existing between two or more villagers (who do not live in the same neighborhood) tends to be fewer than the kinds of social relations existing between individuals at narrower levels, and the activities involved in any particular type of social relations occur less frequently.

LEVEL 5: THE COUNTY

The structure at this level consists of a head town (the nuclear center) surrounded by satellite villages. This head town is the seat of a formal political organization and constitutes the social, cultural, and economic center of the county. In some cases it is also the religious center.

Membership at the county level is constituted by the inhabitants of this political subdivision who make habitual use of its nuclear center (the head town). Frequently, such individuals constitute a self-conscious in-group, designated by a locational name, and express strong out-group attitudes toward inhabitants of areas outside this level.

Social relations at this communal level are of two general types: (1) relations of the villager with inhabitants of other villages within the county and (2) relations of the villager with inhabitants of the head town. The first type tends to have the same characteristics as do the relations between fellow-villagers, although, of course, less frequently realized.

Personal relations characteristic of narrower levels may be extended to the county level in the following ways: The villager may have pre-existing personal relations with kinsmen in the head town. Personal relations are also extended to the wider level through activities involved in periodic church or school festivals. Frequent trips to the head town to purchase supplies or to sell agricultural produce may result in a number of personal relations becoming established with individuals to whom one habitually sells or from whom one habitually buys.

At this level, however, secondary and/or impersonal relations appear to a substantial degree. An individual may deal with another in an economic transaction, or may consult a specialist, on a completely rationalistic basis. The villager has impersonal social relations with elected officials of the formal political organization, as well as with the officers of voluntary associations located in the head town. His relations with such individuals tend to be strongly affected by the superordination-subordination principle.

LEVEL 6: THE REGION

The structure of the region consists of a "capital city" (the nuclear center) surrounded by a number of contiguous counties satellite to it. (In Los Tuxtlas, the regional "capital city" is San Andrés Tuxtla; satellite counties are the *municipios* of Santiago Tuxtla and Catemaco.) The region per se is not an autonomous political entity; nevertheless, its unity may be felt and expressed through the informal federation of smaller, autonomous authorities (the *municipios*). Thus, it may contain an informal political organization which serves to relate it to larger state and national governmental units.

Membership at the regional level is constituted by the inhabitants of the counties satellite to the regional capital city, who consider themselves to be inhabitants of "the region," who designate individuals who live beyond its boundaries as "outsiders," and who ascribe derogatory stereotyped characteristics to them.

At the regional level secondary relations —owing to the mediation of second and third persons in economic transactions (through selling and reselling) and to the fact that many individuals are related to one another solely as fellow-members of voluntary associations—become significantly present. At the same time there is a tendency to establish personal relations whenever opportunity arises. Co-participation in entertainment or in religious festivals, although occurring less frequently than at narrower communal levels, serves to emphasize periodically the unity of the region.

EXTRA-REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

The area outside a specific region consists of several series of communal levels

similar to those which exist within that region, in which social relations are directed toward other regional nuclear centers or toward cities in other regions. The boundaries between region and extraregion are difficult to delimit precisely, since members of communities marginal to two adjacent regions may have social relations with individuals in satellite towns and nuclear centers of both regions. Self-conscious in-group definitions are of great importance; one learns the boundaries of the region by ascertaining whether an individual from a specific village is designated (by himself and by others) as a member of the regional in-group or whether he is considered an outsider and extraregional stereotypes applied to him.

The region constitutes the outermost level at which communal relations predominate. Beyond this, in spite of the existence of formal political organizations at state and national levels, there is less of a feeling of unity. In wartime, of course, individuals strongly feel themselves to be members of the nation, but if, at other times, they are asked where they come from, their answers tend to be on the basis of the in-group definition most relevant to the asking situation (since the in-group is redefined at each communal level).

Extraregional social relations are of two principal kinds. The first are those which occur when inhabitants go outside of the region. The second are those brought into existence when inhabitants of areas outside come into the region. A visit to one of the nuclear centers in the area outside of the region is made by the country man but rarely (usually only once or twice a year; in some cases but once or twice in a lifetime). Such trips are generally made for a single ·purpose—economic, religious, or recreational—and are regarded as a special occasion. Such individuals are generally regarded as outsiders, and, unless they remain for a considerable period, they tend to have few social relations of a personal nature with local inhabitants.

In general, extraregional social relations may be characterized as fewer in kind, fewer in number, and realized less frequently than are social relations within the series of levels of communal relations.

This, then, is the series of levels of communal relations observed in the region of Los Tuxtlas. The overlapping of different series is apparent at the boundaries of the regional level. For example, it was observed that social and economic relations of the inhabitants of rural neighborhoods and villages marginal to the nuclear center of the region of Los Tuxtlas (San Andrés Tuxtla) were oriented toward the nuclear centers of other regions.

II

Levels of communal relations which integrate the individual in the local community with individuals in the wider socioeconomic environment may be postulated to exist in all rural areas of linguistic and cultural homogeneity, each level distinguished from preceding and succeeding levels on the basis of structure, definitions of membership, and the kinds, number, and frequency of realization of social relations.

If, as postulated, these levels of communal relations are peculiar to rural society, one may ask: Why do levels of communal relations exist and have meaning in *rural* society, as opposed to tribal society, on the one hand, or urban society, on the other hand?

An answer to the first part of this question has been suggested by Redfield, who writes, regarding village communities in Yucatán:

These villages are small communities of illiterate agriculturalists, carrying on a homogeneous culture transmitted by oral tradition. They differ from the communities of the preliterate tribesman in that they are politically and economically dependent upon the towns and cities of ˙modern literate civilization and that the villagers are well aware of the townsman and city dweller and in part define their position in the world in terms of these.[3]

[3] Robert Redfield and Alfonso Villa R., *Chan Kom, a Maya Village* (Carnegie Institution of Washington Pub. 448 [Washington, D.C., 1934]), p. 1.

It is because the nature of social relations within the rural society bears many of the characteristics of such relations as they exist in the ideal folk society—tending to be many-sided, traditional, and personal—and because, at the same time, rural communities are "politically and economically dependent upon the towns and cities of modern literate civilization," in which social relations tend to be one-sided, nontraditional, and impersonal, that levels of communal relations arise. They constitute a series of steps by means of which the nature of social relations becomes gradually transformed from that type predominant in the folk society to that type predominant in the urban society. In the tribal society the establishment of relations with individuals outside the local community is effected largely through the extension of kinship; in the rural society the establishment of such relations is accomplished through the medium of levels of communal relations.

When the concept of levels of communal relations is applied to various rural areas, it is observed that these levels do not present the identical manifestation everywhere. Distinctive variations are found, even within the same general culture area. In some rural areas the levels have become attenuated and have lost their meaning. What are the factors involved in such variation? What factors bear on the disintegration of levels of communal relations?

The factors which condition the existence of levels of communal relations, and which exercise a strong influence upon the manifestation which these levels present in various rural areas, are found in the series of assumptions upon which the concept is based.

Since the concept involves the interconnection of a series of spatial or areal entities with certain types of social relations considered characteristic of each, a number of questions must be asked concerning the nature of the area within which this series of spatial entities is presumed to exist.

This area is defined as any rural area characterized by cultural and linguistic homogeneity. By a rural area is here meant an area within which all or most of the inhabitants make their living by tilling the soil and raising livestock. There may be, within the area, a certain amount of handicraft or small-scale industry, but large-scale industry is not present.

The above definition is adequate to serve as a framework within which to delineate the series of levels of communal relations observed in the region of Los Tuxtlas. One reason for its adequacy is that the natural and social conditions within this area meet the necessary or permissive conditions required by the set of assumptions underlying the concept. These assumptions concern the following.

1. *The settlement pattern.*—It is assumed that the inhabitants of the rural area live in compact villages surrounded by the agricultural and pastoral lands of the villagers rather than on isolated farmsteads in open-country neighborhoods, each household being surrounded by lands belonging to, or worked by, its members.

2. *Nuclear centers within settlements.*—It is assumed that the village constitutes that form of social economy characterized by a nuclear center in which are located church, school, and administrative offices. However, it must be recognized that the existence of a strong nuclear center in Latin-American villages and towns is not due to a universal characteristic of settlements but rather to Spanish colonial town-planning in the New World.[4] This has resulted in a distinctive anatomy of the Latin-American town which may be contrasted with the noncentralized anatomy of the Indian town.[5] Thus, the fact that the arbitrary pattern of the nuclear center was imposed upon existing Indian villages and established at the outset in new colonial settlements must be taken into ac-

[4] Dan Stanislawski, "Early Spanish Town Planning in the New World," *Geographical Review*, XXXVII (1947), 95–105.

[5] Dan Stanislawski, *The Anatomy of Eleven Towns in Michoacán* ("Institute of Latin-American Studies," Pub. 10 [Austin: University of Texas Press, 1950]), p. 77.

count in connection with this assumption. Nevertheless, it is felt that the concept of the nuclear center is highly useful, not only throughout Latin America, but in many other parts of the world as well.

3. *Presence of towns and cities.*—It is assumed that within the local region there are one or more towns which serve as centers of market activity as well as centers of political, religious, and social activity generally. It is also assumed that outside the local region but within the same general rural area there is a city to which the region as a whole is tributary. These assumptions regarding the presence of towns and cities are basic to the concept of levels of communal relations, since it is presumed that the differences between the nature of social relations characteristic of the town and city and those characteristic of the family, neighborhood, and village give rise to these levels of integration.

4. *Uniformity of habitat.*—It is assumed that the habitat is relatively uniform; that is, that the area under consideration is a "natural area," not broken up by natural barriers such as mountain ranges, large bodies of water, etc.

5. *Uniformity of communications facilities.*—It is assumed that communications between the various villages and towns in the area are uniform. This does not mean that all villages must be equidistant from the nuclear center; rather it means that communication *facilities* are relatively uniform. To illustrate: the presence of a paved road in a single part of the area, which leads to a large town or city outside it, will tend to skew social relations.

6. *Relative stability of the population.*—It is assumed that the inhabitants of the area are either indigenous or have lived within it a sufficient period to form the in-group attitudes and sentiments upon which the differentiation of levels of communal relations so strongly depends. There appears to be a correlation between the development of population mobility and the loss of basic feelings of "belongingness." This assumption differs from the previous one in that it

has to do with relative permanency of residence rather than the ability to travel from place to place with ease.

The natural and social conditions imposed by this body of assumptions constitute a set of variables which may serve to explain the differential manifestations of levels of communal relations in various rural areas. Thus, when levels of communal relations in the Tarascan area,[6] specifically for those mestizo communities east and south of Lake Pátzcuaro which were assumed to constitute a region, are compared with such levels for the region of Los Tuxtlas, the following general similarities and differences emerge:

A higher incidence of joint families in relation to elementary families characterizes membership at the level of the household group, giving rise to a more complex system of social relations within that group than is usual in Los Tuxtlas.

Social relations at the level of the dooryard group tend to be greater in number and frequency due to the constant use of the nuclear center—a common kitchen or workshop—by members of satellite households. There may be overlapping from the larger neighborhood due to the participation in such activities of individuals from outside the dooryard group. Since it constitutes a production unit, this level assumes a functional importance in the Tarascan area which it does not have in Los Tuxtlas. Membership at this level more commonly conists of a kin group than in Los Tuxtlas.

At the neighborhood level there is conformity with respect to the *rural* neighborhood; unity of the *town* neighborhood in the Tarascan area has tended to break down as a result of changes in administrative sub-

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[6] Donald D. Brand, *Quiroga: A Mexican Municipio* (Institute of Social Anthropology Pub. 11 [Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution, 1951]); George M. Foster, *Empire's Children: The People of Tzintzuntzan* (Institute of Social Anthropology Pub. 6 [Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1948]); Robert C. West, *Cultural Geography of the Modern Tarascan Area* (Institute of Social Anthropology Pub. 7 [Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1948]).

divisions and as a result of a considerable amount of immigration.

At the village level there is conformity.

At the county level the criterion of structure is not met, neither of the two *municipios* considered (Quiroga and Tzintzuntzan) fitting the conception of a well-integrated *municipio* with a strong nuclear center in which are concentrated the economic, social, and religious activities of its inhabitants. Furthermore, there is little identification on the part of inhabitants of outlying settlements with the head town of their *municipio*.

There is disconformity at the regional level due to the fact that there exists here not one nuclear center but two—the city of Morelia (outside the local region) and the town of Pátzcuaro. Identification at the regional level may exist in attenuated form (the whole Lake Pátzcuaro Basin being contrasted to the sierra to the west), but there is no locational name for the inhabitants of this area.

These disconformities need not render invalid the generalizations that may be · made regarding these levels. Rather, the consideration of such variations is fruitful, since it makes possible the formulation of further generalizations with regard to rural areas other than those which have been here considered. Thus, the differences between levels of communal relations in the Lake Pátzcuaro Basin and the respective "ideal" levels are considered to constitute variations in conformance with the presence or absence of necessary conditions required by the set of assumptions upon which the concept is based. The variations may be largely explained by the fact that certain natural and social conditions required by one or more of the set of assumptions (e.g., population stability) are not present. On the other hand, while observed similarities make possible the application of the concept within this general culture area, they cannot be as- ·sumed to demonstrate the universal aplicability of the concept. Indeed, some of the similarities may tend to reduce the significance of the application of the concept due

to the fact that the data were drawn from within the same general culture area.

It is recognized that the assumptions upon which the concept is based may not be universally valid with respect to rural society. This is particularly true of the assumption of a strong nuclear center within settlements. Although this structural characteristic may be found in settlements in other parts of the world, it represents a special feature of Spanish town-planning in the New World. It must be emphasized also that the communities considered, both in Los Tuxtlas and in the Tarascan area, were mestizo or Hispanicized communities.

Likewise, certain conditions required by the assumption of a concentrated settlement pattern may not be met in other regions outside this general culture area. Thus, in the midwestern United States, the settlement pattern is that of isolated farmsteads in open-country neighborhoods, each farmhouse being surrounded by family lands.

Even the presence of towns and cities of such importance to the inhabitants of the region that they serve as nuclear centers may not always be assumed.

A rural area within which these three assumptions do not hold, and in which, correspondingly, levels of communal relations as outlined here are not present, is the parish of Llanfihangel yng Ngwynfa in northern Montgomeryshire, Wales.[7] In Llanfihangel, as in rural areas generally, the household constitutes the primary social group and the unit of economic production. Beyond the household level the characteristics of levels of communal relations are attenuated. The traditional social unit does not consist of a town or village; it is the open-country neighborhood. There is no nuclear center of these open-country neighborhoods. At the village level there is no nucleated settlement which could reasonably be termed a village. If the parish of Llanfihangel is considered · as roughly equivalent to a county (since it constitutes an administrative unit of a nature

[7] Alwyn D. Rees, *Life in a Welsh Countryside: A Social Study of Llanfihangel yng Ngwynfa* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1950).

somewhat similar to that of a county), no nuclear center is encountered equivalent to a county seat in the United States or a head town in Mexico. The "market center" of the area is a town of less than a thousand inhabitants, outside the parish. Similarly, at the regional level, there is no nuclear center which might be considered as the regional "capital city." The only important market town in the area is across the English border; this does not constitute a nuclear center for the orientation of social relations other than those brought into existence because of economic activities.

Levels of communal relations, then, are not present in this Welsh countryside. Instead, social relations in the wider territory are brought about through the extension of the kin group. In this respect, the parish resembles a tribal society. Rees has pointed out that modern factors (e.g., the use of automobiles and improved transportation facilities) are gradually increasing the links between the countryside and hamlets, although the latter have not yet displaced the open-country neighborhood in importance. One might anticipate that, with increasing dependence upon villages, towns, and cities, as a result of these and other factors, within the span of a generation, levels of communal relations will be present in this area.

The Welsh rural area, then, represents an area in which levels of communal relations have, in all likelihood, never been present, but in which they may appear at some future time.

In contrast is the situation encountered in many rural areas in the United States in which, fifty years ago, levels of communal relations, accompanied by strong attitudes of identification, were present, and in which such levels—and concomitant attitudes—exist in attenuated form today. Thus, in Cracker Culture communities in southeastern Georgia the boundaries of the wider levels have become less important. There has been a loss of strong in-group attitudes at county and regional levels, and a more frequent realization of social relations between inhabitants of the local region and out-

siders.[8] A similar process has been observed with respect to a rural area in Iowa.[9]

One may thus visualize a "width-of-integration continuum" in the middle range of society, along which the width of integration continually increases and the nature of social relations changes correspondingly from those which are personal and many-sided to those which are impersonal and one-sided. Toward that end of the continuum, in which social relations are organized primarily upon the principle of extended kinship, rural society resembles tribal society. At the approximate center of the continuum, social relations are organized by means of levels of communal relations. Toward the other end of the continuum, in which such levels may have once existed but have either ceased to exist or have lost their meaning, we are no longer concerned with rural society; instead, we are concerned with the rural component of urban society.

III

The significance of levels of communal relations does not consist in their existence per se in a rural area but in how they function as a series of steps in the transformance of social relations from those which are personal and many-sided to those which are impersonal and one-sided, from those which are little affected by the superordination-subordination principle to those which are so affected.

After the establishment of the existence in a particular rural area of a series of levels of communal relations, on the basis of the criteria of structure and membership, further research should be concerned primarily with the third criterion—that which deals with the kinds, number, and frequency of

[8] Bevode C. McCall, "A Sociological Study of a Georgia Town" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1954).

[9] Horace Miner, *Culture and Agriculture: An Anthropological Study of a Corn Belt County* ("Occasional Contributions from the Museum of Anthropology," Pub. 14 [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1949]).

social relations at each level. Since improvements in communications and in transportation facilities tend to bring about an extra-regional orientation of social relations which may ultimately result in the breakdown of the boundaries of wider levels, and the extension of feelings of identification beyond these levels, it is important that special attention be paid to the nature of social relations at these wider levels.

The next step in the development of the concept would logically seem to be its application to other rural areas in Middle America and in South America, where there is a similar overlay of Hispanic institutions. There are suggestions that such levels may be found in Ecuador, for example, where a distinction is made between outlying settlements and nuclear centers of *municipios*, and, in turn, a distinction is made between these nuclear centers and larger socio-cultural units, the administrative subdivisions known as *cantones*.[10] Application of the concept might also be made in rural areas in other parts of the world where natural and social conditions implied by the assumptions underlying the concept might not be present, in order to determine its applicability to rural society generally.

HENDERSONVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

[10] Elsie Clews Parsons, *Peguche: Canton of Otavalo, Province of Imbabura, Ecuador* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945).

AN OUTLINE OF THE COMPLETE SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC AREAS[1]

DONALD J. BOGUE

ABSTRACT

Together the state economic areas, economic subregions, economic regions, and economic provinces constitute a system of area classification which permits an introduction of the environmental component in ecological and economic studies. The system of economic areas is not intended as a substitute for ecological areas; it is a necessary base upon which ecological areas may be plotted in order to discover more about ecological structure.

In 1950 the entire land area of the United States was subdivided into homogeneous statistical areas which were called "state economic areas." This was accomplished by grouping similar counties.[2] Later, a second, broader subdivision of the nation into economic subregions was developed.[3] This second delimitation was derived by combining similar state economic areas. The present article introduces two additional and even broader delimitations which are termed "economic regions" and "economic provinces." Together, these four delimitations constitute a single integrated system of area classification.

Because these areas have been given a piecemeal public introduction, and because the theory behind their development has not been fully stated, many sociologists remain unfamiliar and uncertain about their research utility. In particular, the question of their proper relationship to traditional ecological concepts such as "trade areas" or "sales control areas" remains uncertain. In order to present a single and full statement of the theoretical considerations and the factors that entered into the establishment

of this system of areas, and in order to answer some of the more important questions that have arisen concerning them, a monograph on the subject is in preparation.[4] This report is still several months from completion. Meanwhile, the Bureau of the Census (which, with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, sponsored the delimitation of the economic areas and the economic subregions) has published a considerable amount of data for these areas. Several research organizations now have studies under way that make use of economic areas as units of analysis. The purpose of this article is to make available the complete system of economic areas.

THE SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC AREAS

The complete system of economic areas is composed of four types of areas; each type consists of combinations of the types below it: (a) economic provinces (5 areas); (b) economic regions (13 areas); (c) economic subregions (119 areas); and (d) state economic areas. Thus, economic provinces are combinations of economic regions; economic regions are combinations of economic

[2] Donald J. Bogue, *State Economic Areas* (U.S. Bureau of the Census [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1951]).

[3] Donald J. Bogue and Calvin L. Beale, *Economic Subregions of the United States* (U.S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics and U.S. Bureau of the Census, Series Census-BAE, No. 19 [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953]).

[4] This monograph, of which Calvin L. Beale is co-author, presents a statement of the major assumptions and principles which underlie the delimitation, the details of the delimitation procedure, and the use of these areas in conjunction with other concepts that have an area referent. The specific traits that led to the establishment of the boundaries for each area are listed. Each area is also described and given a name that identifies it within the system. The monograph will be published in the series "Scripps Foundation Studies in Population Distribution."

ubregions; and economic subregions are ombinations of state economic areas. The act that areas of each type may be easily ombined into units of greater size, or iroken down into their constituent parts, ives the system flexibility. For any statis-

TABLE 1

ECONOMIC SUBREGIONS WHICH COMPRISE EACH ECONOMIC REGION AND ECONOMIC REGIONS OF WHICH EACH ECONOMIC PROVINCE IS COMPRISED

Economic Regions f Which Each Economic Province Is Comprised	Economic Subregions Which Comprise Each Economic Region
Atlantic Metropolitan Belt Province:	
Region I.........	3, 4, 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19
Great Lakes and Northeastern Province	
Region II.........	1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 17
Region III.......	27, 28, 29, 49, 50, 64
Region IV........	65, 66, 67, 68, 88
Midwestern Province:	
Region V.........	47, 48, 51, 63, 69, 70, 71, 84, 85, 86, 87, 92, 93
Region VI........	83, 89, 90, 91, 94, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107
Southern Province:	
Region VII.......	18, 26, 30, 31, 32, 33, 44, 45, 46, 52, 53, 54, 62, 72, 73, 74, 81, 82
Region VIII......	20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 34, 35, 36, 38, 41, 42, 43, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61
Region IX........	37, 39, 40, 58, 77, 78, 98, 99
Region X.........	75, 76, 79, 80, 95, 96, 97, 101, 102
Western Province:	
Region XI........	100, 108, 109, 112, 113
Region XII.......	110, 111, 118, 119
Region XIII......	114, 115, 116, 117

ical problem the system offers an area of ippropriate size with about the maximum legree of homogeneity that may be obained with the given number of areas permitted by the problem. Separate summaries or metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas can be made for each of the four types of

areas. Since the whole system is built of groups of counties, it is possible to study trends and historical developments from the past by combining county data from earlier reports.[5] The conventional urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm classification should be used in conjunction with both the metropolitan and the nonmetropolitan parts of each level of area.

It is impossible for a single set of areas to satisfy the needs of all users. The more specialized the application, the less satisfactory the system of economic areas is likely to be. On the other hand, for discovering broad principles of nation-wide applicability, for discovering correlations between a great many different types of social and economic activity, and for gaining insights that may be refined by more intensive local study, these areas provide a practical, flexible, realistic, and meaningful system.

The boundaries of the economic provinces and economic regions are shown on Map I. Maps of the state economic areas and the economic subregions, descriptions of the general procedure by which they were delimited, and basic statistics were published in the two earlier reports. (For maps of these more detailed delimitations the reader is referred to these reports.) The economic subregions that comprise each economic region are shown in Table 1. The economic regions that comprise each economic province are as follows:

The Atlantic Metropolitan Belt Province
    I. Atlantic Metropolitan Belt Region (identical with the province)
The Great Lakes and Northeastern Province
    II. Eastern Great Lakes and Northeastern Upland Region
    III. Lower Great Lakes Region
    IV. Upper Great Lakes Region
The Midwestern Province
    V. North Center (Corn Belt) Region
    VI. Central Plains Region

[5] The economic provinces are not recommended for general use. They may be useful when, for reasons beyond control, the greatest number of areas allowed is four or five; but they are much less homogeneous than economic regions.

ECONOMIC PROVINCES AND ECONOMIC REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

PACIFIC NORTHWEST REGION

PACIFIC SOUTHWEST REGION

ROCKY MOUNTAIN AND INTERMOUNTAIN REGION

CENTRAL PLAINS REGION

UPPER GREAT LAKES REGION

NORTH CENTER (CORN BELT) REGION

LOWER GREAT LAKES REGION

EASTERN GREAT LAKES AND NORTHEASTERN UPLAND REGION

ATLANTIC METROPOLITAN BELT REGION
(identical with the province)

CENTRAL AND EASTERN UPLAND REGION

SOUTH CENTER AND SOUTHWEST PLAINS REGION

SOUTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN REGION

ATLANTIC FLATWOODS AND GULF COAST REGION

I II III IV V VI VII VIII IX X XI XII XIII

BOUNDARY OF ECONOMIC PROVINCE
BOUNDARY OF ECONOMIC REGION

0   100   200   300

ECONOMIC PROVINCES AND ECONOMIC REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

THE ATLANTIC METROPOLITAN BELT PROVINCE
I.   Atlantic Metropolitan Belt Region
     (identical with the province)

THE GREAT LAKES AND NORTHEASTERN PROVINCE
II.   Eastern Great Lakes and Northeastern Upland Region
III. Lower Great Lakes Region
IV.   Upper Great Lakes Region

THE MIDWESTERN PROVINCE
V.   North Center (Corn Belt) Region
VI.   Central Plains Region

THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE
VII.   Central and Eastern Upland Region
VIII. Southeast Coastal Plain Region
IX.   Atlantic Flatwoods and Gulf Coast Region
X.   South Center and Southwest Plains Region

THE WESTERN PROVINCE
XI.   Rocky Mountain and Intermountain Region
XII.   Pacific Northwest Region
XIII. Pacific Southwest Region

The Southern Province
    VII. Central and Eastern Upland Region
    VIII. Southeast Coastal Plain Region
    IX. Atlantic Flatwoods and Gulf Coast Region
    X. South Center and Southwest Plains Region
The Western Province
    XI. Rocky Mountain and Intermountain Region
    XII. Pacific Northwest Region
    XIII. Pacific Southwest Region

With Table 1 and the maps from the two original monographs, it is possible to have at hand the complete system of economic areas.[6]

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[6] State economic areas and economic subregions are official units of area for reporting census and other government statistics. Economic regions and economic provinces do not have this status. On the one hand, they compete with the nine geographic divisions and the four census regions, which are widely known and generally used. On the other hand, they fail to recognize separately all the unique areas of agricultural production which agricultural analysts customarily recognize at the regional level. The economic regions and economic provinces should be regarded as unofficial boundaries which may prove highly useful in summarizing data tabulated for state economic areas and economic subregions. They simply represent an extension of the same principles and mode of delimitation utilized earlier to arrive at a complete system of homogeneous area classification for collecting and reporting statistics.

THE ECOLOGICAL APPROACH IN SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY

JOHN A. CLAUSEN AND MELVIN L. KOHN

ABSTRACT

The search for differences in the frequency of mental illness in population groups ecologically defined is based upon a number of assumptions which are not wholly tenable yet not completely lacking in validity. The distributions found in ecological research may be explained in terms of three divergent frames of reference: the genetic, the interactional (as exemplified by the hypothesis of social isolation), and the cultural (exemplified in the view that social classes represent subcultures which differ with respect to both child socialization and types of stress). The major problem for further research is to establish under what circumstances factors involved in any of these hypotheses actually contribute to the production of mental illness.

The great increase of interest in social psychiatry prompts us to take a long and hard look at the method upon which many studies of the relationship between social factors and mental illness have relied—the ecological method. Several writers have examined the method, but from different points of view and with diverse conclusions. Robinson, treating ecological correlations solely as a substitute for individual correlations, has dismissed the method entirely.[1] Faris has assessed ecological studies in this and other content areas in the light of the proposition that, in societies in transition, "natural areas" are carved out which favor the development of certain abnormal behavior traits.[2] Dunham has examined some of the technical and interpretive problems of the ecological method from the point of view of the researcher already committed to the method who is intent on maximizing its effectiveness for research on mental disturbance.[3]

Our interest in the ecological method is primarily in its usefulness for generating and testing hypotheses about the *etiology* of mental disturbances. We shall be concerned with two types of problems: (1) What interpretations can legitimately be made from ecological correlations? (2) How can we move from ecological correlations to the systematic testing of hypotheses about the etiology of mental disorders?

ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING ECOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN MENTAL ILLNESS

The search for differences in the frequency of mental illness in population groups residing in different areas of the city is based upon several assumptions. In this section we shall deal at some length with these assumptions and with the data in hand which would permit us to assess them.

Assumption 1.—That there is a direct relationship between the characteristics of a population group (or the conditions of life of that group) and the number of persons in that group who become mentally ill. In other words, rate differences among groups are not simply the reflection of ecological segregation or "drifting" of the mentally ill after the onset of illness.[4]

Ever since the appearance of the first studies in this field, the "drift" hypothesis has been invoked as an explanation of the residential concentration of mental patients

[1] W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals," *American Sociological Review*, XV (June, 1950), 351–57.

[2] Robert E. L. Faris, "Ecological Factors in Human Behavior," in J. McV. Hunt (ed.), *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (2 vols.; New York: Ronald Press, 1944), II, 736–57.

[3] H. Warren Dunham, "Some Persistent Problems in the Epidemiology of Mental Disorders," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, CIX (February, 1953), 567–75. See also "The Current Status of Ecological Research in Mental Disorder," *Social Forces*, XXV (March, 1947), 321–26.

[4] This assumption has been the starting hypothesis to be tested in one or two recent studies, but it is most often assumed or asserted without attempting a thorough evaluation of its tenability.

at the time of hospitalization. The high degree of concentration of alcoholics and paretics in hobohemia and the cheaper rooming-house areas seems without question to represent a sifting downward of individuals whose life-patterns and personalities have been formed in far different settings long before. Whether the same tendency is reflected in the distribution of schizophrenics is less clear. In part, the problem is one of assessing the nature of the disease process in schizophrenia. There is an ever increasing body of clinical evidence which points to the importance of early life-experience in predisposing an individual toward schizophrenia. At the same time it seems quite clear that many individuals whose early life-experiences may have predisposed them to schizophrenia manage in the absence of extreme stress to achieve reasonably normal role performance. Thus, depending on whether one is seeking knowledge of predisposing or of precipitating factors, the test of the drift hypothesis either requires data on area of residence in early childhood or at the time of the first clear signs of overt disorder (anywhere from a few days to several years prior to hospitalization).

Faris and Dunham argued that, since the distribution of older schizophrenics is no more heavily concentrated in the central areas of the city than is that of younger schizophrenics, there is no evidence for drift.[5] Gerard and Houston, on the other hand, found that for Worcester, Massachusetts, almost all the concentration of high rates of schizophrenia could be accounted for by the concentration of highly mobile, unattached individuals.[6] They computed separate rates for men living in family groups and for men living alone, using as a base, however, the total male population of the ecological areas. Their findings are ren-

dered inconclusive by virtue of the assumption they had to make that the proportion of men living alone does not vary by area—clearly an untenable assumption. Their data, nevertheless, add further plausibility to the drift hypothesis. So also does Schwartz's finding that schizophrenics tend to go down in the occupational scale prior to hospitalization.[7] On the other hand, in a recent study conducted in New Haven by Hollingshead and Redlich, preliminary analysis of data on schizophrenics failed to reveal any decline in status as between the parental family and the patient at the time of hospitalization.[8]

Assumption 2.—That it is possible to determine which variables, of a cluster of variables that characterize an area, are responsible for its high or low rate of mental disorder.

Here we encounter the general problem of interpreting the relationship of a large number of intercorrelated variables with a criterion variable. For example, the areas in which highest rates of hospitalization for schizophrenia occur are characterized by high population mobility, by low socioeconomic status, by high proportions of foreign-born population, and by a high incidence of social and health problems. The imputation of etiological significance to any of these variables stems, for the most part, not from the ecological findings themselves, but from general theoretical formulations or from hunches derived from clinical study or life-history materials. The interpretation of ecological correlations is further complicated by the fact which Robinson has so well demonstrated—that ecological correlations tend to overstate the relationship between variables in so far as those variables can also be assessed as they relate to individuals.[9] This problem relates also to the next assumption.

[5] Robert E. L. Faris and H. Warren Dunham, *Mental Disorder in Urban Areas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), pp. 164–69.

[6] Donald L. Gerard and Lester G. Houston, "Family Setting and the Social Ecology of Schizophrenia," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, XXVII (January, 1953), 90–101.

[7] Morris S. Schwartz, "The Economic and Spatial Mobility of Paranoid Schizophrenics and Manic-Depressives" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1946).

[8] Personal communication from Dr. A. B. Hollingshead.

[9] Robinson, *op. cit.*

Assumption 3.—That the known charac-teristics of the area or of the general population residing in the area adequately reflect the char-acteristics or conditions of life of those individ-uals in the area who become ill. This involves two related assumptions. The first is that the particular local neighborhoods from which the "cases" come are representative of the larger ecological areas in which they are located. The second is that mentally disturbed individuals are either typical of their neighborhoods or sufficiently exposed to be influenced by the social characteristics of their neighbors.

The degree of area homogeneity is always a relative matter. Even in a slum area there are variations in rental, in condition of dwell-ings, and in composition of population. The general social climate may be grossly dif-ferent from that of high rental districts or surburban neighborhoods but, like smoke and soot in the air, subject to eddies and pockets. To pursue the simile further, how-ever, gets us into difficulties, for, despite the pockets and eddies that influence con-centration of air pollutants, it is not too gross an assumption to take the atmosphere breathed by inhabitants of a census tract as relatively constant for all. The relevant social climate, on the other hand, whether viewed as the matrix of family relationships, peer-group activities, or dominant value systems, is much more subject to variation as it impinges upon any individual.[10]

The extent to which one may proceed as if this assumption were valid will depend then somewhat on the nature of the ecological areas delineated in any particular study but even more upon the nature of those character-istics of ecological areas that the researcher postulates are implicated in the etiology of the illness. If, for example, socioeconomic status as such is regarded as a possible de-terminant of mental illness, an *ecological* cor-relation between rates of psychosis and some index of socioeconomic status is sel-dom defensible. The relationship postulated is one which can only be assessed by data on the socioeconomic and mental status of in-dividuals, If, on the other hand, one pos-tulates that the segregation of population, largely on an economic basis, leads to cer-tain distinctive subcultures shared by neighborhood groups, then an ecological correlation may be the best means of assess-ing which clusters of variables are related to the incidence of mental illness. Socio-economic status is in this instance being used as an index of something vastly more complex than occupation and earnings.[11]

Relatively few ecological studies have been adequately buttressed with evidence as to how area characteristics impinged on persons who became ill. Dunham's study of the social personality of the catatonic schiz-ophrenic attempts to show how the charac-ter of life in the slum area intensifies anx-ieties in the sensitive, self-conscious, and timid child.[12] This finding raises several new questions for further research: What is the relative incidence of such children in vari-ous areas of the city? To what extent are the particular kinds of developmental prob-lems described typical of catatonics from other settings? Furthermore, though it is clear that the tensions and conflicts report-ed by these patients accurately reflect their own perceptions of other peoples' responses to their deviant behavior, the problem re-mains as to whether or not these responses pushed the patients over the tenuous line between being deviant and being psychotic.

Assumption 4.—That the probability of being labeled a "case" is not itself affected by the characteristics of the area.

This assumption raises somewhat dif-ferent problems for studies using first ad-missions to mental hospitals as the index of mental disorder from the problems it

[10] Kobrin has effectively described the problem in terms of the conflicting value systems to which the nondelinquent is subjected in areas of high de-linquency rates (Solomon Kobrin, "The Conflict of Values in Delinquency Areas," *American Sociological Review,* XVI [October, 1951] 653–61).

[11] In the writers' opinion, this is a point which Robinson failed to make clear in his otherwise excel-lent analysis.

[12] H. Warren Dunham, "The Social Personality of the Catatonic-Schizophrene," *American Journal of Sociology,* XLIX (May, 1944), 508–18.

raises for studies using psychiatric screening approaches. In the first instance, the problem is whether the same behavior is perceived as mental disorder by residents of all areas of the city and whether the same action is taken with respect to the mentally ill person. Clearly, differences exist: behavior that would go unnoticed in a rooming-house neighborhood would stand out in a suburban neighborhood; on the other hand, some forms of illness with which a family might attempt to cope at home would lead to the prompt commitment of an individual who was not living in a family setting.

Psychiatric screening avoids these problems but faces another: Is behavior that can be interpreted in one segment of the community as indicative of mental disorder necessarily indicative of mental disorder in another? It is quite possible that present screening techniques are even more "culture-bound" to middle-class values and verbalizations than are intelligence tests.[13] We shall not attempt to discuss the problem of defining what constitutes a psychiatric case in this paper but will merely note the importance of this problem for the interpretation of ecological findings.

FRAMES OF REFERENCE FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF ECOLOGICAL FINDINGS

From the discussion of the assumptions underlying ecological analysis, we arrive at the position that none of these assumptions is wholly tenable, yet none can be dismissed as completely lacking in validity. Whether or not the reader accepts this position himself, let us consider the problem of interpreting the data, if it be granted temporarily that the consistent patterning of high rates of first hospital admission for schizophrenia that has been found in ecological studies of large cities is not merely an artifact of improper statistical method or the result of downward drifting by the sick.[14]

What theoretical bases or frames of reference lend themselves to an interpretation of the ecological distributions? In his Introduction to Faris and Dunham's volume, Ernest W. Burgess emphasized that the authors set forth their explanation in terms of social isolation "as a hypothesis rather than as a generalization established by the study."

It is a theoretical position congenial to the sociological student and consistent with a great body of sociological theory.

This hypothesis should, however, be confronted with the entire range of facts now available in the field of mental disorder and be oriented within the group of hypotheses suggested by other theoretical viewpoints.[15]

Burgess then went on to consider the possible roles of constitutional, psychological, and sociological factors in mental disorder, drawing upon the then available research literature.

In the light of more recent research, we shall briefly consider some alternative hypotheses that may be offered to explain the ecological findings, with the object of suggesting problems for further research.

The major frames of reference to be considered here are: (1) the genetic; (2) the ecological or interactional (e.g., the role of social isolation);[16] and (3) the cultural, as exemplified by social class and ethnic group differentials in value systems, in goals, and especially in socialization processes. Early papers on ecological theory and method pointed up the distinction between the symbiotic basis of the ecological order and the consensual basis of the cultural order. In recent years it has been recognized that the cultural order both influences and is influenced by the ecological. At the same time a distinction may be made between those

[13] See Frank Auld, Jr., "Influence of Social Class on Personality Test Responses," *Psychological Bulletin*, XLIX (July, 1952), 318–32.

[14] See Dunham's discussion of the criticisms that have been made of statistical methods used in ecological studies in "Some Persistent Problems," *op. cit.*, p. 568.

[15] Ernest W. Burgess, in Faris and Dunham, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

[16] For the sense in which ecological is here used see the treatment by Faris in "Ecological Factors in Human Behavior," *op. cit.*

characteristics of local life which tend to be shared as common beliefs, expectations, or values and those which relate most directly to the sifting process—economic level, mobility, heterogeneity of origin, prevalence of various forms of social disorganization, etc. It is by no means paradoxical for a population of a given area of the city to be so heterogeneous and "disorganized" as to be incapable of imposing effective social controls upon behavior regarded by the larger society as illegal, immoral, or otherwise deviant and yet at the same time to be relatively homogeneous as to aspirations and value systems. For this reason, and because of the somewhat different etiological implications of the two related frames of reference, we shall give separate attention to the ecological or interactional order and the cultural order.

THE GENETIC INTERPRETATION

In his twin and proband studies Kallmann has produced substantial evidence for the hypothesis that vulnerability to schizophrenia is inherited.[17] According to this hypothesis, the particular symptomatology and severity of symptoms depend upon interaction of a specific biochemical dysfunction with general constitutional modifiers and precipitating (psychological or social) factors outside the individual.

Family studies by Kallmann and others have indicated that the expectancy of schizophrenia among children of schizophrenics is about 16 per cent—or about twenty times as high as in the general population. Roughly 10 per cent of all schizophrenics have at least one schizophrenic parent and another 5 per cent at least one schizophrenic grandparent. Since there is substantial evidence that this illness handicaps an individual in occupational competi-

tion, we may assume that a substantial proportion of those parents and grandparents of schizophrenics who were themselves affected were reduced in socioeconomic status, or prevented from rising, by virtue of the same genetic factor which produced the vulnerability to schizophrenia in the child. Over a number of generations one might well anticipate substantial differentials in incidence rates for schizophrenics in areas of differing socioeconomic status.

This explanation, clearly plausible and at least potentially subject to empirical test, is not necessarily inconsistent with sociological and psychological interpretations. If a genetically derived tendency toward schizophrenia is activated only under certain social and psychological conditions, then the character of local life may decide whether those persons who possess the tendency will develop schizophrenia.

THE HYPOTHESIS OF SOCIAL ISOLATION

Faris and Dunham's preferred explanation of the ecological findings focuses on the particular quality of social interaction in the local neighborhood.[18] They suggest that life in certain neighborhoods, at least for some residents, inhibits intimate interpersonal relations. And they believe that the incidence of schizophrenia in these neighborhoods is high because of the very high probability that these socially isolated residents become schizophrenic.

The range of experiences believed to be socially isolating is indeed wide:

a) Life in some neighborhoods—those with large numbers of rooming-houses and hotels—is believed to be conducive to social isolation because the residents are constantly on the move.[19] Even the relatively stable

[17] Franz J. Kallmann, *Heredity in Health and Mental Disorder* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1953), esp. pp. 178–81. See also Kallmann's *The Genetics of Schizophrenia* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938) and J. A. Book's "A Genetic and Neuropsychiatric Investigation of a North-Swedish Population," *Acta genetica et statistica medica*, IV (1953), 1–100.

[18] See Faris and Dunham, *op. cit.*, and Robert E. L. Faris, "Cultural Isolation and the Schizophrenic Personality," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX (September, 1934), 155–69; Robert E. L. Faris, *Social Psychology* (New York: Ronald Press, 1952), pp. 338–65.

[19] Faris and Dunham, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–43, 100–109.

resident cannot form lasting relationships, because his neighbors change so rapidly. Thus the resident of such an area simply does not meet the same neighbors in the hall for a long enough period of time to develop more than a nodding acquaintance and, as an *adult*, experiences a marked degree of social isolation.

b) In other areas the ethnic group status of particular residents is crucial: Negroes living in white areas of the city (and whites living in Negro areas) are believed to show high rates of schizophrenia because they are unable to form any but superficial relationships with their neighbors.[20] Thus both adults and children are markedly isolated.

c) In the foreign-born slum communities the harsh, competitive character of life is regarded as conducive to social isolation, particularly of the person who is already sensitive, self-conscious, or timid.[21] Whether child or adult, he cannot cope with the rugged competitive world about him and so retires from the struggle.

d) Finally, in lower-class neighborhoods generally, the somewhat less assertive *child*, whose personality does not match that of his peer group apparently is either dropped from the gang or never gains admission.[22]

The result of each of these diverse processes is believed to be that the individual is significantly cut off from the social relationships presumed to be essential for the maintenance of a nonschizophrenic personality. The social isolation hypothesis can thus be seen to encompass a great range of empirical data unearthed by the ecological studies. But the hypothesis is extremely ill defined. For predictive purposes, several questions must be answered:

1. What constitutes *sufficient* attenuation of interpersonal relationships to be called "isolation"? Only very rarely is anyone totally socially isolated. This means that for predictive purposes it is necessary

to determine what degree of attenuation in range and intensity of social relations we may take as a cutting point for differentiating isolated from nonisolated persons.

2. What are the distinguishable types of isolating experiences? It is possible to distinguish several quite different isolating experiences even at a single age level. Some children are raised in isolated areas where there are no accessible playmates. Others move so frequently that they have little opportunity to develop close or lasting friendships. Still others are prevented from playing with their age mates, or forced to break off friendships, by overstrict or overprotective parents; others become so enmeshed in close family relationships that they do not seek friendship outside the family; and some are rejected by their peer groups. Among the type first mentioned, differences between areas of the city will be considerable. For types related to family structure and functioning, correlations with area of residence have not been established. The more subtle aspects relating to a family influences upon extrafamilial interaction patterns are probably fully as important as are the physical availability and continuity of playmates for the child.

3. What are the differential consequences of attenuated social relationships in different situational contexts and for different temperamental types? One child rebuffed by his local peer group will turn his energies toward competition in school, perhaps thereby finding at least a few congenial spirits. Another may work doggedly to achieve success in some activity highly esteemed in the peer group. Still another may withdraw and sulk, developing a feeling of inferiority and a marked hostility to others. Under what circumstances do satisfying relationships in one context compensate for inadequacy of relationships in other contexts? To what extent are the compensating relationships differentially available by ecological area or by social class?

4. At what period or periods in the individual's life does the experience of isolation have the greatest effect? In some of the

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 173–77.

[21] Dunham, "Current Status of Ecological Research in Mental Disorder," *op. cit.*, pp. 323–24.

[22] Faris, "Ecological Factors in Human Behavior," *op. cit.*

examples cited, isolation is experienced in adolescence; in others, in adult life. If, as personality theory would indicate, the experience takes on a different quality for persons at different stages of personality development, prediction of the consequences of isolation requires exact knowledge of its timing.

5. Finally, how does the experience of social isolation fit into the development of schizophrenia? Is isolation a symptom of already-developing illness; is it an essential condition for the subsequent development of illness; or is it, possibly, both symptomatic of the beginning of the illness and a cause of its further development? In some instances the question is easily answered: the child who is cut off from his age mates by prolonged physical illness or by living on an isolated farm is certainly not isolated because of aberrant behavior. But most instances are considerably more complex. Is the child rejected by his age mates because he manifests signs of illness? Or can the behavior that causes his rejection be unrelated to the presence or absence of the schizophrenic process? The answer requires extremely precise and detailed investigation to determine the temporal sequence of isolating experiences and of manifestations of aberrant behavior.

THE CULTURAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

It is now generally recognized that ecological processes tend to sort out not only subcommunities but also subcultures. In the days of heavy immigration, ethnic group membership was frequently the most important basis for subcultural classification. At present social class is more generally the concept of choice. That ecological sifting tends to create areas in which the population is relatively homogeneous in socioeconomic status is now established by research; indeed, area of residence is frequently used as a major basis of classification in constructing indexes of social class.

Ecological studies of mental disturbance demonstrate clearly that the areas of the city populated by individuals and families

at the bottom of the class hierarchy show the highest rates of schizophrenia. More direct evidence of the relationship between social class and the frequency of schizophrenia has been established in a recent study by Hollingshead and Redlich.[23] They compared the social class distribution of New Haven psychiatric patients with that of a representative sample of the adult population of the city. The prevalence of schizophrenia was approximately eleven times as high in the lowest socioeconomic class (composed of unskilled workers with an elementary-school education or less who live in the poorest areas of the community) as in the highest (comprised of families of wealth, education, and the highest social prestige).

Recent research has also shown that on most personality tests lower-class subjects attain significantly lower scores than do upper-class and middle-class subjects.[24] Whether this reflects the middle-class bias of the test constructor or real differences in degree of mental health is not yet entirely clear. More and more of the evidence now accruing suggests, however, that the background of lower-class rearing does not prepare the individual for self-confident participation in a social order that is predominantly oriented toward middle-class values.

There are a number of aspects of social stratification which may be regarded as of potential etiological significance for mental illness. Studies of the personality develop-

[23] A. B. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich, "Social Stratification and Psychiatric Disorders," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (April, 1953), 163–69. It should be noted that the New Haven study deals with prevalence (the number of mentally ill persons as of a given date) and not with incidence (the number of persons becoming mentally ill during a given period). Prevalence is a function of incidence and duration. Thus, a higher prevalence rate may reflect more frequent occurrence of mental illness in a given setting or a longer duration of illness or both. The index most frequently used in ecological studies is rate of first admissions to a hospital for mental illness during a given period. This approximates an incidence measure but is not wholly adequate as such.

[24] Auld, *op. cit.*

ment of children from the lowest status levels of American society indicate that they typically face intense value conflicts, especially from the time they enter the middle-class-oriented school. The instability of the expectations developed by such children (and the deprecatory self-conceptions built up through internalizing the judgments of others) likewise may be expected to lead to the development of personalities which are highly vulnerable to stress.[25]

Findings of studies of social class differences in child-rearing practices have been inconclusive. Earlier studies tended to concentrate upon such items as age of weaning and toilet training. Recently, psychologists and sociologists have raised serious questions as to the assumptions involved in much of the theoretical discussion of infant disciplines.[26] It would be folly, however, to assume that the nature of the parent-child relationship in connection with early training can be ignored in seeking to understand personality development. A more recent study, which appears to have been far more thorough and psychologically sophisticated than its predecessors, is summarized as follows: "In contrast with some previously published research, we find that the upper-middle class mothers are consistently more permissive, less punitive and less demanding than upper-lower class mothers."[27]

Finally, there is evidence from psychiatric research that particular types of inter-

personal patterns in the family may be of significance in the etiology of schizophrenia.[28] In general, it is found, the mother tended to be the dominant figure in the household, and she typically overprotected the child who subsequently became schizophrenic. Data on the promising subject of the frequency and functional relevance of such patterns for various social and cultural groupings are not yet available.

This discussion has centered on differences in the lives of children in different class groups. But it is possible to view the relationship between social class and the production of mental illness in two distinct ways: there are class differences in the degree to which children are made vulnerable to potential stress (presumably because of differences in early deprivations and frustrations) and differences in the degree to which adults are exposed to actual stress. There are a number of different ways that vulnerability may come about, and there are also many types of defenses which individuals may develop to minimize their vulnerabilities. It seems to us more feasible to study such phenomena than to attempt to relate each of the specific variables associated with social class to the incidence of mental illness. An example of such research is a project now in process which seeks to ascertain the methods used by children of lower-lcass and of middle-class origins in

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[25] Though the difficulties peculiar to lower-class status are most striking, it should not be forgotten that the middle and upper classes produce their own varieties of stress. The incidence or manic-depressive psychosis is relatively higher for these segments of the population, and quite possibly certain types of neurotic manifestation have their highest incidence in the middle and upper classes. Data thus far available do not permit conclusive answers because of the great differences that exist in ease of access to treatment facilities.

[26] See, e.g., Harold Orlansky, "Infant Care and Personality," *Psychological Bulletin*, XLVI (January, 1949), 1–48; William Sewell, "Infant Training and the Personality of the Child," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (September, 1952), 150–59.

[27] Eleanor E. Macoby and Patricia K. Gibbs, "Social Class Differences in Child Rearing," *American Psychologist*, VIII (August, 1953), 395 (abstract).

[28] See, e.g., Donald L. Gerard and Joseph Siegel, "The Family Background of Schizophrenia," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, XXIV (January, 1950), 47–73; Ruth W. Lidz and Theodore Lidz, "The Family Environment of Schizophrenic Patients," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, CVI (November, 1949), 332–45; Curtis T. Prout and Mary Alice White, "A Controlled Study of Personality Relationships in Mothers of Schizophrenic Male Patients," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, CVII (October, 1950), 251–56; Suzanne Reichard and Carl Tillman, "Patterns of Parent-Child Relationships in Schizophrenia," *Psychiatry*, XIII (May, 1950), 247–57; Trudy Tietze, "A Study of Mothers of Schizophrenic Patients," *Psychiatry*, XII (February, 1949), 55–65.

resolving conflicts and thereby defending themselves against anxiety.[29]

THE PROBLEM OF VALIDATING INTERPRETATIONS

The fact that there are so many possible interpretations of the ecological findings— each consonant with the data, and each supported by other types of research data— poses an important problem: How can these interpretations be validated? All the general hypotheses stated may have some validity. Conceivably the variables included in these several clusters may tend to cancel each other out in some settings and to reinforce each other in others. One point seems abundantly clear: further ecological studies which do not secure data permitting the evaluation of several alternative hypotheses are not likely to add to our knowledge.

It should be emphasized that the major problem for further research is not to establish which hypotheses contribute most to explaining the ecological distribution but rather under what circumstances factors involved in any of these hypotheses actually contribute to the production of schizophrenia. Two alternative methods of testing the interpretations here considered suggest themselves as most promising. The first would be to concentrate on securing sufficiently intensive data to test a single hypothesis, or a set of related hypotheses, independently of all alternative hypotheses. This is essentially the approach that has been used by Kallmann in his studies of identical twins; these studies are designed to test the genetic hypothesis independently of any social or psychological hypotheses. Similarly, the authors of the present paper are investigating the relationship between social isolation in childhood and the subsequent development of schizophrenia by securing retrospective information about

[29] D. R. Miller and G. E. Swanson, "A Proposed Study of the Learning of Techniques for Resolving Conflicts of Impulses," in *Interrelations between the Social Environment and Psychiatric Disorders* (New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1953).

their childhood social relations from a group of former schizophrenic patients and a group of controls (matched as of several years prior to the onset of the patients' illnesses). Another research team is investigating hypotheses about the relations of variables associated with social class to the development of both schizophrenia and psychoneurosis by making systematic comparisons of patients drawn from two social classes.

An alternative is to utilize jointly the several frames of reference here discussed. The ecological mode of investigation might be retained, not simply to repeat the ecological studies of the past, but to design interdisciplinary studies aimed at seeing how genetic and social variables are interrelated within a specified context. A study should not necessarily begin with the computation of incidence rates for different areas of the city; there is, however, considerable to be gained from intensively investigating how the quality of neighborhood life enters into the development of illness. For example, there exists a good deal of evidence that both genetic and social factors enter into schizophrenia, but we have only the vaguest notion of how they are related to each other in producing a given case of illness. Furthermore, we have almost no knowledge of how the effects of either can be intensified or mitigated by factors peculiar to a particular neighborhood. Is isolation, for example, easier to bear in a rooming-house neighborhood where it is the norm than in a suburban neighborhood where it is a sign of queerness? Is a genetic vulnerability more likely to result in schizophrenia in a "tough" neighborhood than in other neighborhoods? These questions require considerably more intensive study than has been done in any ecological study to date, but it seems clear that they can be answered more concretely in a study that proceeds within an ecological context than in one that does not.

We have attempted to examine the ecological method in terms of its assumptions and its implications for research on the etiology of mental illness. Briefly, our position

is that ecological studies can serve as a useful steppingstone but that too often they have left the investigator stranded in the middle of the stream. If one wishes to cross the stream, other stones are needed, and they must be large enough to provide a stable base and a secure footing above water.

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COMMENT

H. WARREN DUNHAM

Professors Clausen and Kohn, in attempting critically to scrutinize the use of the ecological method in the study of mental disease, have not succeeded in arriving at a fair judgment concerning its present and perhaps future utility at the present stage of research. They state that their interest in the ecological method "is primarily in its usefulness for generating and testing hypotheses about the etiology of mental disturbances." That the ecological method can and has done this is documented, at least partially, in the final section of their paper. But they fail to show the manner in which the ecological method can be extended in the investigation of mental disturbances to provide not only hypotheses which will explain the ecological distributions (in which Clausen and Kohn disclaim interest) but also evidence for establishing the validity of one kind of interpretation as over against another. For it seems reasonable to point out that, if the factors which contribute to the production of the schizophrenias are ever isolated, then we will probably also have some adequate explanation of their spatial distributions.

However, it is particularly in their assumptions that the authors have been obfuscating. In the first place, they set up their assumptions underlying this method to apply only to the investigation of mental illness, without indicating anywhere that the method has proved of value in the investigations of numerous other kinds of human and group behavior. True, there are certain assumptions in using it to investigate mental illness or any other type of behavioral phenomenon, but they are of a much more general character than they have indicated. In fact, as the literature shows, it is unwarranted to imply that investigators who have used this method in the study of mental illness have made these particular assumptions. They seem to overlook the fact that this mapping device for the study of both the community and human behavior was used extensively during the nineteenth century in western Europe. In the twenties Robert E. Park and others began to develop in some systematic form the discipline of human ecology as a framework for the study of the human community. The mapping of various social and economic characteristics of the community led quickly to the study of the distributions of various forms of behavior at first to provide indexes of "metabolic" changes in the community but later as a means for obtaining some insight into the behavior being studied and the factors which might account for it. It is, then, ecological theory which furnishes the central assumptions that underscore this research method. These assumptions, it seems to me, are:

1. That human communities have a certain organic character in that they expand, change, and decline with the probability that this process will be repeated. This cycle constitutes a dynamic equilibrium.
2. That in this expansion a process of distribution takes place which sorts and relocates individuals and groups by residence and occupation over a given land area. In ecological theory this expansion was a function of competition, and it has been demon-

strated that certain conscious motives often operate in the relocation of persons.

3. That this selective process creates "natural areas" which develop their own characteristics and can be delimited.
4. That each area with its particular characteristics leaves its cultural "stamp" upon the people who reside there and affects them in numerous and diverse ways.
5. That this cultural "stamp" will be regis-' tered in each area by frequencies of numerous types of both acceptable and unacceptable behavior which will differ according to the character of the area.

Within these assumptions it seemed feasible to investigate numerous forms of behavior: delinquency, race prejudice, voting patterns, family behavior, suicide, vice, crime, and even mental disorder with the additional assumption that certain aspects of these interpersonal and cultural environments, in all probability, are relevant to the production of these behaviors.

Under these assumptions the first two assumptions of Clausen and Kohn might be fitted, but their third and fourth assumptions, as they themselves argue cogently, are highly questionable. These latter assumptions are not necessary, and in fact it can be argued that the ecological method might be used to shed some light upon them. The use of the method is not to assume that the characteristics of the population residing in the area reflect the characteristics of those persons in the area who became ill but rather that hypotheses may be developed about the relationship between the characteristics of the area and the types of experiences of persons who become mentally ill.

Likewise the assumption that the probability of being labeled a "case" is not itself affected by the characteristics of the area is not only inconsistent with the first assumption but also suggests that there are specific objectively determined means for diagnosing a functional disorder. In terms of our present knowledge, this is, of course, not valid, and especially so in the case of schizophrenia, around which the authors

center much of their discussion. Bellak in his recent review of the literature of schizophrenia describes the emergent conception of this disorder in the following manner: "We believe that it may be helpful to conceive of any given case [schizophrenia] as actually occurring on some point of a continuum from a hypothetical point of complete psychogenicity to a hypothetical point of complete organicity."[1]

Now, if what passes as schizophrenia means all these things, one would hardly expect an investigator using the ecological method to assume that the probability of being a "case" would not be affected by the characteristics of an area. In fact, skilful use of this method might point to discrepancies between a societal judgment and a psychiatric judgment as to what constitutes a "case." Ecological studies of mental disease have already brought insight into this problem.

The authors' discussions of the various interpretive frames for the ecological studies is very much to the point. Any knowledge available with respect to any mental disturbance must be related to the pattern of distribution of the disease in the community. Their critical consideration of their three interpretive frames points to the need for a comparative examination of communities with high and low rates.

Ecological correlations, as Robinson has shown, cannot be substituted for correlations using individuals. Any area percentage or rate measuring some economic or movement factor is a quantitative index which stands for "something," as Clausen and Kohn point out, vastly more complex than the measure considered alone or apart from all other measures. The difficulty is that the researcher does not very clearly discern, in most cases, what this "something" is. In fact, ecological correlations skilfully developed provide a basis for predicting high

[1] See L. Bellak, *Dementia Praecox: The Past Decades Work and Present Status—a Review and Evaluation* (New York: Grave & Stratton, 1948), p. 444.

or low incidences of specific behavior in other but similar situations. Gruenberg and his associates in New York have investigated the index correlated, with a mental disease rate to discover if the correlated index is characteristic of the mental cases or the noncases in the community.[2] This

may prove helpful even though not conclusive.

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[2] E. M. Gruenberg, "Community Conditions and Psychosis of the Elderly" (presented at the American Psychiatric Association Meeting in Los Angeles, California, May 5, 1953).

REJOINDER

JOHN A. CLAUSEN AND MELVIN L. KOHN

Professor Dunham states that we "have not succeeded in arriving at a fair judgment" concerning the utility of the ecological method at this stage of research in mental health. He goes on to say that we "fail to show the manner in which the ecological method can be extended to provide . . . evidence for establishing the validity of one kind of interpretation as over against another." Our point is precisely that the ecological approach alone cannot provide validation for interpretations or hypotheses on the etiology of mental illness. If Professor Dunham thinks it can, we should welcome his suggestions along this line. We would not, however, accept additional ecological correlations as validating evidence.

Dunham seems to have missed the main point of our discussion of assumptions underlying ecological research. These are not "Clausen and Kohn's assumptions" but rather those necessarily implicit in causal explanations in sociological terms of the ecological distributions of mental patients. We do not believe that the long-standing use of ecological mapping or the fact that some investigators were not aware of assumptions implicit in their own research in any way contradicts our statement that "the search for differences in the frequency of mental illness in population groups residing in different areas of the city is based upon several assumptions."

The five statements which Professor

Dunham presents as the central assumptions of the method are hardly assumptions but rather descriptive generalizations derived from research in human ecology. We fully agree that ecological studies of many social phenomena have added to our understanding of these phenomena and of social processes. A general evaluation of human ecology was not, however, the focus of our paper.

Finally, we find it difficult to assess Professor Dunham's assertion that the third and fourth assumptions listed by us are unnecessary when his further observations seem to us to support our own. His suggestion that the ecological method might be used to develop hypotheses "about the relationship between the characteristics of the area and the types of experience of persons who become mentally ill" quite clearly assumes that there *is* a relationship.

In view of our rather tart rejection of Professor Dunham's charge that we have been unfair to the ecological approach, we wish to add that we believe the careful and thoughtful ecological studies by himself and Professor Faris have had a most beneficial effect on research in social psychiatry. This, however, is one area where much replication has taken place without much further illumination. We reiterate, then, our hope that future research will advance beyond past achievements.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF MENTAL HEALTH

ECONOMIC STRUCTURAL INTERRELATIONS OF METROPOLITAN REGIONS[1]

WALTER ISARD AND ROBERT KAVESH

ABSTRACT

A model for analyzing and projecting metropolitan community development by examining basic inter-industrial and interregional relationships is presented. Various economic regions specializing in manufacturing and agriculture are integrated by use of an economic matrix. The serious limitations of the model arising from its abstraction of changes in behavioral patterns from the uncertainties of technological change, and from the inadequacies of the data are examined. As a demonstration, the model is applied to Puerto Rico, a developing area.

The complex internal organization of any given metropolitan region is influenced by the delicately interwoven net of relationships that bind sets of city-regions into a unified whole. It is the purpose of this paper to study certain interurban connections. In setting forth hypotheses concerning spatial flows among metropolitan areas, we shall extend previously developed principles and illustrate with an abstract interdependence model.[2] In the first section a simplified model will be presented. In later sections this model will be qualified in an attempt to make it more realistic.

I

Assume a large area is meaningfully divided into three regions. Each of the first two has a major focal point at which social and economic activity center, which is a major industrial city. These two are designated Metropolitan Region I and Metropolitan Region II. The third region, specializing in agricultural and extractive

pursuits, lacks a single clear-cut focus and is designated Region III.

In addition to a delineation of regions, a classification of various economic and social activities is undertaken. Certain goods and services are marketed only in the region in which they are produced; in contrast, others are marketed not only in the region in which they are produced but also in the other regions, though to different degrees. The former are called "local" activities; the latter, "export."

To avoid cumbersome detail, the numerous economic functions are grouped into nine categories. These are recorded for each region in Table 1. The first for each region represents the characteristic export industry (heavy manufacturing for Metropolitan Region I, light manfuacturing for Metropolitan Region II, and agriculture and extractive activity for Region III). The next eight are identical for each region: namely, power and communications; transportation; trade; insurance and rental activities; business and personal services; educational and other basic services; construction; and households.[3] Each of these eight activities is for the moment assumed to be local in nature. None of their output is shipped outside the region in which it is produced. Thus, by definition, it is through export activities alone that the simplified economies of the several regions are interrelated.

[2] Elsewhere, a model depicting some of the structural interrelationships *within* a given metropolitan region has been sketched (W. Isard, R. A. Kavesh, and R. E. Kuenne, "The Economic Base and Structure of the Urban Metropolitan Region," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII [June, 1953], 317–21). Clearly, however, self-sufficiency is not characteristic of large city-regions.

[3] The output of households roughly corresponds to the value of the services of labor and of capital and land owned by them.

TABLE 1

HYPOTHETICAL INTERMETROPOLITAN TRANSACTIONS TABLE, 19—— CENTS WORTH OF INPUTS PER DOLLAR OF OUTPUT

INDUSTRY PURCHASING columns (Industry Producing rows):

Metropolitan Region I: (1) Heavy Manufacturing, (2) Power and Communication, (3) Transportation, (4) Trade, (5) Insurance and Rental, (6) Business and Pers. Serv., (7) Educational and Other Serv., (8) Construction, (9) Households

Metropolitan Region II: (10) Light Manufacturing, (11) Power and Communication, (12) Transportation, (13) Trade, (14) Insurance and Rental, (15) Business and Pers. Serv., (16) Educational and Other Serv., (17) Construction, (18) Households

Region III: (19) Agriculture and Extraction, (20) Power and Communication, (21) Transportation, (22) Trade, (23) Insurance and Rental, (24) Business and Pers. Serv., (25) Educational and Other Serv., (26) Construction, (27) Households

Industry Producing	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)
Metropolitan Region I:																											
1. Heavy manufacturing	33	1		1		9	1	18	3	2								3	1			1					3
2. Power and communication	1	11	3	2	8	4	2	4	1		1									1							
3. Transportation	2	2	5	1	1	1	2	9	3																		
4. Trade	1		2		2		5	2	12																		
5. Insurance and rental activities		1	3		10	3	4	3	12																		
6. Business and personal services	1	1	2	5	7	5	2		3						14												
7. Educational and other basic services	1			7	1	4	1		10							15									15		
8. Construction							1		1																		
9. Households	34	58	58	63	53	46	50	40	20																		
Metropolitan Region II:																											
10. Light manufacturing										28	1		1		9	1	18		6								
11. Power and communication										1	11	3	2	8	4	2	4	1		1							
12. Transportation										2	2	5	1	1	1	2	9	3									
13. Trade										2		2		2	5	5	2	12									
14. Insurance and rental activities										1	1	3		10	7	4	3	12									
15. Business and personal services						14				1	1	2	5	7	5	2		3						14			
16. Educational and other basic services							15			2		2	7	1	4	1		10									
17. Construction																1		1									
18. Households										25	58	58	63	53	46	50	40	20									
Region III:																											
19. Agriculture and extraction								18	6	21							18	6	28	1		1		9	1	18	6
20. Power and communication		1									1								1	11	3	2	8	4	2	4	1
21. Transportation																			3	2	5	1	1	1	2	9	3
22. Trade																			2		2		2	5	5	2	12
23. Insurance and rental activities																			4	1	3		10	7	4	3	12
24. Business and personal services																			1	1	2	5	7	5	2		3
25. Educational and other basic services																						7	1	4	1		10
26. Construction																									1		1
27. Households																			40	58	58	63	53	46	50	40	20

Classification of outputs represents only one phase of our problem. Another phase concerns input structures; more specifically, the inputs of each of several factors—raw materials, power, transportation, labor, equipment and other services—required to produce a unit of output. In actuality, much of the output of many industries such as basic steel is absorbed by other industries as inputs rather than by households. Therefore, in order to understand the economic base of metropolitan regions and to anticipate changes within them, it is necessary to know the intermetropolitan input structures of industries. This requires a table of intermetropolitan[4] interindustrial relations for a base year period, on the order of Table 1.[5]

[4] To avoid awkward phrases we use the term "intermetropolitan" as if Region III were a metropolitan region.

[5] Most of the coefficients in Table 1 are based upon a consolidation of the 50 × 50 interindustry flow matrix developed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (W. D. Evans and M. Hoffenberg, "The Interindustry Relations Study for 1947," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, XXXIV [May, 1952], 97–142). In reducing the B.L.S. 50 industry classification to our three export and eight local industrial categories we crudely defined:

1. *Heavy manufacturing* as the aggregate of iron and steel, plumbing and heating supplies, fabricated structural metal products, other fabricated metal products, agricultural, mining, and construction machinery, metalworking machinery, other machinery (except electric), motors and generators, radios, other electrical machinery, motor vehicles, other transportation equipment, professional and scientific equipment, miscellaneous manufacturing, and scrap and miscellaneous industries.

2. *Light manufacturing* as the aggregate of food and kindred products, tobacco manufactures, textile mill products, apparel, furniture and fixtures, paper and allied products, printing and publishing, chemicals, rubber products, and leather and leather products.

3. *Agriculture and extraction* as the aggregate of agriculture and fisheries, lumber and wood products, products of petroleum and coal, stone, clay, and glass products, and nonferrous metal.

"Service Activities" were expressed in a less aggregative form in order to present some detail on the internal structural processes of metropolitan regions associated with these activities. The category, "Education and Other Basic Services" consists of the services of medical, educational and non-

In Table 1 any one column records the cents' worth of inputs from each industrial category in each region per dollar's worth of output of a given industrial category of a given region where both the given industrial category and the region are specified by the column heading. For example, reading down column 1 furnishes information on the cents' worth of various inputs from the several regions per dollar output of heavy manufacturing in Metropolitan Region I. Thirty-three cents' worth of heavy manufacturing in Metropolitan Region I is fed back as an input into the same activity in the same region for every dollar's worth of its output (such as Pittsburgh steel, which is fed back to Pittsburgh steelworks). Two cents of transportation services of Metropolitan Region I is absorbed per dollar's worth of heavy manufacturing of Metropolitan Region I. In addition to inputs from other service sectors and the household sector of Metropolitan Region I, the heavy manufacturers of Metropolitan Region I require inputs from the light-manufacturing industry of Metropolitan Region II and from agriculture and extractive activities of Region III. These latter, of course, entail interregional flows.

Consider another column, the fifteenth,

profit institutions, amusement, and eating and drinking places.

Certain activities are omitted from the analysis because their levels of output are not structurally related to the interindustrial matrix of coefficients. These are: inventory change, foreign trade, government, capital formation, and unallocated. Households, generally included with this group, were introduced into the structural matrix in order to catch the local multiplier effect of new basic industry upon a community via the additional income generated.

The actual derivation of a coefficient involves the division of the total value of inputs from a given sector into a second sector by the output of the second sector. That is, if in 1947 the amount of chemicals used in steel production was $99 million and the output of steel was $12.3 billion, the input coefficient representing the cents' worth of chemicals per dollar of steel would be 0.8049.

The data are rounded to the nearest whole figure. Inputs of less than one-half cent per dollar output are not recorded.

which refers to "Business and Personal Services" in Metropolitan Region II. Per dollar of its output nine cents' worth of heavy-manufacturing products from Metropolitan Region I is required. None of the other sectors of Region I furnishes inputs, because these other sectors are defined as local and hence export nothing. Since the business and personal services sector of Metropolitan Region II does not consume any agricultural and extractive products, all its other inputs must come from Region II, as is depicted in Table 1.

Aside from their obvious descriptive value, of what significance are the data of Table 1? In general, input structures are not haphazard; rather they reflect to a large extent stable and meaningful relations. If the output of an efficient aluminum works is doubled, it is reasonable to expect that approximately twice as much power, alumina, carbon electrodes, and other inputs will be required. In short, subject to certain serious qualifications to be discussed later, the input of any service or good into a particular activity may be said within certain limits to vary approximately in direct proportion with the output of that particular activity.

To illustrate the usefulness of input structure information, suppose a resource development program calls for an increase of one million dollars in the output of heavy manufacturing in Region I. How will this affect the output of each activity in each region?

In column 1 of Table 1 are listed coefficients which indicate the cents' worth of various inputs required per dollar output of heavy manufacturing. Multiplying these coefficients by one million gives us the direct inputs required to produce one million dollars' worth of heavy manufactures. These are called the first-round input requirements and are listed in column 1 of Table 2.

But to produce the first-round requirement of $330,000 of heavy manufacturing (item 1 in column 1, Table 2) likewise requires a whole series of inputs. These can be obtained by multiplying column 1 of Table 1 by 330,000. And to produce the $20,000 of

transportation (item 3, column 1, Table 2) requires inputs which can be obtained by multiplying column 3 of Table 1 by 20,000. Similarly, the inputs required to produce each of the other items listed in column 1 of Table 2 can be derived. It should be noted that the $340,000, which is listed in the ninth cell of column 1, Table 2, represents an increment of income received by the households in Metropolitan Region I. This increment results in increases in effective demand for a series of products. On the arbitrary assumption that two-thirds of this new income is spent, these increases in effective demand can be obtained by multiplying column 9, Table 1 (which shows how a dollar spent by households is typically distributed among various products), by 226,667.

Adding together all these inputs (including the new effective demands of households) necessary for the production of the first round of requirements yields the second round of requirements which is recorded in column 2 of Table 2. In turn, the production of the second round of requirements necessitates a third round. This is computed in the same manner as was the second round. Furnishing a third round requires a fourth; a fourth round, a fifth; etc. Each of these rounds is recorded in Table 2. It should be noted that the totals of the rounds converge.[6] After a point it becomes feasible to stop the round-by-round computation and to extrapolate the remaining requirements. However, we have not carried through any extrapolation; as a refinement it implies a degree of accuracy and stability in the data, which, as we shall see in the following section, does not exist in fact.

Thus, we have developed a round-by-round description of how an impulse acting upon one sector of a metropolitan re-

[6] The convergence of rounds results from the assumption that only two-thirds of the income received by households in any given round is expenditure in the succeeding round and from the omission of the nonstructurally related sectors of inventory change, foreign trade, government, capital formation and unallocated, as noted in n. 5.

TABLE 2

INPUT REQUIREMENTS (HYPOTHETICAL), BY ROUND, FOR $1 MILLION OUTPUT OF HEAVY MANUFACTURING IN METROPOLITAN REGION I

Industry Grouping	First-Round Input Requirements (1)	Second-Round Input Requirements (2)	Third-Round Input Requirements (3)	Fourth-Round Input Requirements (4)	Fifth-Round Input Requirements (5)	Sixth-Round Input Requirements (6)	Seventh-Round Input Requirements (7)	Sum of Rounds (8)
Metropolitan Region I:								
1. Heavy manufacturing	$330,000	$118,810	$ 47,793	$ 23,417	$ 13,407	$ 8,559	$ 5,884	$ 550,870
2. Power and communication	10,000	8,670	7,763	4,614	2,858	1,667	994	36,566
3. Transportation	20,000	14,910	7,417	4,508	2,516	1,475	871	51,697
4. Trade	10,000	31,440	15,687	11,021	6,042	3,573	2,060	79,823
5. Insurance and rental activities	10,000	32,940	18,965	12,612	7,135	4,155	2,430	88,237
6. Business and personal services	10,000	11,810	8,159	4,860	2,906	1,664	983	40,382
7. Educational and other basic services		22,700	10,077	7,463	3,945	2,359	1,344	47,888
8. Construction		2,600	4,759	2,731	1,789	1,031	622	13,532
9. Households	340,000	148,070	110,102	57,920	34,886	19,773	10,805	721,556
Metropolitan Region II:								
10. Light manufacturing	40,000	75,600	60,601	47,894	34,849	25,264	18,115	302,323
11. Power and communication		400	971	1,182	1,190	1,056	856	5,655
12. Transportation		800	1,781	1,821	1,601	1,309	1,016	8,328
13. Trade		800	2,364	3,044	2,858	2,470	1,963	13,499
14. Insurance and rental activities		400	1,696	2,689	2,706	2,490	1,972	11,953
15. Business and personal services		800	1,825	1,954	1,772	1,479	1,159	8,989
16. Educational and other basic services				1,387	1,394	1,275	1,033	5,759
17. Construction			104	325	446	455	391	1,721
18. Households		10,000	20,747	20,643	18,918	15,744	12,381	98,433
Region III:								
19. Agriculture and extraction	60,000	60,220	50,741	39,365	29,244	21,250	15,387	276,207
20. Power and communication		600	1,122	1,402	1,386	1,229	1,019	6,758
21. Transportation		1,800	2,430	2,360	2,085	1,673	1,310	11,658
22. Trade		1,200	3,226	3,541	3,481	2,922	2,385	16,755
23. Insurance and rental activities		2,400	4,646	4,962	4,701	3,917	3,156	23,782
24. Business and personal services		600	1,256	1,490	1,463	1,260	1,032	7,101
25. Educational and other basic services			1,600	1,876	1,969	1,680	1,397	8,522
26. Construction			372	664	719	682	581	3,018
27. Households		24,000	27,936	28,508	25,037	20,595	16,189	142,265
Total	$830,000	$571,570	$414,810	$284,253	$211,303	$151,006	$107,335	$2,583,277

gion is transmitted to every sector in the same region and every other region. To derive the total effect, it is merely necessary to sum the rounds horizontally. The totals are recorded in column 8 of Table 2. These totals, of course, can be compared with other sets of totals which reflect impacts of other types of impulses.[7]

II

The simplified model presented above may now be qualified and fashioned somewhat more realistically.[8]

First, re-examine the problem of industrial classification. The categorization of an activity exclusively as local or export is, in many instances, unjustified. There is no provision for those industries, by far the majority, in which both local and export elements are coexistent. As an instance, most educational services are local in character; yet on the university level some are definitely national in that they perform services for persons whose permanent residences are in all parts of the country. As another example, the products of the cot-

[7] E.g., if instead of $1 million of new heavy manufacturing, an equivalent amount of new agricultural and extractive output is required, the impact will be more localized and confined to the region of initial expansion (Region III). For full details and other contrasts see R. Kavesh, "Interdependence and the Metropolitan Region" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1953), chap. iii.

[8] Because of limitation of space, we shall discuss only briefly the several important points which are raised. Full discussion of these points is contained in W. Leontief, *The Structure of the American Economy, 1919–1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951); W. Leontief *et al.*, *Studies in the Structure of the American Economy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953); W. Isard, "Interregional and Regional Input-Output Analysis: A Model of a Space-Economy," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, XXXIII (November, 1951), 318–328; W. Isard, Regional Commodity Balances and Interregional Commodity Flows," *American Economic Review*, XLIII (May, 1953), 167–80; W. Isard, "Location Theory and Trade Theory; Short-Run Analysis," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, LXVIII (May, 1954), 305–20; and various papers on input-output analysis at the Conference on Research in Income and Wealth, November, 1952.

ton industry are for the most part export; yet the by-product cottonseed, which is typically considered as part of the cotton industry, is consumed almost entirely locally by various vegetable-oil mills.[9]

In theory a fine enough classification of industries could be adopted so as to circumvent this shortcoming. In practice, however, such an industrial grouping would be infeasible in terms of the tremendous number of computations to be performed. Hence, whatever the classification finally chosen, some imperfection will exist which in turn will restrict the validity of the analysis.

Examination of the classification of Table 1 immediately discloses an oversimplification. In general, the exports of any metropolitan region do not fall into one category alone. Characteristically, exports consist of diverse outputs, ranging from agricultural and mining products to light and heavy manufactures. Therefore, the export sectors should be specified by component parts (subject to computational resources), particularly since disaggregation of any industrial category into finer parts is usually desirable where such is feasible.[10] On the other hand, one should not overlook the definite tendencies for metropolitan regions to assume definite specializations as implied by the over-simplified model.[11]

Second, reconsider the problem of the stability of input coefficients—the assump-

[9] The pattern of gasoline sales by metropolitan regions presents another interesting case of overlap. For the most part, gasoline is sold in neighborhood stations for local consumption. To this extent it is a local good. However, many service stations are situated along major intermetropolitan highways and sell gasoline for transient automobiles and trucks. In this sense, the consumption of gasoline takes place on a supraregional basis; thus there is a distortion of the local balance of production and consumption.

[10] See M. Holzman, "Problems of Classification and Aggregation," in W. Leontief *et al., op. cit.*, chap. ix. However, see qualifications below.

[11] See, e.g., Colin Clark, "The Economic Functions of Cities in Relation to Size," *Econometrica*, XIII (April, 1945), 97–113; and G. M. Kneedler, "Functional Types of Cities," *Public Management*, XXVII (July, 1945), 197–203.

tion that from round to round the cents' worth of any input per unit of a given output remains constant, or the equivalent, namely, that the amount of any input supplied an industry varies proportionally with the output of that industry. As the output of an industrial activity expands, new combinations of the various inputs and new technical processes may become economically feasible. These new combinations and processes would require different percentage increases in the various inputs into the production process; this would be inconsistent with the basic assumption. For many industries such changes might involve minor substitutions of one type of input for another and hence not significantly bias the results. In other industries there may be major substitution effects.[12] However, to the extent that these effects can be anticipated, they can be incorporated into the model by the appropriate alteration of coefficients in the relevant rounds.

Associated with the above shortcoming are the restraints which limited resources impose. For example, as the demand for coal rises,, veins of an inferior quality may need to ·be exploited. This in turn would lead to greater consumption of coal per unit of output of a coal-consuming industry. At the extreme, where there are fixed limits to a given resource (including human labor services), entirely new production techniques and/or locations may be dictated to realize increments of output.[13]

Again, to the extent that resource limitations and associated changes in production techniques can be anticipated, to the same extent the coefficients for the several rounds can be altered to incorporate into the analysis relevant information on these factors.

Still more critical a qualification stems from changes in consumption patterns incident to income changes.[14] Simple cents' worth of inputs per dollar of income, which are listed in columns 9, 18, and 27 of Table 1, are misleading. Consumers' studies are required in which households are broken down by occupation, ethnic grouping, family size, rural-urban location, and other key indicators to reveal how expenditure patterns are related to changes in the level of income and associated occupational shifts. Once obtained, relevant information can be injected into the model to yield more valid results.

Another major set of qualifications is linked to the resource limitations already noted. As long as there is vacant housing in a metropolitan region, excess capacity in the transit and power systems, available space for expansion at the center, the calculated growth of the area can be effected. However, where vacant housing does not exist and where streets are congested and transit and power systems overloaded, additional capacity must be constructed to

[12] See J. S. Duesenberry, "The Leontief Input-Output System" (Harvard Economic Research Project, Harvard University; Cambridge, Mass., 1950). (Mimeographed.)

[13] The data presented in the above tables are expressed in dollars and cents. Yet they can be easily translated into physical units. For example, consider the labor problem in a given market area (metropolitan region). It is possible to introduce new rows in Table 1, where each row corresponds to a particular type of labor (skilled, semiskilled, manual, etc.), the nature of the problem determining the particular breakdown of labor to be adopted. Reading down any column would denote the requirements of each type of ·labor (in terms of man-hours) to produce a unit of output corresponding to the industry and region listed at the head

of the column. Thus, in studying the impact of any given resource development program, we can derive the additional requirements of various types of labor by regions; this in turn throws light not only on the short-run feasibility of a given resource development program but also upon the likely long-run interregional labor migrations (given information on reproduction rates and other population characteristics). In similar fashion, a conversion of the table into physical terms could supply insights on the adequacy of actual power facilities, housing, and transportation networks of various metropolitan regions.

[14] The socioeconomic data basic to Engel's law indicate this tendency. For discussion of this law see, among others, Carle C. Zimmerman, *Consumption and Standards of Living* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1936), and S. J. Prais, "Non-linear Estimates of the Engel Curves," *Review of Economic Studies*, XX, No. 2 (1952–53), 87–104.

permit expansion in the various industries and service trades. Therefore, in addition to the inputs that are required to produce expanded outputs from existing and new facilities, a whole series of inputs is required to construct the new facilities.

Here, too, appropriate modification of the model can be made. For example, given a knowledge of the capacity of an existing housing complex (together with information on the doubling-up effect and other cultural adaptations to shortage known to be feasible, the nature of the demand for diverse types of housing, and the input structures of the several sectors of the housing industry), it is possible to allow for the phenomenon of housing expansion in our analytic framework. It should be borne in mind, however, that to the extent to which a particular resource in short supply is diverted from producing output on current account to building up plant equipment and other capacity to produce, then to a similar extent the expansion of the noncapacity-building activities are curtailed.[15]

In effect, the initial, highly simplified linear model—linear in the sense that each input varies in direct proportion to the output—has been molded into a less hypothetical, nonlinear model which does recognize important nonproportionalities in interactivity relations.

III

In the previous section a number of considerations were introduced to lend more reality and validity to the simplified model of Section I. However, granted that data can be obtained to describe meaningfully nonlinear interrelations, to the extent that such a three-regional construct does not exist, the model remains hypothetical. Let us now re-examine this hypothetical characteristic.

It is a commonplace that social science has not yet reached the stage where it can explicitly consider every variable in a given problem. Those investigators who attempt to obtain results applicable to policy questions concentrate upon what they consider to be the relatively few important variables. Even though this procedure suffers from omission and oversimplification, it still may afford the most useful results for practice. This, too, must be our way of implementing the above model.

Let the problem be an attempt to project various economic magnitudes in the Greater San Juan Metropolitan Region, Puerto Rico. Immediately the problem of demarcating the boundaries of this region arises. Some sociologists might stress the rural-urban dichotomy and draw the line where the influences of the city proper become subordinate to those of the smaller settlements and rural communities. A strict economist might include only those contiguous areas trading extensively with San Juan. An ecologist might attempt to identify the dominant-subdominant-influent-subinfluent relationships of the core and the various sectors of the hinterlands.[16]

For our purposes, no single orientation suffices. If we imagine the Puerto Rican economy in 1975, we anticipate that improvements in transportation and communications will co-ordinate the entire island into one major region, with its focus at San Juan. This is not to deny that there will be major satellite cities such as Ponce and Mayagüez; but the bonds of these cities to the San Juan area will be so strong and connections so closely interwoven that it will be feasible to recognize the whole of Puerto Rico as one "Greater" metropolitan region. Such a metropolitan region would be akin to the Greater New York Metropolitan Region, which includes such major satellite cities as Bridgeport, New Brunswick, and Norwalk.[17]

[15] For a treatment of the problem underlying these assumptions see A. Grosse and J. S. Duesenberry, *Technological Change and Dynamic Models* (Conference on Research in Income and Wealth, November, 1952). To be published by the Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.

[16] Among others, see Stuart A. Queen and David B. Carpenter, *The American City* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1953), and Donald J. Bogue, *The Structure of the Metropolitan Community* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1949).

[17] The 3,423 square miles of the Greater San Juan Metropolitan Region (the entire island) con-

Consider the external relations of this Greater San Juan Metropolitan Region. Currently the major ties are with the metropolitan construct embracing the Greater New York–Philadelphia–Baltimore urban-industrial region. A lesser economic connection is with the Gulf Coast. Recognizing the difficulties of establishing new ties, and that institutional resistances and entrepreneurial inertia are among several forces tending to keep incremental economic activities within the framework of existing transportation and communication channels, one is inclined to anticipate that these two regions of the United States will continue to dominate the external relations of the Greater San Juan Metropolitan Region.

There is a second ground for such belief. From a transport-cost standpoint, Greater San Juan is closer to both the Gulf Coast and New York–Philadelphia–Baltimore urban-industrial region than to any other region of the United States. Even though in terms of physical distance the South Atlantic region is nearest Puerto Rico, at best the likelihood is small that a sufficient volume of commodity movement will be generated between the South Atlantic region and Puerto Rico to realize the economies of scale, both in handling costs and in use of transport facilities, which are achieved in the Gulf Coast and New York–Philadelphia–Baltimore trade. This signifies that from an economic standpoint the South Atlantic region is considerably more distant.

Moreover, Greater San Juan, as a growing economy, is likely to find that the sale of additional industrial output through displacing existing suppliers in a well-established market is more difficult than through capitalizing on new market demand. Because the Gulf Coast and the New York–Philadelphia–Baltimore areas will be among the most rapidly expanding regions of the

United States, it does not appear unreasonable to expect that Puerto Rican businessmen will concentrate for the most part on these two regions for new sales outlets.

Hence, if the problem is to project the interrelations between Greater San Juan and the mainland and if we are given techniques of analysis which can treat only a relatively few variables, the Gulf Coast and New York–Philadelphia–Baltimore, urban-industrial complex may be considered the most significant external regions for our analysis. This lends a partial justification for our three-regional model.

The specific situation of Greater San Juan has still another point of contact with our model. As indicated above, in general no region specializes in one export product alone. Each usually produces a number of goods for export, although frequently with distinct specialization. For our particular problem, the Gulf Coast, with its extensive agricultural production as well as its emphasis on oil-refining, natural gas production, and other extractive industries, may be taken as Region III. This is specially relevant in the case of Puerto Rico, since her chief imports from the Gulf Coast are lumber, petroleum products, rice, wheat flour, and mixed dairy and poultry feeds.[18]

Furthermore, the presence of heavy manufacturing in the Greater New York–Philadelphia–Baltimore complex, with the corresponding shipments of finished goods to Puerto Rico, justifies treating this area as Metropolitan Region I. This judgment is reinforced by the major steel development program currently being undertaken in the Delaware River Valley. The heavy metal output of this area may by 1975 attain proportions comparable in magnitude to the present Pittsburgh complex.[19]

[18] S. E. Eastman and D. Marx, Jr., *Ships and Sugar: An Evaluation of Puerto Rican Offshore Shipping* (Rio Piedras: University of Puerto Rico Press, 1953).

[19] W. Isard and R. Kuenne, "The Impact of Steel upon the Greater New York–Philadelphia Urban-Industrial Region," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, XXXV (November 1953), 289–301.

trast with the 4,853 square miles included in the Census Los Angeles Metropolitan Area and with the 6,914 square miles included in the Greater New York Metropolitan Region as currently defined by the New York Regional Plan Association.

Finally, consider the human and natural endowment of Puerto Rico. Mineral and agricultural resources are of a very low order.[20] In contrast, population is excessive, which, together with the expectation of continued high reproduction rates, suggests the continuance of relatively depressed wage rates. Those industries migrating to Puerto Rico tend, therefore, to be both labor-oriented and of such a nature that the assembly of required raw materials and shipment of product incur relatively low transport costs. Textiles are a good example. Therefore, Greater San Juan may be taken to conform with our light-manufacturing economy, Metropolitan Region II.

IV

We have now converted a simplified model into one which though still hypothetical is of more practical significance. The initial 9 industry classification takes on added meaning when it is disaggregated into a 50-industry or even a 192-industry classification. This operation is currently feasible. Too, the recent input-output study of Puerto Rico permits a similar meaningful disaggregation for Metropolitan Region II (Greater San Juan).

At this point it is appropriate to re-examine the problem of substituting non-linearities for linearities and nonproportionalities for proportionalities, with special reference to the input structures of the existing and potential industrial activities of Puerto Rico.

Consider the input structure of any particular industry of Puerto Rico. Since the area is still relatively underdeveloped, the stability of coefficients can be seriously questioned. It is quite likely that, as plants take root in Puerto Rico, new techniques will be used, especially since incipient industrialization has a significant effect on the attitudes of the working force, which in turn is reflected in labor productivity.[21] As

a result, it is necessary to secure for such new plants the set of inputs which prospective management may expect to be required for current operation and/or to approximate from social science research studies the effects of the introduction of new industry upon labor productivity and in turn upon the set of inputs and techniques utilized. Obviously, where no adequate information is available, it becomes necessary to rely heavily upon individual judgment.

Another set of nonlinearities is introduced when we consider the problem of effective demand in underdeveloped countries such as Puerto Rico. In many cases the justification for erecting a plant in a given industry is lacking because the potential market is inadequate to absorb the output of a plant of a minimum technically feasible size. However, as development proceeds and effective demand mounts, a stage may be reached where demand does become adequate for a particular market-oriented operation, such as cement production. When effective demand does reach such a level, it becomes necessary to alter the entire set of technical coefficients relating the input of the given commodity, say, cement, from any given metropolitan region into each industrial activity of every metropolitan region. This and similar alterations can be effected in round-by-round computations if, beforehand, information relating to such potential shifts is available.

As indicated, another extremely important set of nonlinearities arises in attempting to anticipate consumption habits. Data are relatively sparse on how industrialization, increasing urbanization, rising incomes, and intensified contact with the mainland will influence cultural patterns of the island. Additionally, more research is required on how such institutional factors such as entrepreneurial vigor and savings schedules will be modified. Obviously in any attempt at a determination of the extensive ramifications of new industrial expansion,

[20] H. S. Perloff, *Puerto Rico's Economic Future* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), chap. iv.

[21] See, e.g., W. E. Moore, *Industrialization and Labor* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1951).

THE CONCEPT OF NEIGHBORLINESS

PETER H. MANN

ABSTRACT

Neighborhood unit planning is intended to promote fuller social relationships between neighbors. Neighborliness can be better understood by considering it as being composed of two factors—manifest and latent. Manifest actions alone are not sufficient for appraising the integration of a neighborhood group. The latent attitudes must be assessed to understand fully the type of neighborliness which the group has adopted. No single type of neighborliness can be said to be the ideal for all groups.

In recent years the town-planning theory of the neighborhood unit has received a great deal of attention and has been the subject of much discussion. This theory is of great interest to the urban sociologist, since it is based upon certain primarily sociological assumptions. At the risk of oversimplification, the core of the neighborhood-unit theory may be stated as follows: The unplanned growth of towns and cities has resulted in a breakdown of social relationships of the *Gemeinschaft* or primary-group type. If new towns are built and old towns replanned so that the residential areas become physically delineated units, each with certain amenities, such as schools, shops, and other services appropriate to their size and population, then the social integration of the inhabitants of these areas will be facilitated. The Dudley report of 1944[1] gives details for the practical application of the theory and also deals more fully with the sociological assumptions on which it is based.[2]

In this paper an attempt will be made to relate the results of a research project carried out by the writer to some problems of the neighborhood theory.

As in so many cases of dealing with practical proposals, the first problem which arises is that of definition. For the purposes of this paper the term "neighborhood" will

be used to refer to observable delimited geographical areas of a primarily residential character. The people who inhabit such areas should therefore be called neighbors, but here, at once, a problem arises. In ordinary conversation, if we refer to our "neighbors," we normally mean a small number of people who live very near to us; rarely would we mean from five to ten thousand people living in the same neighborhood unit as ourselves. For this reason the word "inhabitants" will be used here to refer to *all* the people living in the same geographical neighborhood. If the inhabitants of the neighborhood constitute a social group, then there must be some form of interaction between them, otherwise they would merely be an aggregation. The form of behavior which this interaction takes will be denoted by the word "neighborliness." Obviously, however, neighborliness is not merely a mode of interaction which is present or absent in a discrete form. If we think of the inhabitants of a neighborhood as a community, we think of them as having a "given minimum degree of geographical homogeneity and a given minimum degree and kinds of interaction."[3]

In the planning of neighborhood units the town planners provide the geographical homogeneity. It is the job of the sociologist to devise methods for measuring the degrees and kinds of interaction which may be found to occur within geographical areas. This paper is intended as a contribution to the clarification of the kinds of interaction

[1] Ministry of Health, *Design of Dwellings* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1944).

[2] For a criticism of the Dudley report see Leo Kuper, "Social Science Research and the Planning of Urban Neighborhoods," *Social Forces,* Vol. XXIX, No. 3 (March, 1951).

[3] G. A. Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1939), p. 361.

which may be found. The measurement of the degrees of interaction in an objective manner, subject to corroboration by other persons, is a further goal still to be reached.

NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS

During the course of the pilot inquiry preceding the main inquiry which will be referred to, the writer discussed the question of neighborliness with people on two municipal estates in an informal manner, allowing them to develop their own ideas upon the subject. From these discussions, and from later discussions with colleagues,[4] it became apparent that neighborliness is a twofold concept. On the one hand, there is what will be called "manifest neighborliness." This is characterized by overt forms of social relationships, such as mutual visiting in the home and going out for purposes of pleasure. On the other hand, there is what will be termed "latent neighborliness," which is characterized by favorable attitudes to neighbors which result in positive action when a need arises, especially in times of crisis or emergency.

Thus if neighborliness is thought of as being composed of these two factors, manifest and latent, it will be seen that a continuum can be set up, with positive and negative poles. Where both manifest and latent patterns are very negative, there is a complete lack of social relationships between neighbors, and, even if help were needed in a crisis, the neighbors would not turn to each other. Such a form of neighborliness is characterized by avoidance or even hostility. At the other extreme of the continuum where both the manifest and the latent patterns of neighborliness are very positive, there is a great deal of intercourse between neighbors which may take the form of mutual help, conversation, lending and borrowing, etc. Furthermore, the neighbors turn to each other for, and spontaneously offer, assistance when it is needed, as in cases of illness. Reciprocal help is accepted as a natural part of the relationship; there

[4] Particularly Dr. Dennis Chapman, of the University of Liverpool.

are both friendliness and reliability. Between the two extremes, the manifest and latent forms of neighborliness may be found in any combination and varying degrees of intensity.

The question of what forms and degrees of neighborliness are most desirable for neighborhood units is one which must be resolved by the social administrators. The danger appears to be that of trying to force upon the tenants a ready-made concept of neighborliness which is foreign to their nature. The writer would offer the following suggestions which are inherent in the concepts of manifest and latent neighborliness.

Any form of neighborliness which shows social integration (as opposed to conflict) will be desirable to the inhabitants in so far as it helps them to adjust to their neighbors. The ideal form which this takes will differ from individual to individual. One person may enjoy gossiping over the garden wall (manifest); another may regard this behavior as "common" or "low class." Further, manifest neighborliness may eventually result in overneighborliness, with a resulting breakdown of social relationships. For example, borrowing of household goods, such as butter and sugar or garden tools, may at first demonstrate a feeling of friendliness, but taken to extremes this behavior can lead to resentment on the part of the lender. Gossip about one's neighbors may sometimes be malicious and spiteful, leading to cliques and quarrels. Thus it becomes clear that the form of manifest neighborliness acceptable to one person may be quite unacceptable to another.

A high degree of latent neighborliness suggests reliability coupled with respect for the privacy of other people's lives and therefore appears more likely to be generally acceptable. Also it may be noted that a high degree of manifest neighborliness which lacks a sound foundation of latent neighborliness is a facile form of relationship which is unlikely to endure; for the action of manifest neighborliness to be fully sound, it must be based upon the attitude of latent neighborliness. As Parsons points

out in his study of Tönnies' concept of *Gemeinschaft*, "what carries the relationship is not the *ad hoc* elements taken alone, but the relatively permanent and deepseated attitudes of which these may be held to be expressions. It is owing to this fact that we always inquire into the attitude behind an act within a *Gemeinschaft* relationship, as we do not in other cases."[5]

THE FIELD STUDY

The research upon which this study is based was a comparative study of two municipal housing estates in the Wirral Peninsula of West Cheshire,[6] in which the writer attempted to assess the social integration of the two estates. For the purposes of establishing controls over as many variables as possible, two estates were chosen which were similar in the following respects. Both estates were completed in the interwar years and have now been occupied for over twenty years. Estate A was completed in 1929; Estate B, in 1926. Neither was a slumclearance area, and neither was located near the center of a town. All the houses were of the three-bedroom type, and all had separate gardens.

However, it was impossible to match the two estates chosen on more than a few points, and it is therefore important that the differences between them be stated. Estate A is a compact estate of 190 houses built in pairs, fours and sixes. The estate is laid out in open style, with wide roads bordering it which do not carry a great deal of heavy traffic. By bus it is a ten-minute ride from the smaller centers of New Ferry and Bromborough and a twenty-minute ride from the large town of Birkenhead. The busses run past the estate at intervals of not more than twenty minutes.

Estate B is not a separate entity but is a part of a larger area of municipal develop-

ment. It is, however, at the edge of this area and separated from the other development by a wide road. The estate comprises 219 houses built mostly in pairs, with a small number in threes and fours. It borders a main road and is fifteen minutes from Birkenhead by bus, services being every ten minutes.

Besides these differences a further point of difference must be noted. Estate A lies in the Borough of Bebington, which is in fact a collection of villages and small towns which were amalgamated to form one municipal borough in 1922. Bebington itself therefore does not have a single nucleus of urban development, and the inhabitants of Estate A consider themselves as having "come from" this or that village or small town. Estate B, on the other hand, lies on the periphery of the urban sprawl and is much more suburban than Estate A.

SOCIAL FACTORS

Random samples of 50 houses' on each estate were selected, and in all cases the housewife was interviewed. In the factual data collected several similarities between the samples were found.

In nearly all cases the house tenanted was the only council house the informant had occupied (Estate A = 39, Estate B = 44). In length of residence very little difference was found: on Estate A 35 people had lived there ten or more years, while on Estate B the number was 41.

The occupations of the chief wageearners of the houses visited were graded according to the Hall and Caradog-Jones occupational status scale[7] and the distribution shown in Table 1 resulted.

A social status scale based upon the material equipment of the main living-room of the home was also applied in all cases.[8] In general application the score ranges from

[5] Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), pp. 691 and 692.

[6] "Social Aspects of Municipal Housing Management" (unpublished thesis, University of Liverpool, 1952).

[7] J. Hall and D. Caradog Jones, "Social Grading of Occupations," *British Journal of Sociology*, I, No. 1 (March, 1950), 40.

[8] A scale based upon F. S. Chapin's social status scale and developed for England by Dr. Dennis Chapman (unpublished).

about 35 to 40 for very poor homes to about
90 for very well-to-do homes. The average
scores for the two estates here described
were 55.9 for Estate A and 51.6 for Estate
B. The distributions were normal in both
cases.

In family composition the samples of
people of the two estates showed slight dif-
ferences. Households on Estate A averaged
just under two children of all ages per house-
hold, whereas on Estate B the average was
just over three.[9]

In gross household size the estates were
similar in the distribution of household sizes
three, four, five, and six, but on Estate A

TABLE 1

Occupational Status of Chief Wage-Earner	Estate A	Estate B
1.................	....	....
2.................	....	....
3.................	3	3
4.................	6	6
5.................	10	14
6.................	18	12
7.................	10	15
Unclassified (old age pensioners, etc.)..........	3	....
Total........	50	50

there were twelve two-person households
compared with only one on Estate B, which
had nine families of size seven and over. In
general, the families on Estate B were
slightly older and larger than on Estate A.

These similarities and differences of the
two estates are emphasized in order to point
out the controlled and uncontrolled vari-
ables relevant to the study.

NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS ON THE ESTATES

In the two estates several differences in
attitudes and actions expressive of neighbor-
liness were noted. On Estate A only eight

[9] The term "children" here denotes all sons and
daughters of the tenant, plus their husbands and
wives if living with them, and grandchildren of the
tenant in a few cases.

people had applied for, or wanted, a move
to another corporation house (not neces-
sarily on another estate). On Estate B the
number was twenty-one. The reasons for
wanting another house were analyzed and
classified as physical and social. Under the
former were such reasons as wanting a larger
house or wanting to live nearer the town;
under the latter were such reasons (given by
the inhabitants without prompting) as
"The estate is going down" or "The children
here run wild." On Estate A no social rea-
sons were given; on Estate B eight social
reasons were given—five of them being that
the estate is "going down."

A further question dealt more specifically
with attitudes to fellow-inhabitants of the
estates, informants being asked, "If you
were entirely free to choose, would you want

TABLE 2

DESIRE TO LIVE AMONG SAME KIND OF PEOPLE

Reasons	Estate A	Estate B
Friendly people..............	25	17
Mind their own business.......	4	5
Friendly but mind their own business...................	11	2
Same standards..............	1	12
Quiet......................	1	....
Nice class of people..........	4	....
Other answers...............	2	2
Total*....................	48	38

* Total is greater than 50, since in some cases more than
one answer was given.

to live among the same sort of people as
you live among in this neighborhood, or
would you prefer to live among a different
kind of people?"[10] On Estate A nine people
opted for "different"; on Estate B the num-
ber was eighteen. The informants were next
asked, "What is it about the people here
that makes you (either) like living among
them (or) want to live among different peo-
ple?" The answers, given without prompt-
ing, were later classified as shown in Tables
2 and 3.

[10] This question was taken from *Urban Planning
and Public Opinion* (Princeton: Bureau of Urban
Research, 1942).

With regard to Table 2 (same sort of people), the main differences between the two estates are revealed by two responses. The people on Estate A who liked the friendliness but respect for privacy were quite definite about this point. On Estate B the replies classed as "same standards" covered such remarks as "The people round here are the same sort of people as ourselves" and "We're all working-class people here."

The answer emphasizing respect for privacy on Estate A may be said to demonstrate a pattern of positive latent neighbor-

TABLE 3

DESIRE TO LIVE AMONG DIFFERENT
KIND OF PEOPLE

Reasons	Estate A	Estate B
Unfriendly people............	2	4
Gossips.....................	1	1
Want to move to better-class district....................	5	13
People are too noisy...........	1	2
Children are unruly...........	1	2
Other reasons................	1	....
Total*....................	11	22

* Total is greater than 50, since in some cases more than one answer was given.

liness, with a more negative degree of manifest neighborliness. That is to say, the attitude was more important than the overt action. The answers of "same standards" given on Estate B showed an acceptance of the pattern of interaction which, from observations made over the period of interviewing, included a high degree of manifest neighborliness in the form of housewives talking in groups or pairs in the street or over garden fences.

The proportion of people on Estate B wanting to move to a better-class district in general considered themselves of higher status than what is usually considered "working class." An analysis was made of the people on the two estates who wanted to live among a different sort of people. Tests were carried out to discover any cor-

relation with other variables; the numbers are so small as to preclude any statistical significance, but the following details may suggest further investigations. There appeared to be no correlation between desire to live with a different sort of people and occupational status, length of residence, or desire for a different house. In all, nine people on Estate A and eighteen on Estate B wanted to live among a different sort of people. The reasons given in Table 3 were divided into two categories—one expressing superiority, the other expressing lack of friendship. The informants were then divided into two appropriate groups according to the *first* reason they gave for wanting to live among a different sort of people.

All households were scored for social status by the furnishing and the condition of the main living-room and the condition of garden. Tables 4 and 5 were then worked out.

TABLE 4

PEOPLE WANTING TO LIVE AMONG A DIFFERENT
SORT OF PEOPLE: ESTATE A

Reason	Superiority (6 Cases)	Unfriendliness (3 Cases)
Social status by furnishing..........	5 were above average	3 were below average
Room-condition score*...........	4 were above average	3 were below average
Garden-condition score†..........	4 showed initiative	3 showed no initiative

* Part II of F. S. Chapin's Social Status Scale (1933, revised 1936), in *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947).

† A simple three-point scale: 1, Unkept; 2, Reasonably kept but no initiative shown; 3, Initiative and interest shown.

With such small figures it is unwise to draw conclusions, but it may be tentatively suggested that pride in house and garden is a factor in the feeling of superiority shown by some of the people wanting to live among different people, while a feeling of inferiority is rationalized into a sense of unfriendliness by the people who are below average in domestic standards. This can be no more than a hypothesis at this stage.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS ON THE ESTATES

Estate A was without doubt much more a "social unit" than Estate B. This was no doubt aided by its pleasant layout and the fact that in the past it had been regarded rather as a showpiece by the local authority: the older inhabitants had somehow convinced themselves that they themselves were showpiece tenants. They felt that the estate was a success and that it was a good place to live in. Their only fear was that new tenants with large families might lower the "tone" of the estate. This "tone" can

TABLE 5

PEOPLE WANTING TO LIVE AMONG A DIFFERENT SORT OF PEOPLE: ESTATE B

Reason	Superiority (14 Cases)	Unfriendliness (4 Cases)
Social status by furnishing............	9 were above above	3 were below average
Room-condition score............	10 were above average	3 were below average
Garden-condition score............	10 showed initiative	3 showed no initiative

best be described as being a reproduction of the stereotype of middle-class neighborliness, friendliness, qualified by respect for the privacy of others. Too much interest in the affairs of neighbors was deprecated, and the actions of a small number of newer tenants who failed to conform to this pattern had not missed the eye of the older tenants.

Estate B had no such general code of conduct. The higher degree of manifest neighborliness exhibited by numbers of housewives, which was observed by the writer, was not acceptable to other housewives, who considered such action to be below their dignity. In the course of inter-·viewing, it became clear that there were two camps of housewives in the estate— those who chatted, gossiped, lent and borrowed, etc., and those who did not do such

things and, furthermore, did not approve of them. There was quite a high degree of latent neighborliness on the estate, and no social isolates were found. Nevertheless, the division of thought on the forms which manifest neighborliness took resulted in a strain on the latent neighborliness in some cases, and help in a crisis or emergency would not have been given with very much enthusiasm. Thus it may be concluded that the people who displayed superiority feelings would have fitted more easily into the pattern of neighborliness generally accepted on Estate A.

CONCLUSION

This paper has tried to show how the concept of neighborliness can be more clearly understood if the two forms of manifest and latent neighborliness are used as tools in field studies. It has stressed the importance of latent neighborliness as the basis of social solidarity and how a high degree of manifest neighborliness can be mistakenly taken to be indicative of social solidarity for all the inhabitants of a neighborhood. At times sociologists overestimate the significance of manifest forms of action, while the underlying attitudes are neglected. The modern neighborhood is not a functional unit in the older sense of the isolated agricultural village. In many cases all the people have in common is the fact that they happen to live near to one another. Community centers, clubs, and other such groups cater largely to special interests; they rarely attract the whole population of a neighborhood. Nevertheless, if, at first visit, a neighborhood appears to be sleepy and apathetic, with absolutely nothing happening at all, this is no reason for thinking that the inhabitants lack neighborliness. If the observer can go below the surface to discover the latent neighborliness, he may well find a very definite attitude expressive of social cohesion. In the modern urban neighborhood this may well be the most important factor of all.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM

CITY DIRECTORIES AS SOURCES OF MIGRATION DATA

SIDNEY GOLDSTEIN

ABSTRACT

The city directories of Norristown, Pennsylvania, were analyzed to determine their usefulness for the study of migration and occupational mobility. Tests showed that they provided a complete enumeration of the city's population and its occupational composition. Death certificates identify persons who disappeared from directory listings through death, and birth certificates and school records identify those who first appeared in the listings upon arriving at the minimum age for inclusion. Then, by the method of residues, the remainder were classified as either out-migrants or in-migrants. Thus, through corroborative use of diverse sources, American demographers have a valid substitute for the system of continuous population registers found in several European countries.

During the past three years an Interdisciplinary Seminar on Technological Change and Social Adjustment at the University of Pennsylvania has been making a variety of economic, historical, and sociological investigations in Norristown, Pennsylvania, to discover the effect of industrialization and urbanization on the community.

Basic is the analysis of Norristown's sociodemographic structure and the influences upon it of the changing technological environment. In such an analysis one must differentiate between changes in the population structure resulting from demographic adjustments of the resident population to the changing industrial needs of the community and changes directly resulting from migration. This paper reports a method of reconstructing the sociodemographic structure of the moderate-sized community historically and of studying the effect upon it of migration, occupational mobility, and the vital forces.

THE PROBLEM

In the absence of any American system of continuous population registers, such as those found in Sweden, Belgium, and the Netherlands,[1] the American demographer

has to find adequate data for analyzing the changing patterns of population in a moderate-sized community over a fifty-year period. For the specific analysis of migration the problem is even more acute, for no census migration data are available for a community of this size for any year of the fifty-year period except those which are to be published on the basis of the 1950 census. In the absence of adequate information in official sources, one must turn to the community itself for data. It was on the basis of such local records, augmented with census data, that this study was conducted.

Demographers have always taken passing note of telephone directories, electric-meter records, insurance records, social security data, voting records, vital-statistics data, school records, city directories, and field studies as potential data for demographic studies of a community.[2] Since this study of migration in Norristown was to span the last fifty years, electric-meter records, telephone directories, voting records, and social security data had to be eliminated from consideration because they do not go back far enough. The Norristown seminar had completed a field study of the current local population. Although the schedule included an elaborate set of questions on the migration history of the individual respondents, the

[1] For a discussion of the kinds of data on migration available in the continuous population registers of these countries see Dorothy S. Thomas, "The Continuous Register System of Population Accounting," Appendix C, in *The Problems of a Changing Population* (Washington: National Resources Council, 1938).

[2] For the most recent review of the value of various sources of data for the study of migration see Everett S. Lee, "Differentials in Internal Mobility," an unpublished doctoral dissertation in sociology, University of Pennsylvania, 1952.

fact that the survey was based on the current population meant that any results which it might yield could be of only limited historical value. There remained only the city directory, vital-statistics data, and school records for possible use within the framework of the proposed study.[3] It was then necessary to evaluate these data and to find the manner in which they could be used to yield information on the effect of migration on the community's demographic structure.

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC DATA AVAILABLE
IN NORRISTOWN

Norristown has a large and complete array of historical data readily accessible to a demographic study. These include birth and death records, marriage certificates, school records, and city directories, all of which date from the turn of the century. Together they provide the basis for a complete demographic history of Norristown from the early 1900's to the present as a product of both the vital processes and migration.

Birth, death, marriage, and school records have a common characteristic: they are records of information about persons passing through particular phases of life. They do not at any one point in time provide data on the entire population; nor from these data in themselves is it possible to determine anything about the migration experience of the total population. For such purposes a record of the entire population is necessary; this is available in the form of city directories.

Since 1860 there has been published biennially a city directory of persons living in Norristown and adjacent areas. Until the

early 1930's the directories listed all the males twenty-one years of age and over and all females who were in the labor force or who were heads of households. In the early 1930's the policy of R. L. Polk and Company, Incorporated, the directory publishers, was changed to include in their listings all persons in the population eighteen years of age and over. In this way the directory census came to be a complete enumeration of the entire adult population of the community.

In all periods, with one exception,[4] the type of information provided about the population remained the same. For all persons listed, information was given on the home address and the specific occupation held. Persons still attending school were listed as students, and women whose husbands were dead were listed as widows. With this information in the directories from 1860 to the present a complete record of both the size and the occupational composition of the adult male population was available. Methodologically, the problem to be solved was how this biennial record of the resident male population of Norristown could be used to determine the volume of migration, both in and out, and its selective economic character.

The population of a given area at the end of a given period differs from the population at the beginning of the period as a result of additions by births and in-migration and subtractions by deaths and out-migration. This relationship has been expressed by the formula[5]

$$P_1 = P_0 + B - D + I - O.$$

[3] Since this analysis was designed to measure the volume and selective character of the opposing streams of in- and out-migration, no attempt was made to measure net migration through the use of either census survival rates or a combination of census and vital statistics. For a complete discussion of the use of the census survival technique for measuring net migration see Jacob Siegel and C. Horace Hamilton, "Some Considerations in the Use of the Residual Method of Estimating Net Migration," *American Statistical Association Journal*, Vol. 47 (September, 1952), pp. 475–500.

[4] The only difference between the information given in the earlier and later directories is that in the latter the inclusion of all adult females was accompanied by information on the marital status of the population since married females were listed jointly with the names of their husbands.

[5] E. P. Hutchinson, "The Use of Routine Census and Vital Statistics Data for the Determination of Migration by Age and Sex in the Absence of Continuous Registration of Migrants," Appendix C2, in Dorothy S. Thomas, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials* (Bull. 43 [New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938]), pp. 368–

The city directory of any given year includes all adults living in Norristown at that particular time. The next city directory will include all adults living in Norristown at the time of its compilation. A name-by-name comparison of consecutive city directories therefore will yield three categories of persons: (1) those who appear in both directories; (2) those who appear in the first directory but not in the second; and (3) those who appear in the second directory but not in the first. In the second category persons could have disappeared from the listings either because they had died in the interval or because they had moved out of Norristown. In the third category persons could have appeared in the listings for the first time either because, although residents in Norristown, they had just reached eighteen years of age or because they had moved into Norristown since the earlier directory census.

If it were possible to identify all those who disappeared through death, then by the method of residues all those who disappeared because they moved out of Norristown could also be identified. These would constitute the out-migrants. Correspondingly, if one could identify all those who first appeared in the directories because they were in the eighteen-year-old group, then again by the method of residues one could attribute all other new appearances to the in-migrants. Through this combined process of elimination, then, it would be possible to identify all the elements in the formula.[6]

400. P_1 = Population at any given point in time; P_0 = Population at a given earlier point in time; B = Births occurring in the interval; D = Deaths occurring in the interval; I = In-migration occurring in the interval; O = Out-migration occurring in the interval.

[6] Since the directory data include only those eighteen years of age and over, and entrance to the directory population is not through birth but rather through becoming eighteen years of age, a substitution in the elements in the formula is necessary. This revised formula would be

$$P_1 = P + 18\text{-year-olds} - D + I - M,$$

where 18-year-olds = persons entering the popu-

Therefore, if directories are to be used to identify migrants, some means of first identifying those who died and those who turned eighteen is necessary. In an attempt to supply these values in the formula, the birth, death, and school records of Norristown were used. With these records, obtaining the data necessary for analysis of historical patterns of migration was comparatively simple. To indicate the procedure, the 1940–50 decade will be used as an example. The same procedure was followed for each of the three other decades, 1910–20, 1920–30, and 1930–40.

Two samples were drawn from the directories of the 1940–50 decade, one from the 1940 directory, and the other from the 1950 directory. Each sample consisted of a 10 per cent random selection of all Norristown *adult male residents* listed in the directory. The sample drawn from the 1940 directory served as the basis for analyzing migration from the community during the ensuing decade. By tracing the individuals in the sample through all the succeeding directories of the decade, it became possible to note changes of residence, changes of occupation, and "disappearances." By tracing the "disappearances" in the death records, those who had died during the decade were identified. The remaining "disappearances" were attributed to out-migration.

The second sample, that drawn from the 1950 directory, served as the basis for determining migration of adult males into the community during the previous decade. By tracing all the individuals in this sample back through all the directories of the preceding decade, it similarly became possible to note all changes in residence and occupation. In the process of this backward tracing some persons "disappeared" from the earlier directories. These were the potential in-migrants, potential because it was possible that some were not found in the earlier directories because they were under eighteen

lation cohort through turning eighteen. The other values remain the same but refer to only those in the population eighteen years of age and over.

years of age. It was, therefore, only after these young persons were identified through the use of school records and birth certificates that the residual group of "disappearing" persons were classified as in-migrants.

Once both these samples had been selected and traced, and the possible causes for disappearance from directories had been ascertained, the data indicated: (1) how many and what segments of the 1940 population moved out of the community during the succeeding decade; (2) how many and what segments of the 1950 population moved into the community during the preceding decade; and (3) how many and what

TABLE 1

ADULT MALES REPORTED IN DIRECTORY AND
UNITED STATES CENSUS, 1910–50

Year	Directory Population	United States Census Population	Directory Population as a Per Cent of Census Population
1950.....	11,960	11,922	100.3
1940.....	11,530	11,692	98.6
1930.....	10,990	10,313	106.6
1920.....	8,800	9,200	95.7
1910.....	7,030	7,600	92.5

segments of the population remained resident throughout the decade.

VALIDITY OF DATA AND METHOD

While there was assurance of the availability of the supplementary sources of data necessary if city directories were to be used as sources of migration information, tests of the accuracy of the directories themselves could not be made until all the data had been collected and tabulated. The findings of these tests for accuracy can be summarized as follows.

. 1. The completeness of directory coverage of the adult male population could be measured by a comparison of the number of cases in the 10 per cent directory samples with the number of adult males enumerated in the comparable United States census of Norristown. For purposes of comparison

the 10 per cent directory samples were inflated. These comparisons (Table 1) indicate that from 1930 on there is virtually 100 per cent coverage by the directories. In 1910 and 1920 the coverage was 93 and 96 per cent, respectively.[7]

2. Once it had been determined that the size of the directory populations corresponded reliably with those of corresponding census enumerations, the accuracy of the directories as to the occupational composition of the population was similarly tested. The comparisons had to be limited to the 1940 and 1950 samples because of the absence of any census data on occupations in Norristown for the earlier periods. The comparisons, presented in Table 2, indicate that

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF ADULT MALES REPORTED IN DIRECTORY AND UNITED STATES CENSUS, BY OCCUPATION, 1940 AND 1950

OCCUPATION	1940		1950	
	Directory	Census	Directory	Census
Professional.....	6.5	5.9	6.8	6.8
Managerial.....	9.3	9.7	9.6	9.1
Clerical and sales	16.6	15.5	12.0	13.9
Skilled.........	17.3	19.3	20.4	23.5
Semiskilled.....	21.0	25.1	25.8	27.8
Service.........	8.0	7.8	7.2	7.1
Unskilled.......	21.3	16.7	18.2	11.8
Total per cent.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number.	963	8,826	997	9,650

the occupational compositions of the two directory samples closely resembled those of the United States census. The only significant difference was in the laboring groups

[7] The directory enumerations of the last three decennial periods were taken in the years 1931, 1941, 1951, i.e., approximately a year after the United States census. During the year's interval the population may either have increased or decreased. The great discrepancy between the figures in the 1931 directory and those of the 1930 census as contrasted to those of 1940 and 1950 is probably due to the more rapid rate of growth of the population in the 1930 decade.

where there was an underenumeration of skilled and semiskilled workers and an overenumeration of the unskilled. These differences probably existed because the directory listed some skilled and semiskilled workers as "laborers," and, for lack of more specific data, these persons were therefore coded as unskilled. There is, however, no indication that the directory tended to be biased in favor of the white-collar groups. In both 1940 and 1950 the proportion of the directory samples who were in the different white-collar occupational groups were almost the same as the proportion of the census population in these categories.

3. The complete records of all persons who died in Norristown from 1906 through 1952 made it possible to check the accuracy of the method used to identify those persons who disappeared from the directories because of death. A 10 per cent sample was taken of all death records of male residents of Norristown who died in each of the decades from 1910 to 1950. The persons in each of these samples were traced back through the directories to the first year of the decade in which they died. This method permitted the determination of how many of those who had died during each of the decades had been residents of Norristown since the beginning of the decade. The results were then comparable with those obtained from the directory analysis, where each of the samples had been traced forward from the first to the last year of the decade to identify how many of the males who were residents in Norristown at the beginning of the decade were continuous residents, out-migrants, or persons who died during the course of that decade (Table 3).

These two methods yielded results with a high degree of similarity, establishing that for the forty-year period city directories were successfully used in conjunction with vital-statistics data to identify "disappearances" from the city directories due to death rather than to out-migration.

4. Another test made of the data was designed to determine how accurate the identification had been of those persons who had

not appeared in the directory listings because they were under the minimum age.[8]

A part of the information collected in a door-to-door survey of Norristown made in the summer of 1952 was concerned with the migration history of the persons included in the sample. Since information was also available on the age of these persons, it was possible to identify all who had moved into Norristown in the period 1940–50 and to determine how many among those who were not in-migrants in that decade had reached the age of eighteen in that time. These statistics were available only for 1940–50, so that they had to serve as the basis for assuming the accuracy of data derived from the same sources for earlier decades.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF DEATHS, AS DERIVED FROM SAMPLES OF THE DEATH RECORDS AND OF THE DIRECTORIES

	Directory Analysis	Death-Record Analysis
1910–20.......	73	78
1920–30.......	96	98
1930–40.......	121	116
1940–50.......	110	108

The survey indicated that between 1940 and 1950, 11 per cent of the 373 males sampled reached eighteen years of age. School and birth records in the directory of

[8] In this test census data indicating how many persons had turned twenty-one or eighteen, as the case might be, during the course of a decade were not adequate. Such a use of census data would have required adjustment for those persons who had moved out of the community while under the minimum age and who therefore should have been excluded from the cohort of those who entered the directory upon turning of age. At the same time, some adjustment would also have to be made for those who moved into Norristown while under the minimum age and who should have been included in the in-migrants, but who would, because of their age, be included in the census cohort of those entering the directory because they had reached twenty-one or eighteen. No data were available to make such adjustments in census data.

the period identified 11.5 per cent of the male population as new directory listings because of age. The use of school records and birth certificates, therefore, confirmed the character of this segment.

These tests have demonstrated that directories are a complete and highly accurate source of demographic data. In addition, they have shown that the supplementary vital-statistics data can be used with great success in identifying various subcategories of the directory population—the eighteen-year-olds and those who died. Together the

size of the male population at the end of each decade.[9] In Table 5 these estimated values are compared with the actual size of the male population at the decennial years. In no year do the estimates differ from the actual population by more than 2.3 per cent. Thus for all decades directory data used in conjunction with other demographic data provide satisfactory descriptions of changes in population. Their usefulness, as shown so far, extends only to determining the total number of migrants, residents, eighteen-year-olds, and those who died. But a major

TABLE 4

CHANGES IN THE SAMPLE ADULT MALE POPULATION AS AFFECTED BY THE
VITAL FORCES AND MIGRATION, 1910–50

	P_0	+18-year-olds	—Deaths	+In-migrants	—Out-migrants	$=P_1$
1910–20.......	703	61	73	383	214	860
1920–30.......	952	120	104	514	392	1,090
1930–40.......	1,099	178	121	429	425	1,160
1940–50.......	1,153	138	110	475	434	1,222

tests have served to give high assurance that those appearances and disappearances in the directory which cannot be attributed to eighteen-year-olds or deaths can be accurately attributed by the method of residues to in- and out-migration, respectively.

As outlined earlier, the method by which directory data could be used to determine the patterns of migration into and out of a community rested basically on the ability of the investigator to identify the various elements in the formula

$$P_1 = P_0 + 18\text{-year-olds} - \text{deaths} + \text{in-migrants} - \text{out-migrants}.$$

This ability has now been demonstrated. The final test of the validity of these data and of their utility depends on the extent to which the results obtained by the combination of all these values in the formula resembled the actual size of the Norristown population at the close of the decade.

Table 4 presents the various elements in the formula of population change for each decade. The final value (P_1) is the estimated

purpose in this undertaking was to estimate the value of directories in providing the basic information necessary to identify the occupational composition of the in- and out-

TABLE 5

ESTIMATED AND ACTUAL SIZE OF THE
SAMPLE MALE POPULATION, 1920–50

	Estimated	Actual	Difference	Per Cent of Difference
1920....	860	880	—20	2.3
1930....	1,090	1,099	— 9	0.8
1940....	1,160	1,153	+ 7	0.6
1950....	1,222	1,196	+26	2.2

migrants. The extent to which the directories provide this information must now be ascertained.

[9] It will be recalled that the directory listings up to 1930 included only those twenty-one years of age and over, whereas those after 1930 included those eighteen years of age and over. Therefore, the values used in the formula of the 1920–30

The method is similar to that employed in testing the validity of the total samples. A person may leave any occupational group because (1) he moved out of town; (2) he died; (3) he moved into another occupation or out of the labor force entirely. Similarly, a person may enter an occupational group in Norristown because (1) he moved into town; (2) he had just entered the labor force; (3) he had entered the occupation from another group. All six contingencies produce

the total population, as seen in the formula

$$P_{1950} = P_{1940} - D - O + 18\text{-year-olds} + I \pm O.M.$$

The one new element is that of net occupational mobility ($\pm O.M.$) occurring in the decade among those who resided in Norristown throughout that time. Since the analysis covered a decade, occupational mobility was measured by a comparison of the num-

TABLE 6

ESTIMATED AND ACTUAL OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION
OF SAMPLE MALE POPULATION, 1920–50

OCCUPATION	1920		1930		1940		1950	
	Esti-mated	Actual	Esti-mated	Actual	Esti-mated	Actual	Esti-mated	Actual
Professionals................	39	40	53	48	65	63	65	68
Proprietors and managers...	86	82	100	109	80	89	107	96
Clerical and sales workers...	94	111	149	145	157	160	125	120
Skilled workers.............	164	165	193	191	163	167	192	202
Semiskilled workers.........	155	152	150	149	211	202	268	257
Service workers.............	39	44	44	46	72	77	71	72
Laborers...................	197	195	271	293	217	205	190	182
All others.................	86	91	130	118	195	190	204	199
Total sample..........	860	880	1,090	1,099	1,160	1,153	1,222	1,196

changes in the occupational composition of a population.

By the procedure explained earlier, changes in the size of a specific occupational group were expressed by the formula. Here, however, the values refer to the number of persons in the specific occupational group or those entering or leaving it, rather than to

decade to estimate the population of 1930 are not strictly comparable. The 1930 estimate has therefore been adjusted for this underenumeration of the 1920 data. This adjustment was made as follows: The 1920 census of Norristown indicated that the age group eighteen through twenty was 7.58 per cent of the total age group eighteen and over. Therefore, the values in the formula based on the 1920 directory were inflated by this value. The uncorrected values would have been: 880 + 120 − 96 + 514 − 362 = 1,056.

ber of continuous residents in each occupation at the beginning of the decade with the number of them in it at the end of the ten years. The net gain or loss for each group was the value entered in the formula.

The validity of the method for identifying the various subcategories of the population by occupation is put to its final test, as was done in the case of the total population, through the comparison of the estimated with the actual number of persons in each occupational category. The actual values are those of the occupational composition of the population in the sample drawn from the last directory of the decade.

The two distributions in Table 6 indicate · a high degree of accuracy in "predicting" the number of persons who would be in each occupation after adjustments had been

made for migration, deaths, additions to the labor force, and occupational mobility. This is uniformly true for all four decades.

Donald Bogue notes that social security data "can become a powerful supplement to census data for the study of the processes of social change."[10] The present study indicates that for a city, such as Norristown,

[10] Donald Bogue, "An Exploratory Study of Migration and Labor Mobility Using Social Security Data" (Miami, Ohio: Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, June, 1950), p. 13.

directory data are perhaps an even more powerful supplement and can serve as accurate and valuable sources of data for the analysis of both occupational mobility and migration. In conjunction with census data, vital statistics, school records, and social security data, they offer American demographers valid substitutes for continuous registers of population.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

DEVIATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE JEWISH
COMMUNITY OF A SMALL POLISH TOWN[1]

CELIA STOPNICKA ROSENTHAL

ABSTRACT

Although hostile attitudes toward persons who forsook the Jewish community remained unchanged, the youth evidently no longer gave the same allegiance to the culture as their parents did. The most striking evidences were the decline of religious orthodoxy and attendance at meetings of Zionist organizations and decrease of arranged marriages. Most social change occurred in the lower class, since the social structure of the community was such that it made lower-class people more likely to engage in nonconformist conduct.

The culture of Stoczek and the people of Stoczek can be described as a unit because of the presence of large elements of repetition and cohesion. However, in the 1930's new currents and ways were spreading among the youth of Stoczek and represented a great jump from the ways of the old gen-

[1] This paper is part of a study of a small-town Jewish community in central Poland between the two world wars: Stoczek, fifty-five miles from Warsaw. In 1938, when the writer left Poland, the town's population was 4,000, of which 2,500 comprised the Jewish community.

The paper is based on interviews with ten survivors, on seven biograms received from Stoczek people now living in Israel, and on the recollection of the writer, who lived in Stoczek from 1925 to 1938. Unfortunately, those interviewed do not constitute a representative sampling of the population, since so few survivors remain. Furthermore, the generalizations are not based on direct observation of the community but rather on recollection, but a study on the spot is, of course, impossible, for the Jewish communities of Poland no longer exist. Apart from literary sources, the only way to reconstruct their culture is by interviewing persons who once lived in the small towns of Poland, never forgetting that recollection is not identical with the facts of life as they once were.

Despite these limitations, the writer undertook this study for two main reasons: (1) no studies of this kind appeared in prewar Poland (this one might, therefore, prove to be of some value to those who may in the future try to reconstruct past Jewish culture in Poland) and (2), although the particular constellation described in this study no longer exists, many people who are products of this culture now live in various parts of the world. This study may be of some value in studying the Israeli culture of today and in understanding Jewish subgroups which contain people reared in the small-town Jewish communities of eastern Europe.

eration. Although modifying trends did not have time to work themselves out completely, as the entire community was destroyed by the Nazis in the period of greatest transition, there was a growing acceptance in the community of the changes.

A form of deviation, however, which was never accepted and attitudes toward which remained unchanged until the Nazi invasion was the act of giving up one's religion and embracing another one. When one changed his faith in Stoczek, it signified to all that he abandoned the Jewish community and went over to the hostile Poles. Though the saying, "It is hard to be a Jew," was constantly heard, there was, nevertheless, no understanding for one who stopped being Jewish. His family sat in deep mourning for seven days, as though he had died, and they never mentioned his name again. Despite the period of mourning, the community insisted that they did not recognize the act of conversion because a Jew could never be anything but a Jew. It was inconceivable in Stoczek that a Jew could come to believe in another faith. The Jew who went through conversion was, therefore, considered a *shmadnik*, an apostate and traitor, a low and spiteful character; but he never became a Gentile in the eyes of the community. "To be a Jew is not something one chooses but something to which one is born," was the usual saying. It was believed that one could never hide Jewishness successfully, for, if it did not show in one's face, it would come out in his speech or behavior. Conversion is so little recog-

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nized that a returning convert had to be taken back into the fold, and there was no special ceremony to mark his return.

It was considered the utmost disgrace to a family to have one of its members change his faith. When it occurred, it was a permanent blot on the family which nothing could wash away and which people would never forget. A member of such a family could not hope to marry one of a "good" family without substantial financial compensation. Thus, in the one family in Stoczek in which there was a convert to Catholicism, there was much intermarriage with close relatives. As one Stoczek informant explained it, "They were well off and did not want to marry beneath their *yikhus* ["lineage"], and people of similar *yikhus* would not marry them. If they had not had the 'apostate' in their family, they would have made good matches."

The only person to leave the Jewish faith in Stoczek was a young woman, the daughter of a businessman, who married a peasant from a near-by village. She never came to town, as did other peasant women, but left all transactions to her husband. Those men who had occasion to pass through her village related that she dressed, behaved, and spoke like a "real peasant." Her husband was known among the Jews as a just and honest man, and no resentment was felt toward him.

The incident of the conversion occurred before the writer came to Stoczek. The writer witnessed, however, the great consternation in the community when a Jewish girl from a near-by town came to Stoczek to be married in church. Almost all, young and old, crowded around the town hall, where she was staying and shouted insults at her.

Converts to Christianity were rare, yet they figured extensively in the tales and songs of the community. These were always woven around the theme of Jews who gave up their religion for love or to gain position but never for reasons of faith. The role of conversion due to opportunistic reasons was almost exclusively assigned to males

and for romantic reasons exclusively to females. The latter stories usually ended with the convert being mistreated by the family into which she married because they continued to consider her a Jew. An alternative ending was to have her husband beat her. In any event, thoroughly chastened, she returned home and to the Jewish faith. There was such a song about the convert from Stoczek, and it was sung as long as the Jewish community existed.

Although the attitudes toward persons who forsook the Jewish community remained unchanged in Stoczek, changes began in the twenties and gained impetus in the thirties which showed that the youth no longer gave the same allegiance to the culture of their forefathers as had their parents before them. The most striking of these were the decline in religious orthodoxy, decrease of arranged marriages, and decrease in attendance at Zionist organizations. In the beginning Zionism met with great opposition in Stoczek, and the first Zionist meeting place was called by the people "the church of Laybele Perkal," its founder in Stoczek. (Referring to it as a church pointed to its being considered of non-Jewish character.) Although Zionism spread among the youth, it continued to have few converts among the middle-aged and none among the old.

The Zionist organizations were the first places where boys and girls met together. Traditionally they were supposed to be completely separated: marriages were arranged by professional matchmakers, and the betrothal was accompanied by the writing of a formal contract in which the material contributions of both parties were outlined. This pattern was followed in the upper and middle class as long as the community existed, and love marriages continued to be rare in those strata until the very end. In contrast, among the lower class there was a growing number of love marriages, and, by 1938, arranged marriages ceased to take place.

As for the decline of religious orthodoxy, it found its earliest and most manifest ex-

pression in the abandonment of traditional dress. The process of change in dress was rather well described by one of the informants from Stoczek. "You know, the first step was to shorten the *kapote* [the long coat men wore] and the next to wear a European suit with a Jewish hat. The final step was to start wearing a European hat, too. There were many young men in Stoczek who wore European suits and Jewish hats." The enormity of this deviation in dress can be understood only by examining the reaction of the older folks to it. They considered it to be a step in the process of "going away from Jewishness" and tried to prevail upon their children not to give up the traditional way of dressing. "When my brother had a European suit made, my father stopped talking to him for a while. But he later had to become reconciled," related one informant. None of the old men deviated from the traditional dress pattern. By 1938 some middle-aged men from the working class and almost all youth of that class wore European dress. Few business people wore European dress by that time, and these were young men, with the exception of two strangers.

For women to wear short-sleeved dresses was traditionally considered sinful. But, from 1930 on, more and more girls, especially among the lower class, adopted short-sleeved dresses. There were very few middle-aged women and no old women who did so. Married women were obliged to keep their hair covered and wore, therefore, kerchiefs or wigs. By 1938 most young women of the working class and about one-third of the middle class no longer covered their hair. There were very few middle-aged women who followed this change, and those who did belonged to the lower class. No old women abandoned their traditional wigs.

The above were the most striking ways in which the youth showed their deviation from the old established pattern of behavior. Those who openly flaunted their disregard for the orthodox ways and ridiculed them were members of a tiny band of Communists in the community, all from the working class. They walked on the main

street on Saturdays and holidays with their heads uncovered, which was considered sinful, and smoked cigarettes in violation of the Sabbath. They were very much disliked for violating the old ways of the community so openly, for people held that it was more sinful to sin in public than in private. The explanation given for this was that, when one sinned privately, he was responsible only for himself; when he sinned publicly, he induced others to follow his example. The community talked long afterward about the dramatically deviant behavior of this group at the funeral of one of its members. It was especially sinful to have one's head uncovered on so solemn an occasion as a funeral, but the Communists marched bareheaded and carried a red flag. Except for the family and the group of comrades, no one else joined the funeral procession. People commented about the lowness of the Communists, who, instead of taking a side street, passed spitefully near the synagogue and thereby desecrated the house of prayer.

It is interesting to note that there was no marked and demonstrative deviant behavior among the women of the Communist circle, and even the wives of the leaders went to the synagogue to pray on high holidays. In fact, no Stoczek woman failed to show up in the synagogue on those days. "My sisters [wives of Communists] went to the synagogue on Yom Kippur. They went because they did not want to bring shame on my mother," explained one informant.

Despite their disregard of the Jewish ways, all the Communists had their sons circumcised and sent their children to the *kheder*, Jewish school. This shows that the commitment to the culture was strong enough in Stoczek to make deviation in certain areas nonexistent. The community expressed in numerous stories and sayings the fact that, in contrast to the Poles among whom they dwelt, Jews conformed without the aid of police power which was completely absent in the Jewish community. As a matter of fact, people in Stoczek distrusted physical force and seldom resorted to it. They were, therefore, incapable of dealing

with deviants when the use of physical force seemed necessary. Their inability to use force had various manifestations and showed itself clearly in the case of the "crazy Yankiel" who terrorized the children and annoyed the grown-ups and yet was never institutionalized but went about freely.

Proper behavior was encouraged by constantly holding up the ideal pattern as a model to be followed. The techniques of dealing with deviants were tied to prevention, for most people feared to be subject to community sanction. One of the most effective sanctions was withdrawal from the deviant. The father used this weapon to punish the child who did not behave properly. Sometimes, just a silent "look" from the father, to which no words were added, was enough to check the child. If the "look" did not help, the parent resorted to silence as part of the same treatment. Either form was effective because it was hard for the child to bear prolonged emotional withdrawal. Deviants were dealt with by the community in a similar manner. They were "let to run," which meant that no one had anything to do with them. This often produced the desired result, because the adults in Stoczek, too, could not long endure emotional isolation.

Shame was also an effective mechanism of preventing deviant behavior. There was much warning against the shaming of others, which in itself is a clue to the effectiveness of shame, but it was nevertheless resorted to when people broke social taboos. One informant, for example, reported how her grandmother used to stop young men who were promenading bareheaded and shamed them by scolding: "Are you not ashamed to go around on the Sabbath like a Gentile. Woe to your mother!"

Most social change took place in the lower class. The drop of arranged marriages and the growth of love marriages were most marked in that class. It was related to the general decline in religious orthodoxy among working people which found its earliest ex-

pression in the abandonment of traditional dress.

A partial explanation as to why changes spread more quickly among the workers than among the others may be found in the fact that some workers went either to Warsaw or abroad to look for employment because there was no industry in town which could absorb all. This was generally not true of the middle and upper class, since people in Stoczek were very closely bound to their families, and only starvation could motivate them to leave their homes. This does not mean that the middle and upper class did not have contacts with large cities. Their contacts, however, were of short duration and did not require the adoption of big-city ways. Men who worked in Warsaw came home for holidays, and many returned to stay after a few years in the large city or abroad. They neither wore traditional Jewish dress nor observed the religious law. They exercised influence on the younger generation of working people in Stoczek but not on the older people, none of whom changed their ways.

While the above throws light on the changes among those who had lived once in Warsaw or abroad, it does not explain why the youth of the lower class who remained in Stoczek were more subject to change than the youth of the other classes. Upon close examination we find that there was something in the culture which made the people of the middle and upper class have more emotional attachment to it. The three main sources of status were charity and good deeds, learning, and family background.[2] Although theoretically the first two were open to all, in reality they were fairly well closed to the lower class. Most of the good deeds that brought prestige required generous giving to the poor which the lower class could not afford. People of the lower class also abided by the principle of

[2] C. S. Rosenthal, "Social Stratification of the Jewish Community in a Small Polish Town," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIX (July, 1953), 1–10.

charity and would not allow a beggar to leave their home empty-handed. They shared their meager meal with him if they had no money to give him. This kind of charity, though it satisfied the donor's conscience and prevented him from feeling ashamed, did not bring the giver from the lower class any recognition in the community, even if his donation may have required more self-sacrifice than the larger donation of the well-to-do. Not only were the people of the lower class not apt to receive recognition but they were much more than others subject to shame, which was a very important factor in the Stoczek culture. Although giving brought prestige, taking when in need was shameful. It is true that people of the lower class were greatly helped by the well-to-do when in need, but the price they had to pay in shame was tremendous.

It was believed that a poor man, if he were only lucky, could become rich and by sharing his wealth with others gain prestige. In reality very few people could and very few did become rich because there were almost no opportunities to do so. A similar picture presents itself in the field of learning. Even though the avenues of education were open to the poor and poor youths who were capable and devoted to learning could gain free admittance to a *yeshiva*, they seldom took advantage of this opportunity. Their families could not afford to give up the little money that they would bring home from work.

Recognition that the poor man's compensation in the culture was far below that of the well-to-do was reflect~ in the sayings of the people. "A man does not have this world or the next rld," since the roads to the next world were through charity and good deeds, of which the poor were financially incapable. Another saying, "The poor man is like a dead man," is related to the fact that joy from learning the

Torah and performing good deeds was considered the essence of life in Stoczek.

That change was greater among the lower class was also tied to the fact that much less was expected of that class, and social disapproval was not so strongly applied to its members as to others. If a person from the lower class did something that was contrary to the ways of Stozcek, people would say, "What can you expect from a plain person?" When, on the other hand, a person from the middle or upper class deviated, indignation was great among all classes. The community lamented and expressed great pity for the parents of the culprit.

In examining deviation in Stoczek, we have discovered that, despite the culture's emphasis on the community of interest, its social structure was such that it made people of the lower class more apt to engage in nonconformist conduct than people from the upper and middle class. The words of Professor Merton pointing to conditions under which change flourishes are applicable to Stoczek. "It is only when a system of cultural values extols, virtually above all else, certain *common* success-goals *for the population at large* while the social structure rigorously restricts or completely closes access to approved modes of reaching these goals *for a considerable part of the same population*, that deviant behavior ensues on a large scale."[3] In Stoczek the success goals for the population at large were learning, charity, and good deeds, while the opportunities to reach these goals were greatly restricted for the people of the lower class. It is therefore not surprising that the young people of the lower class were the first to abandon the orthodox religious ways, of which the change to European dress was the most visible sign.

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[3] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), p. 137. (Italics mine.)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

METHODOLOGICAL CONVERGENCE OF MEAD, LUNDBERG, AND PARSONS

May 25, 1954

To the Editor:

John C. McKinney's "Methodological Convergence of Mead, Lundberg, and Parsons" in the May, 1954, *American Journal of Sociology* is valuable in that it calls attention to certain fundamental compatibilities in the theoretical writings of three authors whose assumed differences have been greatly exaggerated.

If further documentation of the close harmony of my theoretical writings with those of G. H. Mead is desired, the relevant references can readily be located from the index of my *Foundations*. This book also contains copious quotations from Mead. With reference to Parsons, I have made, in all my critical writings, only one reference to his work (*Foundations*, p. 42), chiefly because of my uncertainty regarding some points of his position, which has been greatly clarified, however, in his most recent publication (*Working Papers*, 1953). On this basis, I am delighted to say that I think there is much warrant for Mr. McKinney's conclusions also on this subject.

Since the conflict assumed in some quarters to exist among these three authors is doubtless largely due to obscurities and incompleteness in their published works, I should like to correct one or two points which even Mr. McKinney's reading failed to detect. He correctly attributes to me the view that the symbolized responses of scientists constitute the actual and immediate data of all science. He also correctly points out that, in common with Mead and Parsons, I recognize the uniqueness of at least those human social phenomena which constitute symbols and symbolic behavior. Now, curiously, Mr. McKinney seems to find some inconsistency or incompatibility between these two positions. He says:

In distinguishing between interaction and symbolic interaction Lundberg implicitly admits the existence of two classes of objects, those capable of responding and those which are not. This corresponds exactly with the distinction made by Mead. Furthermore, because of it communication is the focal point in Lundberg's sociology [p. 568].

I do indeed recognize not only these two classes of "objects" but an indefinite number of other classes in sociology and in all the other sciences. But, *what of it*, if *all* these classes are amenable to study by the accredited methods of science?

I must confess I am greatly mystified by such a passage as this in Mr. McKinney's earnest and thoughtful paper:

From the foregoing it is readily discernible that all three [authors] actually distinguish between social-cultural objects and physical objects. This, despite assertions to the contrary by Lundberg, results in a "difference" between social and physical science. Mead and Parsons consistently hold to this position and accept its numerous implications. Lundberg vacillates between what he would like to believe in and adhere to and what he is forced to do in order to study social behavior which is admittedly "different."

Here Mr. McKinney actually alleges that I do not distinguish any difference between a custom and a cornfield and that I have actually asserted that *no* such difference exists. ("Lundberg, in the positivist tradition, explicitly denies [where?] Mead's distinction. To him all science is 'physical' and the data of the sciences are not intrinsically [*sic*] different. . . . Lundberg consequently holds the distinction between 'physical' and

'social' categories to be invalid [*sic*] and misleading" (p. 568; brackets mine).

The allegation requires no reply. I am quite confident Mr. McKinney doesn't mean what he says, but is merely guilty of the kind of careless writing which is common on this subject. What I have said explicitly and emphatically for twenty-five years is that while there are *no* identities, and a *vast variety*, in the phenomena of our world, these differences do not preclude a common theoretical framework and logical method of study. In short, not only do I recognize numerous and important "differences" between social-cultural "objects" and physical "objects," but I also recognize the differences between cats and dogs, and even between individual dogs. But I do not find these differences *significant from the point of view of scientific theory and method* (which is here the issue), because I find that both cats and dogs, taboos, tomahawks, and tornadoes can be studied in the same theoretical framework and by the same logical methods, albeit by widely different techniques and instruments. Nor do I find that the biologist is accused of "vacillating" between what he would "like to believe in and adhere to and what he is forced to do in order to study social [biological] behavior, which is admittedly 'different' " (pp. 568–69) from the phenomena of physics and chemistry.

It is a commonplace that concrete techniques, instruments, and categories of observation are "different" in every science. Symbolic behavior happens to be one such "unique" class of phenomena in human sociology. It is studied by means of interviews, questionnaires, tests of various kinds, introspection, and a large variety of other techniques. If the data so secured are processed by methods recognized as valid in all sciences, *what of* the "difference" and "uniqueness" that has plagued and confused sociological discussion from the beginning? *What of it?*

Incidentally, for those who are still oppressed with the notion that there are two generically different kinds of knowledge,

one "material" and the other "social," one kind secured through the "senses" and the other through "sympathetic imagination," etc., I strongly recommend Mead's "A Behavioristic Account of the Significant Symbol" (*Journal of Philosophy*, XIX [March, 1922], 157–63) and also his "Cooley's Contribution to American Social Thought" (*American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV [March, 1930], 704–6). On the point, while I follow Mead rather than Cooley (*Foundations*, p. 320), I find both compatible with my own views.[1]

One other minor point: Mr. McKinney speaks of my tendency to conceive of data as "given," while Mead and Parsons rigorously conceive of them as "taken." In view of the fact that my central contention throughout is on the *selective responses* of scientists to the postulated outside world (i.e., *everything* is "taken"), I am mystified as to how my work could give the impression of even a "tendency" of this type.

There are numerous other details in Mr. McKinney's paper that might be remarked upon, but they do not detract from his central and largely successful efforts to find common ground in admittedly abstruse and difficult verbalistic territory. It will be observed from the above that I do not disagree with Mr. McKinney's main thesis but, on the contrary, suggest that he can go even further and still be on quite safe ground, especially as far as Mead's and my writings are concerned. Above all, he is to be congratulated on a discovery which, while it has been quite clear to me (and probably to Parsons) for several decades, is still unrecognized in many quarters. This is the more interesting in view of the fact that in the course of considerable controversial writing for twenty-five years, I have never had occasion to differ with G. H. Mead and only rarely and regarding minor points with Parsons. McKinney's discovery will doubtless be a great shock to those whose careers

[1] A good *brief* discussion of the point appeared as early as 1929 in Lundberg, Bain, and Anderson, *Trends in American Sociology* (Harper & Bros.), pp. 135–48.

as sociological theorists rest upon hearsay and imagination rather than on a serious perusal of the texts in question.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AS REFLECTED IN LETTERS OF TESTIMONY

May 26, 1954

To the Editor:

In your March issue R. W. England examines five hundred "letters of testimony" in regard to Christian Science healing. These five hundred letters are presumably a representative selection from an extensive body of published evidence (amounting to many thousands of testimonials), largely neglected by social scientists.

It is gratifying to find an article paying serious attention to this evidence but a little surprising to note the polemic tone of some of the statements. Mr. England has selected from these letters certain aspects which bear out his thesis but in so doing appears not to have considered impressive evidence they contain which conflicts with his theories.

Possibly the explanation lies in Mr. England's "one-time participation" in Christian Science, though that participation was apparently never sufficient to acquaint him with such an elementary fact as that the use of "formulas" is forbidden by the basic Manual of the church. ("When a Christian Scientist finds himself in a state of inharmony—ill, unemployed, discouraged—he repeats to himself certain formulas". . . [p. 449]). But Article VIII, Section 9, of the Manual of the Mother Church reads in part as follows:

· *"Formulas Forbidden, Sect. 9.* No member shall use written formulas, nor permit his patients or pupils to use them, as auxiliaries to teaching Christian Science or for healing the sick."

Christian Scientists generally accept the spirit of this provision as meaning that they should not merely repeat formulas in their prayers and they carefully observe this instruction.

More important, however, than such errors or than the polemic statements introduced into what purports to be a disinterested examination is Mr. England's method. His key observation is based, as he says, "upon impressions rather than upon objective analysis." It has to do with the healing of diseases not to be classified as psychosomatic. He observes that the "number of cancers, tumors, broken bones, and cases of pneumonia and acute appendicitis which were self-diagnosed by the writers seemed large." Possibly so, though many Christian Scientists are particularly scrupulous in refraining from naming a disease that has not been medically diagnosed. But surely the crucial question for an investigator is: How many cases are there of healings of serious organic diseases that have been medically diagnosed? Mr. England simply sidesteps this question altogether.

The four volumes of the *Christian Science Journal* on which he based his investigation report the following healings in which there was medical diagnosis: four cases of cancer, eight of tumor, twenty-one of broken bones, seven of pneumonia, seven of appendicitis, twenty-two of heart disease, twenty-one of tuberculosis, six of asthma, and from one to three of diphtheria, blindness, peritonitis, scarlet fever, arthritis, spinal meningitis, diabetes, gallstones, epilepsy, tetanus, polio, uremic poisoning, pelvic ovaritis, smallpox, pyorrhea, hernia, deafness, curvature of the spine, jaundice, dropsy, bronchial catarrh, abscessed teeth, ulcerated eyes, paralytic stroke, etc.

This partial list, drawn from the data examined by Mr. England, omits the large number of similar cases in which the context of the testimony implies medical diagnosis but does not explicitly state it. It leaves out such things as unspecified "growths" or "organic troubles" for which operations had previously been prescribed by physicians or unsuccessfully undertaken

(in several cases repeatedly) and dubious cases, such as a knee condition diagnosed by one doctor as a tubercular joint and by another as a loose cartilage.

It does not include the more impressive features of the healings: their instantaneous nature in some instances (e.g., one of the cancer cases); the number which physicians or surgeons declared to be beyond remedying by operations or any other means, in several instances giving the patient only a few more hours or days to live; and the existence of such corroborative evidence as X-rays (showing, for instance, in the case of a back broken in two places a perfect setting of the bones overnight without surgical aid—in fact, pronounced beyond surgical aid). Mr. England appears to overlook all this completely.

These testimonials, and thousands of similar ones, are on file at the Christian Science Publishing Society and have been carefully verified. As long ago as 1909, Benjamin O. Flower, editor of the mildly radical magazine, *The Arena*, published a book (*Christian Science as a Religious Belief and a Therapeutic Agent*) in which he included striking healings of organic disease by Christian Science based entirely on medical testimony. His work was the result of exhaustive firsthand investigation. It is to be regretted that many academic investigators have not pursued this more challenging line of inquiry instead of confining their attention to those cases which lend themselves to facile psychological explanations.

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NEWS AND NOTES

American Eugenics Society, Inc.—*Eugenics Quarterly*, a new journal published by the American Eugenics Society, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York, offers original articles of special significance to the sociologist. The September, 1954, issue includes the following papers from Section B-10 ("Relation of Population Changes to the Distribution of Genetic Factors") of the World Population Conference at Rome, September, 1954: "Genetic Diversity in the People of India," by L. D. Sanghvi; "Needed Genetic Research," by Curt Stern; "Trends in Distribution of Genes Affecting Characteristics of the Population," by Torsten Sjogren; "Twin Studies," by Luigi Gedda; "Detection of Carriers of Recessive Genes," by Harold Falls, M.D., and James V. Neel, M.D.; and "L'Éclatement des isolats et ses conséquences génétiques dans deux départements français," by Jean Sutter and Leon Tabah.

A sample copy of *Eugenics Quarterly* will be sent free upon request. The American Eugenics Society is interested in strengthening its membership. Inquiries should be addressed to 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

University of Arkansas.—Franz Adler is to present a paper to the International Congress on the Sociological Aspects of Radio Music, Paris, on October 27–30.

Bethany-Peniel College.—Vernon A. Snowbarger, formerly of Occidental College, accepted an appointment as professor of sociology, beginning in September.

Boston University.—William O. Brown, formerly chief, African Branch, Division of Research for the Near East and Africa, United States Department of State, has been appointed professor of sociology in charge of the newly established graduate program of African studies and research. Dr. Brown will teach a graduate seminar on contemporary Africa.

George Horner has been appointed to the staff of the African studies and research program. Dr. Horner has been for the last three years engaged in teaching and research in the French Cameroons. He will teach a course on general anthropology and a course on society, culture, and personality during the coming year.

Daniel F. McCall has been appointed as instructor in anthropology. Mr. McCall has recently returned from three years of teaching and research in Africa and will divide his time between research in the African studies program and courses on people and cultures of Africa and comparative social structures and a seminar on cultural anthropology.

Alvin D. Zalinger, instructor in sociology, will be on leave of absence during the academic year 1954–55 to carry out research studies on African students in the United States, supported in part by a grant from the Twentieth Century Fund and also under the auspices of Boston University's African studies and research program.

T. Scott Miyakawa will resume his teaching in the fall of 1954, following a year's leave of absence as a Fulbright appointee at Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan.

C. Wesley Topping, of the University of British Columbia, taught courses in social organization and criminology in the 1954 summer term in exchange with Albert Morris, chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology, who taught in the summer session at the University of British Columbia.

Brooklyn College.—Alfred McClung Lee has been unanimously elected to a third term as chairman of the department.

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Herbert H. Stroup has been appointed dean of students in the College of Liberal Arts and Science and has also been promoted from associate professor to professor of sociology and anthropology.

LeRoy Bowman has been promoted to the rank of associate professor.

George Simpson, assistant professor of sociology and anthropology, is serving as chairman of the Interdepartmental Graduate Committee on Social Studies. This committee will offer a graduate seminar in the fall of 1954 in "Methodology in History and the Social Sciences." Professor Simpson's *Man in Society* has been published as the first volume in Doubleday's new sociology series.

S. M. Miller, assistant professor in sociology and anthropology, is the chairman of the interdepartmental Social Science Group.

Hugh H. Smythe is giving a full program in the department. He recently returned from Japan, where he and his wife, Dr. Mabel M. Smythe, held posts as visiting professors at Yagamuchi National University.

Herbert A. Bloch, of St. Lawrence University, has been appointed associate professor of sociology and anthropology. He will teach graduate and undergraduate courses in social problems and participate in preprofessional social work instruction.

University of Chicago.—Donald Horton taught summer school at Columbia University. He will be in residence in the Fall Quarter.

Philip Hauser, Nelson Foote, and Donald Bogue, of the department of sociology, attended the World Population Conference in Rome in August.

W. Lloyd Warner left for England, at the end of the summer session, to be visiting professor of social theory at Cambridge University for the academic year 1954–55.

William F. Ogburn returned to the campus from England in midsummer, having for the second time been a visiting professor at Nuffield College, Oxford University.

Philip Hauser taught summer school at the University of Southern California and returns to offer courses in the Fall Quarter.

Conference on Jewish Relations, Inc.—The conference invites its members and all interested social scientists, including students in the social sciences, to a conference on American Jewish sociology, on Saturday evening, November 27, and all day Sunday, November 28, 1954, at the Hotel Commodore in New York City.

There will be three round-table sessions whose topics are: "Forms and Expressions of Jewish Identification (The Psychology of Belonging)"; "The Changing Structure of the Jewish Community (Patterns of Leadership and Participation)"; "Jews and Their Neighbors (Majority-Minority Interaction in America) and Support for Jewish Cultural Research (Aims and Plans of the Conference on Jewish Relations)."

For a complete program and further information write to the Conference on Jewish Relations, Inc., 1841 Broadway, New York 23, N.Y.

Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Soziologie.—The twelfth annual meeting will be held in conjunction with the third anthropological-sociological conference on October 15, 16, and 17 in Heidelberg, under the honorary chairmanship of Professor Alfred Weber. The agenda consists of discussions from the points of view of scholars picked from the various social sciences, the topics being ideology, the free professions, the child. For information apply to the president of the society, Professor Leopold von Wiese, Meister Ekkehartstrasse 9/II, Köln-Lindenthal, German Federal Republic.

Hartford School of Religious Education.—The Committee for the Scientific Study of Religion will hold its fall meeting at Harvard on Saturday, November 6. Social scientists who wish to propose either theoretical or empirical reports in the field which would take not over twenty minutes should send

abstracts in duplicate of not over three hundred words to R. V. McCann, 48 Mount Auburn Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Harvard University.—Carle C. Zimmerman has been appointed visiting research professor at the University of Rome for the nine months following June, 1954. The research involves a co-operative study of Italians in Europe and in the United States, using the techniques of sociology, anthropology, and the medical sciences. In addition, a short study of certain Italian villages may be made, using some of the techniques of Zimmerman's Siamese study in 1930–31. A recently completed monograph by Professor Zimmerman on the Western family system is being published this year under varying titles in India, Italy, and West Germany as well as the United States.

Honolulu Redevelopment Agency.—The agency is beginning a comprehensive study of census-tract statistics pertaining to mortality, morbidity, and various classes of social breakdown. This analysis will be made with the co-operation of the Territorial Department of Health, Honolulu Council of Social Agencies, Oahu Health Council, Territorial Hospital (for mental disorders), and other official and voluntary agencies. Subjects covered will be crude death rates, infant mortality, suicide, tuberculosis, venereal disease, mental disorders, illegitimacy, unemployment, doubling-up in housing, family income, divorce, and crime. Rates will be computed for each of the forty-two census tracts delineated for the Honolulu Standard Metropolitan Area (the Island of Oahu) prior to the 1940 United States Census. Extensive use will be made of 1950 census statistics. Rates for each variable will be correlated with similar rates on dilapidation and overcrowding.

Human Biology.—The journal *Human Biology,* founded by Raymond Pearl in 1929 and formerly published by the Johns Hopkins Press, has been taken over by the Wayne University Press. It is edited by Gabriel Lasker, assistant professor of anatomy, Wayne University College of Medicine. Associated with him are Josef Brozek, University of Minnesota; Donald Mainland, New York University School of Medicine; James N. Spuhler, University of Michigan; and Bentley Glass and William L. Straus, Jr., both of the Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Brozek will edit a book-review section, a new feature.

The September issue will contain a collection of papers on nonhuman primates and human evolution which were presented at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Boston last December. It will include a contribution by the late Professor Earnest Hooton of Harvard, and the issue is to be a memorial to him.

The new publishers state that the journal should contribute to the comprehensive study of man and his heredity, growth, and aging and to his response to physical and social environment, including nutrition and disease. They will welcome contributions on man's morphology and body composition, his biochemical characteristics and physiological functions, and his behavior.

Articles and brief communications should be sent to the editor, Dr. Gabriel Lasker, 1401 Rivard Street, Detroit 7, Michigan.

Institut fuer Sozialforschung, Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt-am-Main.—Plans are nearing completion to publish the first issue of a *Zeitschrift* in October under the auspices of the Institut fuer Sozialforschung. The new publication will report current research and studies in sociology in many countries. It will carry articles by noted scholars in the realm of sociology and adjoining fields, significant sociological texts from the past, and the results of the Institute's own empirical research. Reviews of new publications will also be a feature of the *Zeitschrift.* The project has the support of the city of Frankfurt and the state of Hesse. The Institute's address is Senckenberg Anlage 26, Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany.

International Sociological Association.—
The report of the discussions of the Second
World Congress of Sociology held at Liége,
1953, appears in the *International Social Science Bulletin*, Volume VI, No. 1 (1954), published by UNESCO. Copies of this issue are
available at the reduced price of 4*s.* 6*d.*
from the ISA Secretariat.

The ISA is preparing for publication in
October two volumes of *Transactions* of the
Congress. Volume I contains a report of activities, abstracts of twenty-six papers
(twenty-one in English, five in French) on
recent developments in sociological research, and abstracts of twelve papers (ten
in English, two in French) on the training
and professional activities and responsibilities of sociologists. Volume II reports the
sessions on social stratification and social
mobility. The price is 25*s.*, $3.50, or 1,250
francs each volume. Price to members of affiliated organizations is 21*s.*, $3.00, or 1,050
francs each volume. Special paper-bound
edition for members of affiliated organizations is 15*s.*, $2.00, or 750 francs each volume. Order from: International Sociological
Association, Skepper House, 13 Endsleigh
Street, London, W.C. 1.

McGill University.—Aileen Ross is on
leave of absence from the department of sociology for the academic year 1954–55. Professor Ross is spending the year in India
engaged in research chiefly in Mysore and
Delhi.

University of Minnesota.—Elio D. Monachesi, chairman of the department of sociology, and Starke R. Hathaway, professor
and director of clinical psychology, have received a substantial grant from the United
States Public Health Service for a longitudinal study of social adjustment.

Lowry Nelson has received a Fulbright
research grant and sabbatical leave for
1954–55. He will study village social organization in Italy.

George Vold has been on a sabbatical
leave studying penal systems in several
European countries.

Arnold Rose was appointed consultant to
the Human Resources Research Office of the
United States Army. He was also elected to
serve as a member of the research committee
of the Midwest Sociological Society. The
University of Minnesota Press recently published his new book, *Theory and Method in
the Social Sciences.*

Theodore Caplow has received a Fulbright grant and sabbatical leave for 1954–
55. He will lecture at the University of
Utrecht in Holland. His new book, *The Sociology of Work*, was recently published by
the University of Minnesota Press.

Leo G. Reeder was awarded a grant from
the Graduate School for a study of social
factors in cardiovascular diseases. The research is being done in the Laboratory of
Physiological Hygiene of the School of Public Health. He was also appointed a consultant to the Minnesota Heart Association and
is directing a study of attitudes and practices of employers toward cardiac workers.
George A. Donohue is field supervisor of this
project.

University of New Mexico.—Paul Walter,
chairman of the department of sociology,
presented one of three Phi Kappa Phi lectures given on campus during the academic
year, his topic being "World Population
Dynamics."

Helen Ellis has returned to staff duty in
the social work curriculum after a year's
sabbatical leave spent at Smith College and
Boston Psychopathic Hospital.

A summer workshop in intercultural relations was conducted under the joint sponsorship of the department and the college of
education at the university, and the directorship of Stewart Cole of the National
Conference of Christians and Jews.

The department is sponsoring an Institute of Labor Relations in co-operation with
the New Mexico State Federation of Labor.
Ellis Scott, of the department, is director of
the Institute.

University of North Carolina.—E. William
Noland has been appointed chairman of the

department of sociology and anthropology for the five years beginning July 1, 1954. Professor Noland came to the university as professor of industrial sociology in 1949.

Howard W. Odum and Lee M. Brooks are relinquishing the co-chairmanship of the department this summer (1954). Professor Odum came to the university in 1920 as Kenan Professor and director of the School of Public Welfare. He initiated the *Journal of Social Forces* in 1922 and the Institute for Research in Social Science in 1924. He retires in September, 1954, to devote himself entirely to writing under provisions of a three-year Guggenheim grant. Professor Brooks, co-chairman since 1949, has been on the departmental faculty continuously since 1926 except for visiting professorships in New York, Alabama, Louisiana, Washington, and Hawaii. He will devote his entire time to teaching and writing.

Guy B. Johnson is doing a volume on *Racial Integration in Southern Higher Education*, one of three volumes scheduled for publication by the University of North Carolina Press to supplement Ashmore's *The Negro and the Schools*.

Gordon W. Blackwell and George E. Nicholson, Jr., have recently completed a study for the Committee on Disaster Studies of the National Research Council: "Game Theory and Defense against Community Disaster" (70 pp. Xerox process). The project was an exploration of the application of mathematical models, especially game theory, in the analysis of a community under stress and in planning for community defense against disaster. The papers by Professors Johnson and Blackwell will be published in *Social Forces*.

Harold D. Meyer is a staff member of a study group which will publish in the fall of 1954 its two-year findings on recreation personnel throughout the thirteen southern states. This study was promoted by the Southern Regional Education Council in co-operation with the National Recreation Association.

Wallace E. Lambert, of the Institute for Research in Social Science, attended a work conference on psychology and linguistics at Columbia University in May sponsored by the Social Science Research Council.

John Thibaut and N. J. Demerath, of the Institute for Research in Social Science, took part in a six-week invitational seminar at Brandeis University near Boston which began in late June. The seminar explored certain relations between laboratory studies of small groups and field studies of large organizations.

Rupert B. Vance is one of six social scientists appointed to the Sociology Panel for Anthropological and Related Sciences of the National Research Foundation.

John J. Honigmann continued his study of Pakistani culture during the summer at the University of Pennsylvania under a grant from a special fund for the Institutional Exchange of Personnel provided by the Ford Foundation and administered by the University of North Carolina's Institute for Research in Social Science.

Reuben Hill returns in the fall of 1954 after his leave of absence for one year in Puerto Rico, where he directed field work on family size and fertility planning, a project sponsored jointly by the United States Public Health Service and the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of Puerto Rico.

Nicholas J. Demerath, of the department of sociology and anthropology, has been elected a vice-president of the Society for Applied Anthropology.

Cheng K'un Cheng, of the University of Hawaii, and William E. Cole, of the University of Tennessee, were visiting professors in the summer session.

Gerald R. Leslie, visiting professor for 1953–54, returned to Purdue University after teaching in the first summer session.

Northwestern University.—Thomas D. Eliot has become professor emeritus of sociology after thirty-five years of service at the university. During the last semester he has been writing, as well as lecturing at the University of Wisconsin. His recent articles include "Challenges to the Freedom of So-

ciologists," *Social Problems*, January, 1954; "Identification in Bereavement," *Midwest Sociologist*, Spring, 1954; and "Norway's Distribution of Books on Family Problems," *Journal of Documentation*, March, 1954.

University of Notre Dame.—E. K. Francis has been promoted to the rank of professor. Since January, 1953, he has been serving as director of the social science and foreign affairs project at Notre Dame, concerned with some social aspects of higher education and study programs in the social sciences. His book on the Manitoba Mennonites will be published in the near future by the Free Press under the title *In Search of Utopia*.

Pacific Sociological Society.—The *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society* are to be enlarged to include several papers of standard journal length and brief abstracts of additional research reports. While it may be necessary to increase the regular subscription price to pay for the enlargement, the Society is accepting renewals from present subscribers at the old rate of $2.00 for three annual issues.

University of Puerto Rico.—The Social Science Research Center, College of Social Sciences, University of Puerto Rico, has four major projects in operation this year, all of which will continue during the year beginning July, 1954. The financial support of the research is largely derived from the University of Puerto Rico, supplemented by grants from foundations and public agencies.

The Family Life Project, directed by Reuben Hill, on leave from the University of North Carolina, and J. Mayone Stycos, collaborating with Kurt W. Back, research associate, is focused upon quantitative verification of hypotheses about the consequences for human fertility of family patterns and interpersonal relations within the family. This year's study is beneficiary of two years' exploratory work which has illuminated patterns of Puerto Rican family life and provided empirically formulated hypotheses

about family dynamics and human fertility for the second phase of the research. The final phase, projected for the coming year, involves testing the applicability of research findings in a program of education and persuasion with selected couples in controlled experimental groups and is to be conducted collaboratively with Guillermo Arbona and Robert R. King, Jr., of the Department of Preventive Medicine and Public Health of the university's School of Medicine.

The Social Stratification and Mobility Project is being directed by Melvin Tumin, of Princeton University (on leave), with the assistance of Arnold Feldman, a graduate student of Northwestern University. Carlos Albizu Miranda, clinical psychologist at the University of Puerto Rico, is research associate in charge of psychological testing. In addition to the basic financing provided by the university, supplementary research funds have been secured from the Ford Foundation and the National Institute of Health. Under the latter's subsidy a special study of personality and culture in Puerto Rico is being conducted. This consists of an investigation into the readiness of various segments of the population for alternative possibilities in the island's future, especially those now visible in the current industrialization, urbanization, and secularization of life on the island. An area-probability sample of one thousand persons has been interviewed with regard to objective statuses, life-chances, institutional patterns, attitudes, and personality structure.

Intensive interviews are also being conducted, and the analysis of these data will be undertaken during the coming year at Princeton University.

The Manpower Resources Project, under the direction of Lloyd G. Reynolds, with Peter Gregory and Luz Torruellas serving as assistant directors, is a broad survey of manpower problems associated with the accelerated industrialization of Puerto Rico. A survey of personnel practices and work-force problems prevailing in one hundred manufacturing plants has been completed. Intensive plant studies and interviews with one

thousand factory workers will explore patterns of mobility and attitudes toward and adaptability to industrial employment.

The Puerto Rico–United States Economic Relations Project is directed by Walter Isard, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Its purpose is to identify new markets for Puerto Rican industrial products in the New York and Gulf Coast areas. Its method is to forecast the economic expansion of these regions, list and quantify the inputs necessary for this expansion, and, by technological and cost accounting analysis, to determine which of these inputs could be produced in Puerto Rico at a cost advantage, permitting successful competition with other suppliers.

United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders.— The General Assembly of the United Nations provided in 1950 for the convening every five years by the United Nations of a world congress on the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders. The congress is part of a broader structure, calling for the appointment by governments of individual correspondents with the United Nations Secretariat and for the organization of regional conferences, set up by the plan relating to the transfer to the United Nations of the functions of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission. Thus, the congress will continue the work of the congresses previously organized by that Commission, the last of which was held at The Hague in August, 1950. The congress will meet at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, from August 22 to September 3, 1955. There will be three categories of participants: members officially appointed by their governments, observers of specialized agencies and of nongovernmental organizations having working relationships with the United Nations, and individual observers.

The agenda will include the following items: standard minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners, selection and training of personnel, open institutions, prison labor; and juvenile delinquency.

The United Nations Secretariat will give later further information on the organization of the congress and also on the participation of individual observers.

*Vanderbilt University.—*At the request of the Vanderbilt Committee of Educational Inquiry of the Carnegie Foundation, the department of sociology and anthropology is conducting a study of changes in students' values. The research is based on a revision of the 1950 version of the Cornell Values Study questionnaire and is under the direction of Jay Artis.

Emilio Willems is spending the summer in Portugal doing research on the structure of the Portuguese family in relation to the societal class structure. This study is subsidized by grants from Vanderbilt University and the Social Science Research Council.

*University of Washington.—*Sanford M. Dornbusch, assistant professor of sociology, will be on leave during the academic year 1954–55. He will be at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Menlo Park, California, where he will do research in social organization and social psychology.

BOOK REVIEWS

Themes in French Culture: A Preface to a Study of French Community. Edited by Rhoda Métraux and Margaret Mead. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1954. Pp. xi+120. $1.50.

Two recent tendencies of some anthropologists are illustrated in this product of the Columbia University Research in Contemporary Cultures: (1) the study of a complex, literate culture and (2) the use of the research procedures of the clinical psychologist. The purpose is to characterize "certain selected patterns of the culture of France" after interviewing Frenchmen who happened to be in the United States and analyzing certain historical documents, current films, and projective tests. This research "at a distance" was conceived of as preliminary to actual field work in French communities. In so far as this method is accurate, it could be used to study inaccessible cultures, such as those behind the Iron Curtain. This particular monograph claims neither exhaustiveness nor exclusiveness. "It is a study of themes, not necessarily *the* themes, basic not in the sense that they underlie an entire structure, but only in the sense that from them it is possible to derive many other useful propositions about French culture and to construct working models of future French behavior" (p. viii).

It is practically impossible to summarize the conclusions of this series of short, disconnected reports, since nearly every other sentence is an assertion in the form of a generalization about French culture. The generalizations extend even to details. The general thesis of the first and longest section is that the French emphasize the family, more than do Americans, for the formation and security of the personality. All the dyadic relationships in the French family are examined in a modified psychoanalytic framework. Very few concrete data are presented to support the generalizations. Certain important aspects of French family life are ignored; for example, the great extent to which the father lives his social life outside the family and the extent to which the extended family is exploited for social climbing. On the other

hand, there is an effort to explain such apparent contradictions in French life as that between individualism and devoted conformity to French *civilisation*.

The first of the short papers, by Hoyt and Métraux, summarizes the discussions of the Council of State set up by Napoleon in 1801 to formulate laws concerning adoption. The observation is made that the councilors ignored the adoption of orphans and dwelt on the dangers of the transfer of children from one set of parents to another; but the implication of this peculiarity is not made clear.

The second of the short papers, by Wolfenstein and Leites, reports on the "recurrent patterns of plot and character" in some forty French films. There is no statistical treatment but a clearly stated general conclusion: While American films tend to show the just triumph of the hero based on the denial of forbidden wishes, and while classical and Shakespearean tragedy tend to depict the just death of the hero following the acknowledgment of forbidden wishes, the French films emphasize that both deprivations and rewards are equally undeserved and that in real life there is not justice but chance.

The last of the short papers, by Abel, Belo, and Wolfenstein, is an analysis of projective tests given to a small number of French adults and children. The informants were willing to co-operate, but they emphasized that they were not typically French. Some of the findings are that the French are inclined to see a bogeyman (identified as one aspect of the father), that they seek to overcome fear of strangeness and darkness by reducing things to logical simplicity, that they see human movement as static, that objects are put off to an unreasonable distance in time and space, and that they repress aggression.

The task of describing the basic themes of great contemporary culture is important and very difficult. This short book uses some interesting techniques of research. But, by providing such a small ratio of data to generalizations, it adds to ignorance and stereotyped misunderstanding rather than to their reduction. Its

glibness, lack of qualification, and adherence to predetermined hypotheses put it in the same category as the reports of the tourists who spend a week in Paris.

ARNOLD M. ROSE

University of Minnesota

Kultur-Psychologie. By WILLY HELLPACH. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1953. Pp. viii+279. DM. 22.

Professor Hellpach presents this volume as the last in a series of systematic treatises on Social Psychology, *Völkerpsychologie,* Clinical Psychology, Psychology of Religion, *Ethnophysiognomik,* and Geopsychology.

By *Kultur* Hellpach means "the organization of all contents and forms of the life of a human community by orientation to one supreme value (or a set of values)." He uses the term by way of contrast to *Zivilisation,* which designates the scientific and technical achievements of mankind in the control of physical "nature." In this respect Hellpach follows Alfred Weber. The central problem for the psychologist in dealing with culture, according to Hellpach, is to understand how men come to subordinate their way of life to a supreme value. What are the psychic forces or experiences which induce the individual to the severe self-discipline of renouncing other values and drives in favor of one supreme ordering value? In solving this task, *Kultur* must not be reified but must be submitted to psychological analysis. The historians Breysig and Lamprecht are to be followed rather than Spengler or Frobenius.

From the supreme culture values are to be distinguished their concrete manifestations: the culture "goods" and the norms which regulate life in accordance with the supreme values. Value, norm, order, and good are thus the basic concepts indicating the links through which the realization of values is achieved.

The present work deals with the last link of the chain, that is, with goods. Of these, Hellpach distinguishes three major classes on the basis of their relation to ratio or intellect (*Verstand*): irrational, corational, and transrational culture goods. Accordingly, the book is divided into three major parts. Under *irrational goods* are treated those that satisfy drives for food, sex, and association, play and games, and

intoxicants. Here the customs and institutions that have been developed around food, drink, play, etc., are interpreted.

The second part deals with work and technique; state, administration, and related phenomena, which, in an American textbook, would perhaps be found under "social control"; and knowledge and its social functions.

The third part contains chapters on religion and philosophy. The volume concludes with a critical discussion of theories of culture and culture change.

The major thesis of the book is that some kind of order through norms is essential, even in the satisfying of animal drives, in order to free energies for the performance of more human tasks. The general idea is that all cultures are selective in what is tolerated; not tolerated is the pursuit of objectives incompatible with the ultimate values—although, of course, in reality complete harmony is seldom or never obtained.

Hellpach is one of the most versatile scholars of our time, combining medical, psychiatric, and psychological training with comprehensive philosophical, historical, anthropological, and sociological knowledge. In the 1920's Hellpach was actively engaged in politics as a leader and presidential candidate of the German Democratic party. He can therefore draw on a rich store of personal experiences. His lectures, from which this book was developed, must have been extremely interesting, stimulating, and amusing (e.g., his statement of the magical notions underlying the drinking customs of German students). There are, incidentally, many keen observations on American culture, as, for example, the discussion of "friendship" and "comradeship," a gem of historically oriented analysis of social relationships. Commenting that Calvinism was indifferent to the value of friendship, Hellpach observes that present-day Americans do not cultivate intimate personal friendship but practice charitable comradeship to a neighbor in need.

However, it can hardly be claimed that Hellpach has succeeded in answering the basic questions stated at the outset. There is actually very little precise psychological analysis. The question of monotony of industrial work, to take a typical example, is treated on not quite three pages (pp. 113–15) and is brushed aside with a reference to one personal impression. This is characteristic of the book in general. There is a wealth of illustrations but almost no utilization of the enormous mass of recent em-

pirical research. In the section on the state we are led to expect an inquiry into the motivations of legitimization of force; instead, we get an intelligent though not too original discourse on the dysfunctional consequences of excessive expansion of state action. Here, as in many other instances, the Weltanschauung of the author becomes apparent in many value judgments. These should have been more clearly marked.

In the section on law, instead of analyzing the psychic foundations of law-oriented social action and of law enforcement, Hellpach offers suggestions for the reform of criminal procedure and penology. Likewise, what he has to say about knowledge, especially science, as a culture good is wise and well stated but not psychology as the term is usually understood. Nor does Hellpach fulfil his promise to show how people come to accept scientific knowledge —why they, in some cultures more than in others, submit their conduct to the prescriptions of science. The same general criticism applies to the section on religion, which deals more with the nature and cultural functions of religion than with the variety of religious experiences—or the sociopsychology (and pathology) of religious behavior. Nevertheless, this is one of the most interesting parts of the work.

Hellpach develops the thesis that the *creation* of religions as distinguished from mythologies has been a transitory phenomenon in the history of mankind which began about 1500 B.C. and lasted about two thousand years. Religious (i.e., the transworldly) orientation of life lasted another thousand years, to be followed by a culture of secular, inner-worldly orientation, producing, as we all know, political "religions" with their secular eschatologies of the Third Reich or the classless society. These ideas, which are not new, are developed with originality and realistic detachment. Hellpach courageously asserts that even an inner-worldly ethical belief system can serve as basis of a culture.

In the concluding chapter Hellpach criticizes Spengler's morphology of culture and also Toynbee's. While Hellpach is sound in maintaining that culture should be perceived as a work of man, and therefore should not be reified as in Spengler's work, he does not do justice to Toynbee. Moreover, Hellpach's claim for the function of psychology in the study of culture is exaggerated. His own book, while offering very stimulating sociological interpretations of cultural phenomena, leaves much to be desired

in the way of precise psychological or sociopsychological analysis.

RUDOLF HEBERLE

Louisiana State University

Religion, Science and Human Crises: A Study of China in Transition and Its Implications for the West. By FRANCIS L. K. HSU. New York: Grove Press, 1953. Pp. x+142. $3.50.

The popular notion that nonliterate and non-Western peoples differ sharply from those of the modern West because of a predominantly magico-religious rather than a scientific outlook on life is thoroughly exploded in this small but thoughtful volume. Dr. Hsu has clearly shown that the behavior of some Westerners is no less motivated by "magico-religion" than is that of the villagers of "West Town," a pseudonym for a community in Yunnan Province, China, about which his earlier book, *Under the Ancestors' Shadow,* was also written.

While Dr. Hsu believes that to anthropologists the problem of the distinction between magic and religion, as phrased largely by Frazer and Malinowski, is a "dead horse," he does not believe that the same can be said with respect to the distinction between magico-religion and science, particularly as stated by Malinowski more than twenty years ago and still accepted by many social scientists. He sets out to test Malinowski's theory that magic and science are clearly recognized as separate systems in every society and that the former is based largely on "hope" and "desire" while the latter is based largely on "reason" and "experience." This he does by starting with assumptions quite the opposite of those of Malinowski and testing his hypotheses largely with a case study taken from West Town.

In stating his problem, Dr. Hsu sets out to prove that,

if we follow the thought and ways of a culture as expressed through the bearers of the culture, magic and real knowledge are not only intertwined, but may not even be distinguished, so that, for reaching one and the same end, the individual oscillates between one and the other, or resorts to both simultaneously, with the greatest facility and ease of mind. It will be further shown that this lack of discrimination is not something peculiar to the community which we are about to examine [West Town], nor to any non-literate society, but is common to human behaviour in general. It will finally be shown that

man fails to differentiate between magic and science not because he lacks any power of rationality, but because his behaviour in general is dictated by faith developed out of the pattern of his culture. If this pattern is dominated by science, man's behaviour will be science-oriented. If it has magic as a chief ingredient, his behaviour will be magic-oriented. But in either case there is hardly any question of rationality, for a science-oriented people do not always differentiate magic with a pseudo-scientific wrapping from science, just as magic-oriented people often mix real knowledge in their magic. In either instance there can be correct as well as erroneous belief [p. 8].

To document his thesis, Dr. Hsu makes a thorough and very convincing analysis of the reactions of the people of West Town to a cholera epidemic. The conclusions that modern scientific practices are indiscriminately and simultaneously mixed with native magical practices and that new techniques are interpreted in terms of existing cultural patterns are further tested by data from a number of non-literate societies as well as by data from literate Chicago. In the course of this analysis Malinowski's distinctions turn out to be untenable, as do many of our notions about the differences between Western and non-Western societies.

This book is much more than a test of a theory, however. It provides a sound approach to the harassing social problems that have arisen in part as a consequence of the growth of science and technology in the West and to the grave misunderstandings now so prevalent between the East and the West. In a concluding chapter entitled "Whither Mankind," Dr. Hsu points out that the solution to these difficulties lies not in trying to make over the East like the West or the West like the East, as many seem to think, but rather in planning change in terms of sound principles of social science. As he himself concludes, "What man needs today, perhaps more than anything else, is a science to control his society, and the family of societies, and himself" (p. 132). With this point of view most social scientists will be in hearty agreement.

ALLAN R. HOLMBERG
Cornell University

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The Force of Women in Japanese History. By MARY R. BEARD. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1953. Pp. 196. $3.75.

The title implies a tendentious approach. Conventions of history-writing in East Asia, however, have discouraged references to women

other than the fatal charmers who wrecked Chinese dynasties and the paragons of virtue and filial piety who exemplified Confucian precepts. Contemporary research by both Japanese and occidental scholars has disclosed the notable roles of Japanese women prior to the Buddhist-Confucian eclipse of the feminine; consequently, some rewriting of Japanese history is overdue. The goal of mature historical scholarship is an account of all aspects of a society, in which women—and also peasants, artisans, and outcasts—are not pushed off the stage by nobles and warriors. Such an ideal history of Japan or any other nation is yet to be written.

Mrs. Beard fills gaps in conventional histories and provides anecdotes for advocates of expanded roles for women. Her preface indicates the circumstances that produced the book: numerous Japanese authors of both sexes prepared the materials in Tokyo in the fateful years 1935–39 for inclusion in a "monumental encyclopedia of women" to be published in Vienna. Mrs. Beard was intrusted with a duplicate manuscript, and, when the encyclopedia project collapsed, she published the materials with consent of the writers.

Under these circumstances a well-integrated history of Japanese women was out of the question. The various writers (unfortunately not identified) differed in approach, criteria of significance, style, and quality of research. However, all but the final chapters were prepared in the prewar days of thought censorship and Japanese chauvinism; perhaps some of the writers would have done differently today. The result is an uneven work; the early chapters naïvely accept legend, and the final chapters are almost childishly credulous of the accomplishments of MacArthur. Strictly anecdotal in content, the book nevertheless enriches the meager information accessible in occidental languages and imparts life to many a female figure hitherto known only as a vague name in history. The chapters on court ladies and on the Middle Ages are the best. Not a few anecdotes have lost in translation whatever qualities commend them to Japanese minds, and a reader is bound to ask occasionally, "Why include *her?*" Had it been possible for the author-editor to discuss each contribution directly with its original writer, many such questions might have been answered.

The book is marred seriously by careless editing and failure to verify details. Japanese names are spelled indiscriminately according

to three different systems of Romanization—moreover, the same name may appear in two or more different spellings on the same page. Blunders in dates increase the confusion (e.g., p. 191 says that Premier Yoshida accepted the Potsdam Declaration in 1940!). The Genyosha, a notorious secret society of dubious history, is represented as "an ideological revolutionary movement, with international aims. and it aided San-yak-sen [Sun Yat-sen!], a like-minded Chinese group" (p. 133). Similarly, one reads that Miss Tsuneko Akamatsu "had lived for a time in the village of Suiheisha among the Eta (Untouchables)" (p. 186). Here the uninformed editorial hand worked overtime; *Suiheisha* is not a village but is the name under which the Eta for many years conducted their agitation for equality of status. Did the original, perhaps, read, "lived for a time in a Suiheisha village"?

Some misstatements might have been verified from English-language sources. Commodore Perry is reported to have "presented to the Emperor and Empress, each a barrel of whiskey" (p. 123); actually, Perry dealt with the officials of the Shōgun, and it was much later when Townsend Harris clarified the existence of an emperor and empress. On page 95 the Dutch "factory" at Nagasaki receives a gratuitous misexplanation: "Iyeyasu . . . granted to Dutch traders, in 1605, the right to set up a factory in Japan to produce Japanese commodities for commercial intercourse." The significance of *factory* in those days—roughly equivalent to "trading center"—could have been checked from a hundred sources.

The book will interest all students of Japan, although scholars will wish that sources had been cited for specific anecdotes. Probably it will be quoted widely by feminists and by others who accept women as human without indorsing self-conscious feminism. It contains so much of interest that it merited careful editing and verification.

DOUGLAS G. HARING

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Sociology and Philosophy. By ÉMILE DURK-HEIM. Translated by D. F. POCOCK. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953. Pp. xli+97. $2.50.

The present concern with values makes it almost certain that this volume of Durkheim's essays will be welcomed by social theorists. The essays were written between 1898 and 1911. They should be read today in the light of the present tendency of action theorists to use a homeostatic frame of reference in which society is seen as a boundary-maintaining system and values are conceived almost solely in terms of their system-integrative function.

In the first essay, "Individual and Collective Representations," Durkheim attempts to establish the independent reality of collective representations or symbol systems. Society itself is said to be composed of collective representations which arise from social interaction. Because they arise from the interaction of minds rather than from individual minds, collective representations transcend individual representations, are exterior, in part, to the individual mind, and constrain individual action. Further, having emerged from the matrix of interaction, they become independent of their base to a considerable degree.

In the second and third sections of the book Durkheim is primarily concerned with moral ideals and norms as a particular class of collective representations. Obedience to the norms is obligatory, and the state of affairs which they command is desired by the actor. These qualities of obligation and desirability, Durkheim believes, can stem only from the moral superiority and authority of society. Thus moral norms have society as their source and as their end. At this point in the essay society is conceived as the social group, and moral values are said to be dependent upon and to vary with social organization and social structure. Yet shortly thereafter Durkheim returns to his earlier definition of society as consisting primarily of ideas, beliefs, and sentiments which realize themselves in the actions of social participants. At the center of these ideas is the moral ideal which gives society its reason for being. An obvious difficulty arises, since the moral ideal has now become its own end and its own source of authority and desirability.

Durkheim, himself, never solved this problem, but modern action theorists building on his theory of religion have located the source of authority and desirability of moral norms in the belief on the part of actors in the existence of a realm of superempirical entities. Whereas Durkheim believed that the superempirical was simply a symbol of society, modern functionalists treat gods as entities which have reality for the believer and hence can serve as a source of moral authority.

Durkheim's position, however, poses another more serious problem for modern theorists. By placing moral values at the center of

society, Durkheim rejected the concept of society as a simple boundary-maintaining system
and the concept of value as only an integrative
element in it. In the final essay of the book,
"Value Judgments and Judgments of Reality,"
this becomes quite clear. Society is more than
a system of structures and functions maintaining an equilibrium; it is a center of moral life
possessing great strength and independence.
Moral values emerge during periods of collective ferment in which for a while the ideal and
the real become identical. After the ferment recedes, the ideal and the real separate, but moral
values remain as dynamic forces shaping social structure and social actions. In this way
nature arrives at its highest point of development, "concentrating all its forces to surpass
. . . itself."

It is not necessary to accept Durkheim's
theory of the emergence of moral values. It
does, however, seem imperative that we reexamine our homeostatic theories of the social
system in light of his insistence that, although
moral values are social phenomena, social systems are moral phenomena as well.

                                WILLIAM L. KOLB
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*La Vocation actuelle de la sociologie: Vers une
sociologie différentielle.* By GEORGES GUR
VITCH. Paris: Presses Universitaires de
France, 1950. Pp. viii+607. Fr. 1,200 (paper).

Many American sociological readers will
probably find Professor Gurvitch's *La Vocation
actuelle de la sociologie* irritating. The author,
who is professor at the Sorbonne and director
of studies at L'École Pratique des Hautes
Études, was formerly professor at the University of Strasbourg and, for a time during
World War II, director of the French Sociological Institute, École Libre, in New York. He is
known to American sociologists as senior editor
of *Twentieth Century Sociology* (1945).

. The present volume is organized in two
parts of nearly equal length, Part I being an
essay on general sociology, "Toward a Differential Sociology," and Part II a collection of miscellaneous papers devoted to the critical analysis of certain features of the work of some of his
predecessors, especially Durkheim and others

of the Durkheim school, Bergson, and Marx.
These papers have only a slight connection with
the content of Part I.

Though Gurvitch in Part I strongly emphasizes the need for a scientific sociology and
disclaims any right of sociologists to pass on
the ultimate validity of social ideas or values,
this volume contains practically nothing which
American sociologists will regard as the findings of scientific research; Part I is, as stated,
an essay, designed for the better definition of
a sociological point of view, sociological concepts, and fundamental sociological methods.
In it the author has incorporated many suggestive, provocative ideas and has done much
to indicate the logical and empirical interrelationships of the phenomena with which sociologists are concerned and the concepts which
can be used in the study of these phenomena.
The presentation of these suggestive ideas is
not overly clear or systematic. The essay is not
very thoroughly worked out; and it is accordingly difficult to perceive just what the author
intended the interrelationship of some of his
concepts to be.

Gurvitch is very critical of the "interactionist" point of view of certain American sociologists; he regards with great respect the
more collectivist viewpoint of Durkheim (pp.
79-80). He is, on the other hand, quite critical
of some of Durkheim's specific ideas. He rejects, with much reiteration, the antinomy of
the individual and the collective (pp. 88-89)
and seems disposed to substitute for it a conception of the "reciprocity of perspectives"
(pp. 3, 89-90), which is not easy to understand
and which Gurvitch seems nowhere to elucidate
clearly. He makes a great deal of the possibility
of studying social phenomena at various degrees of depth (*profondeur, paliers,* etc.). Apparently his distinction between microsociological types or types of sociability, types of groups
(*groupements*), and types of "global society"
(pp. 8-9, 98, 109 ff.) reflects in some degree
this concept of "levels," though I do not find
it entirely clear that this is admittedly the case.
He submits an elaborate classification of types
of sociability (pp. 110 ff., 120-21) and an almost equally elaborate classification of types
of groups (pp. 293-95). There is no systematic
elaboration of the topic of "global societies,"
perhaps because he holds that this concept
stands for something nearest the concrete and
historical.

His concept of the "We" [*Nous*] looms very

large in all his discussion; apparently for Gurvitch this concept is of the most fundamental sociological importance. His clearest indication of the significance he attaches to the term, as contrasted with the "me," "you," and "he," is found in a parenthesis where he writes "A 'We' (thus, 'we French,' 'we militant syndicalists,' 'we students,' 'we parents') constitutes a whole not reducible to the plurality of its members, a new unity that is not decomposable, in which, however, the whole tends to be immanent in its parts and the parts immanent in the whole" (p. 112).

Gurvitch attempts a number of other conceptual distinctions, such as that between mass, community, and communion (pp. 124 ff.), the relation of which to those mentioned above is not always clear.

In brief, this book is suggestive but difficult. The volume lacks an index, which would have been very helpful in rechecking the use of technical terms in the various passages in which they recur. With all its defects, it probably has considerable potential value to American sociologists as an indication of some of the questions to which they ought to be paying attention.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

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Où va la sociologie française? By ARMAND CUVILLIER. Paris: Librairie Marcel Rivière & Cie, 1953. Pp. vii+208.

We are by now familiar with the uncommon postwar productiveness of our French colleagues. Their activity has been accompanied, inevitably, by those reflex processes so familiar to us: polemical concern with the nature and methods of sociology. Continental breadth and French clarity seem to promise much that is lacking in the interminable American exercises of this sort. This book, however, is disappointing —perhaps its failure to add anything new or significant to the discussion points a moral.

M. Cuvillier seeks to defend what he conceives to be a distinctively French tradition of sociology against foreign intrusion and corruption. The central element in this tradition is the union of theory and fact found in Durkheim. This union, Cuvillier fears, is in imminent danger of being sacrificed, chiefly by those attracted by phenomenology's insistence on the immediacy and concreteness of experience as a point of departure for abstract thought. Cuvil-

lier denounces phenomenology not alone for its subjectivity and vagueness but for its German origins; this last objection is preposterous and worse. American hyperempiricism figures as a secondary object of criticism, and Cuvillier's views on this point are not nearly so violent as those of many Americans.

M. Merleau-Ponty, professor of psychology and philosophy at the Collège de France, and Georges Gurvitch, professor of sociology at the Sorbonne, strike Cuvillier as meriting especial attack. Merleau-Ponty's *Phénoménologie de la perception* is indeed a dark and difficult book, and Gurvitch's *Vocation actuelle de la sociologie* at times carries the making of theoretical distinctions beyond contact with social reality. But the phenomenological insistence on the concrete and immediate can contribute (if only indirectly) to a new humanization of sociology in a period when it has become another instrument of bureaucratization. And some of Gurvitch's distinctions represent an interesting attempt to deal with a fundamental problem— the unity of the social system—in a bold and critical way.

Cuvillier's own prescriptions for sociology seem curiously familiar and flat. We know that theory and research are indispensable supplements of each other and that an ahistorical sociology ultimately defeats itself. But what we need is not another book on methodology to say so but just more sociology—in the form of major attempts to analyze major social situations. Work for work, French sociology in this regard is going in the right direction, stimulated not alone by its own tradition as defined so narrowly by Cuvillier but by those classical figures who dominate us all—Marx and Weber.

The book contains as an appendix a little-known essay on "La Sociologie et son domain scientifique" by Durkheim, valuable for the explicitness with which it attacks a range of problems critical to Durkheim's thought.

NORMAN BIRNBAUM

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Problems in Social Psychology: An Interdisciplinary Inquiry. Edited by J. E. HULETT, JR., and ROSS STAGNER. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1952. Pp. viii+271. $2.50.

The remarkable thing about this book, considering the range of talent assembled, is that

it is so unrewarding. It is the papers and pro-
ceedings of the Allerton Conference on Social
Psychology, held in December, 1950, under the
auspices of the University of Illinois. The con-
tributors include anthropologists, psychologists,
and sociologists; and the great majority of them
are well known in and across fields, e.g., R. B.
Cattell, S. A. Stouffer, R. N. Sanford, M. E.
Opler.

The following four problems were the focus
for discussion, with four papers presented in
each area: family impact upon personality,
intergroup processes in the community, leader-
ship and morale, and dynamics of culture pat-
terns. There are, in addition, papers by Theo-
dore Newcomb and Kimball Young on the
training of the social psychologist; as well as
introductory and summary remarks by the
editors and others of the University of Illinois
at appropriate places throughout. Extracts are
also presented from the stenotyped record of
discussion following the papers, though these
excerpts are, perhaps by necessity, generally
brief and spotty.

The reasons for dissatisfaction with the out-
come of all are, in the first place, that some of
the papers are much too brief to do an adequate
job, as in the case of Stouffer's four pages on
role conflicts, while others have appeared in
better shape elsewhere, e.g., Deutsch's paper on
interracial housing, and the paper on leadership
by Gerth and Mills, which is available in revised
form in *Character and Social Structure*. Second,
in spite of efforts to integrate the contributions,
they remain essentially isolated and disparate,
held together only by the broad topic. But the
most important defect is that the book, and pre-
sumably the conference, remains hortatory.
There are the usual pleas for clearer and more
integrative conceptualization as between the
several disciplines; the presently popular in-
vocation of "role" as a concept useful in bridg-
ing the gap between the language of personality
and the language of social order, but without
much analysis of the role concept itself; fairly
constant commitment to interdisciplinary in-
quiry with little specification beyond the fact
that it brings together persons identified with
varying disciplines and involves different "lev-
els of analysis"; and, finally, the standard argu-
ments about quantification.

In sum, though there are some worth-while
papers and moments of intrigue in the discus-
sions, the book does not offer a creative review

of the problems in social psychology, a weakness
which may be inherent in conference procedure
in general.

MELVIN SEEMAN
Ohio State University

Motivation and Morale in Industry. By MORRIS
S. VITELES. New York: W. W. Norton &
Co., 1953. Pp. xvi+510. $9.50.

This work, no doubt, will become the stand-
ard reference in industrial psychology and
sociology and might even presage the emergence
of an industrial social psychology. Certainly no
other work exists to date that surpasses Viteles'
coverage of such an indescribably wide range of
substantive and theoretical reports. In one com-
pact volume can be found the most important,
as well as some of the lesser-known studies, both
British and American, that pertain to the prob-
lems traditionally and currently tackled by in-
dustrial social psychologists. Many of the chap-
ters have over 100 references—one as many as
162—the average is about 70! Such figures sug-
gest an unimaginable work-load for the author,
who is one of the deans of the field, long asso-
ciated with the psychology department of the
University of Pennsylvania, and now the direc-
tor of personnel research and training for the
Philadelphia Electric Company.

The extensive material is divided into the
following parts: "Mobilizing the Will-To-
Work," "The Background of Motivational
Theory," "Experimental Studies," "Employee-
Attitude Surveys," and "Guideposts for Man-
agement." The second part contains a chapter
on the contribution of social psychology to the
study of industrial motivation and morale, in
which the reader is referred to Durkheim,
Thomas, Cooley, and even G. H. Mead—a
pleasant surprise for those industrial sociolo-
gists who have had their general training in this
tradition. In the same chapter, along with a
clearly written exposition of the frustration-
aggression hypothesis, there is a due regard for
the industrial implications of social perception,
social norms, status and role, and class-con-
sciousness in the broader society. Another chap-
ter is devoted to field theory and group-dynam-
ics research into industry's problems and the
accomplishments of the Tavistock Institute of
Human Relations in England and the Research
Center for Group Dynamics at the University
of Michigan. Viteles is no mere collator of find-

ings or narrator of theories, however. He rather charitably points out that "it is *not* always apparent that the results achieved by investigators employing field theoretical contexts can be accounted for *only* by reference to field-theory constructs." As he himself points out, by quoting Tolman at the end of the chapter on field theory, his book is written on the assumption that no "single theory represents the 'one bright hope in an otherwise desperate social picture.' "

Of particular interest is Viteles' careful evaluation of much of the original Hawthorne "experiments." While stating their properly significant contributions, he declares that, contrary to the conclusions arrived at by Roethlisberger, Dickson, and Mayo, the "experiments do *not* demonstrate that rest pauses and wages are without value as incentives to production. Furthermore, they do *not* justify the firm conclusion that these (or other conditions) fail to exercise independent effects upon the individual." Elsewhere, he points out that the Harvard group has neglected "other conditions which need to be examined objectively in evaluating the significance of the financial incentive itself as a stimulus to response in the way of attitudes and behavior" (p. 191). And further on (p. 200), Viteles suggests that perhaps the particular Hawthorne wage incentive plan itself and the way in which it was administered, rather than wage incentives *per se*, were incapable of eliciting optimal motivation for increased production—a possibility which "receives scant consideration by the *rapporteurs* of the Hawthorne study."

In the chapter on methods and guiding principles Viteles lists the various methods employed in the field, direct and indirect; but, what is really important, he discusses the problems in the *evaluation* of the data collected by these methods, in particular, having to do with errors of inference: overgeneralization, oversimplification, neglect of the industrial and social background, professional and personal biases. This discussion appears to be influenced by Kornhauser's writings on the errors of industrial psychologists.

Other chapters that should be mentioned are the much-needed one on the assessment of morale, containing a stimulating discussion of the differences of opinion concerning that most ephemeral of intangibles; and another on attitudes toward the union.

Viteles tends to discard his critical abilities in the last section of the book, for example, in the chapter entitled "Moulding and Modifying Employee Attitudes." Here he reports a study showing effects of a company course in economics, in which workers are classified according to degrees of informedness as shown by a test covering such economic "principles" as: "Government control over production destroys free enterprise"; "Highest pay should go to those who produce the most"; etc. Agreement with such "principles" apparently indicates high informedness, or "economic literacy." The table on page 425 gives the impression that pro-union attitudes are positively correlated with economic ignorance or nonliteracy.

Exception also might be taken to the definition of industry's core problem as "mobilizing the will-to-work" (the title of the first chapter), i.e., higher productivity. The zeal of the industrial social psychologists to sell their product is carried on without due regard for the historical fact that significant increases in production and productivity have taken place primarily as a result of improvements in technology and very little as a result of the manipulation of the workers' morale, job satisfaction, etc. The core problem as defined by Viteles should be discussed within the context of such trends as those described by Kuznets and Raymond in their 1952 volume on *Income and Wealth in the United States*.

The author has brought together here a well-organized presentation of and commentaries on a highly disorganized field of inquiry.

HAROLD L. SHEPPARD

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Parent and Child: Studies in Family Behavior. By JAMES H. S. BOSSARD. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953. Pp. 308. $5.00.

Bossard has assembled his articles published in scientific journals and provided them with several chapters of introduction and interpretation, thus producing this excellent volume on the family. He deals with the family as a social group and examines the behavior of its members in a variety of situations within the home. Some chapters, for example, his studies of small and large family systems and of modern rites of passage, will be already familiar, but, read together in this book, they provide a stimulating and surprisingly unified account of behavior in different family situations.

Bossard usually employs the case method in his research. This invests his articles, particularly notable in this book, with a considerable factual content, which accords with his assertion in chapter i that the minutiae of experience is indispensable to a scientific understanding of the family. He analyzes these data ably and is highly imaginative in his insights into family living. He reports his findings in the clear, precise manner distinctive of him.

While these are large accomplishments, their effect upon the readers of this book is also to emphasize the further need for theoretical as well as empirical generalizations concerning the family. Bossard himself provides an example of such theory in his chapter entitled "A Spatial Index for Family Interaction," but the case method is better suited to suggesting hypotheses than to testing them. It is to be much desired that students of the small group, who currently multiply in number and in skills of research, will study the family as much as *ad hoc* groups in their investigations and pursue some of the generalizations with which this book is replete.

In addition to his specific conclusions in each chapter, Bossard expresses his opinion on a number of issues in family sociology. He disclaims the desirability of excessive preoccupation with methodology in family research and with projective tests when they are used as short cuts to hasty conclusions. Crucial social learning, he believes, occurs throughout an individual's life and is not limited to his early childhood years. Children are most strongly influenced by parents, he asserts somewhat paradoxically, not in their early years but rather when as married adults they have reached the ages at which their parents were when they were growing up. Finally, he suggests that a highly useful way to organize family research would be to determine optimum levels of performance in various family relations and situations.

JOHN SIRJAMAKI

University of Minnesota

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Comparative Survey on Juvenile Delinquency, Part I: *North America*. Prepared by PAUL W. TAPPAN for the United Nations. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. Pp. vii+ 132. $1.00.

This comparative appraisal of existing practices in the treatment of juvenile delinquents in

North America is one of five regional reports prepared by the Department of Social Affairs of the United Nations. The others deal with Asia and the Far East, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East.

Professor Tappan has limited his discussion here to practices in the United States and Canada. The volume is not a complete survey of the field. As an appraisal of the institutions set up to deal with the delinquent, however, it is an excellent piece of work. He discusses first the problems inherent in the use of the concept "juvenile delinquent" and then analyzes penetratingly the historical evolution and present status of institutions for young offenders, the character of the courts which have jurisdiction over them, and the methods and problems of treatment. In addition, as a student of both sociology and law, he comments on many aspects of the trends and conditions in modern life which may be related either to the incidence of delinquency or to the problems of prevention or treatment. Many of these comments reflect real insight.

Of special interest is the discussion of how, in the juvenile court, the union of elements in the child welfare movement with certain legal concepts have resulted in court procedures which do not protect the legal rights of the child. Professor Tappan points out that in many courts in the United States, in contrast with courts in the Canadian provinces where proof of wrongdoing is a major function of the court hearing, due process has been abandoned and the child is treated as if he had committed an offense without the fact having been established. The consequent disregard of rights is especially apparent when there is unofficial treatment by the court without adjudication. The discussion lies in the fact that it brings out sharply how the question of the meaning of the court experience to the child has been ignored, how important rights may be lost through good intentions, and finally how new problems are created when attempts are made to integrate nonharmonious sets of assumptions within the same institution.

A report of this type, in which attention is focused primarily on the institutional machinery set up to deal with juvenile offenders, unwittingly gives support to the loophole theory of crime. Implicit is the assumption that the difficulty lies in the official machinery, whereas, as Professor Tappan attempts to say, neither the official nor the unofficial machinery, even

wheń working perfectly, deals drastically with the conditions of social life out of which delinquency develops.

Professor Tappan brings out clearly that the highly individualized, clinically oriented emphasis on prevention and correction in the United States today fails to take into account the group in which the offender "is a participating and reactive member." Yet because of its institutional orientation one can study this volume carefully without learning that the delinquency problem of today, at least in large cities, is basically a group problem and that as yet no institutions have devised effective methods of redirecting or controlling the groups.

In the final chapter Professor Tappan quotes in full the statement of policy and principles that was formulated at the Berkshire International Forum in June, 1951.

HENRY D. McKAY

Illinois Institute for
Juvenile Research

Philanthropy's Role in Civilization: Its Contribution to Human Freedom. By ARNAUD C. MARTS. New York: Harper & Bros., 1953. Pp. xvi+206. $3.00.

This little book will be welcome to students of social movements. Mr. Marts, son of a Congregationalist minister, once president of Bucknell University, has since 1926 been head of a firm, one of the earliest and most successful philanthropic fund-raising organizations, which, during his time, has raised some $600,000,000 for more than 1,000 charitable agencies.

In spite of this vested interest in the future of private philanthropy, his book cannot be looked on as mere advertising, nor is his outlook on philanthropy hypocritical. To him philanthropy is an essential bulwark of "the American way of life" and a great crusade. He is the personification of Riesman's inner-directed man—or the prophet of the "popular" stage of a vigorous social movement. The value of his book to the student lies in his neat tracing of the phenomenal spread of the philanthropic pattern since the opening of this century and in his fervent, almost evangelical belief in philanthropy.

His stated purpose is to show that there must be voluntary philanthropic effort if our democratic society is to be preserved. His book

begins with a description of the forms voluntary philanthropy have taken in America, then pauses for a moment·to ask the all-important question: "Why do men give?" This complicated matter is easily answered by Mr. Marts. He believes deeply that man is an altruistic animal and that religious training and teaching is still responsible for 90 per cent of the motivation.

He then moves on to the problems of raising philanthropic funds. Here he gives us a telling glimpse of the rationale of a new occupational group—the professional money-raiser—striving to rise from being a "professional beggar" to fully accepted professional status. The rest of the book deals with the effect of high taxes on giving and trends and the future of philanthropy.

It is, of course, not hard for the social scientist to criticize Mr. Mart's conclusions: his unusually naïve outlook on human motivation and behavior ("love of mankind" is a "deep permanent instinct") and his confusion of cause with effect (the growth of philanthropic activity is due to new techniques of fund-raising, the increased wealth of Americans, and the new profession of fund-raisers).

Mr. Marts introduces anecdotes and quotations so easily throughout his book that one can almost hear them being orated in ringing phrases from the public platform. These stories give insight into collective behavior.

This book documents a new social movement and will be a useful aid to the study of the intricate part it plays in the social structure.

AILEEN D. ROSS

McGill University

Essays on Contemporary Quebec. Edited by JEAN-C. FALARDEAU. Quebec: Laval University Press, 1953. Pp. 257.

The relation of industrial change to character and to culture is the subject of numerous studies, while the conditions and results of urbanization have provided topics of research in the social sciences for decades. The two linked processes, industrialization and urbanization in the province of Quebec, form the subject of discussion in this volume, with major emphasis on the former. Their concomitants in Quebec are somewhat outside the range which is common in Africa, Oceania, and Asia, where the

two processes are also continually the subject of concern today, in that in Quebec a tightly knit society consciously opposes what it conceives to be the effects of their operation.

The editor of this volume, Jean-C. Falardeau, chairman of the department of sociology at Laval University, has brought together the papers given at a symposium held there in 1952. The contributors include social scientists who have undertaken studies in this region and leading figures in the national civil service and in the provincial educational administration. In many ways the volume is a tribute to two men who have played key roles in building the social sciences in Quebec, Dean Georges-H. Levesque and Professor Everett C. Hughes.

The papers, with commentaries, are highly informative on Quebec culture and its changes and are a major addition to regional studies. Beyond this, some are models of their kind, and, while it is unjust to select any one of them for special mention, as an example, Keyfitz's "Population Problems" stands out as one of the clearest and best expositions of the demographer's work to be found anywhere.

The editor restates the proposition that every study of Quebec is a study of contrasts and indicates that within this volume these contrasts are occasionally illustrated by divergent opinions and antithetical conclusions. This is inevitable, as every chairman or editor of a symposium or joint study knows. Some degree of difference can even be claimed to have a positive value, the various approaches to the truth defining it like tangents. Furthermore, good writing always gives witness to the author's own values, which are another source of divergence in conclusion. In this fashion, for the reader not well informed on contemporary Quebec, some of the contributions make a valuable introduction to the premises of its thought. These premises emerge in several chapters, including that on the school system, which is also a noteworthy contribution to the literature of comparative education. In Quebec set curriculums with a classical orientation are the rule for the French-speaking section of the province, and the interaction of this educational system with the twentieth-century pressures and changes forces reappraisal and readjustment.

In relation to this reappraisal, some interesting conflicts in social thought are presented and in a few instances are typified in the papers. The religion-oriented school aims in part at combating the materialism that is held to go

with industrialization and Americanization, but the minor role played by Quebec in the industrial progress of the twentieth century is widely deplored; and it is held that the school should adjust so as to enlarge Quebec's share. Furthermore, part of this adjustment of the school system is a proliferation of elementary trade schools, a materialist measure that would not be accepted by any contemporary group of American parents.

This leads to the proposition that the use of broad national comparisons, as employed in several of the papers, are likely to be stultifying rather than enlightening. In the hands of Falardeau such a comparison can provide standards for objective evaluation. At times, however, in this volume such comparison seems to result in confusion and error, as when the United States and its "materialism" is given a grossly caricatured quality and when its social thought is illustrated by two statements culled from the utterances of John D. Rockefeller and Calvin Coolidge that would be surprising, even shocking, to most Americans.

Yet the dilemmas which are posed by national mythologies may often be dispelled by a re-examination of the myth, as undertaken here by Falardeau and by Hughes. Their conclusions are that Quebec's social and economic changes do not necessarily present great obstacles for the French-Canadian, nor are they surmountable only by the sacrifice of his culture. This accords with the universal experience of other Canadians who now meet growing numbers of artists, writers, technicians, and civil servants from Quebec, people who have gained the necessary mobility, have joined new skills to their talents, and yet retained their language, beliefs, and character. Hughes indicates, however, the likelihood that a small society needs to make a special adaptation to industrialization in order to survive but adds the optimistic note that the Benjamins of the industrial world need not repeat all the errors of their elders. For his part, Falardeau thinks that even the traditional Quebec culture should not be regarded as unutterably opposed to industrialization. The nineteenth-century statement of the industrial process and relationship as origin and determinant of social values and institutions has been found inadequate, and Quebec values, character, and belief might attain a relationship to the modern industrial world which will make coexistence possible.

All in all, the volume is a model of the use-

ful thinking a carefully managed symposium can produce. In the modest accompanying notes the editor does not give the warning which emulators might well heed of the massive amount of work which its arrangement involved.

The book is pleasantly arranged and readable. The papers are in the language in which they were presented in the symposium, the greater part of them being in English. A minor annoyance are the typographical errors, which are rather numerous in both languages.

H. B. HAWTHORN

University of British Columbia

Professional People in England. By ROY LEWIS and ANGUS MAUDE. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953. Pp. viii+ 284. $4.00.

The writers of this book have investigated a number of specialized publications little known outside the professional circles and have unearthed many interesting facts. Their work is not so thorough and not so systematized as the English classic by Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933), but it brings the subject up to date.

The writers start out not to test the impact of postwar *étatisme* on the professions but to prove that it has done harm. Being products of a refined environment, they are quick to see the faults of the new society and entirely oblivious to the faults of the old, which the new, however clumsily, attempted to improve. It is difficult to find precisely defined what the writers view with alarm, but, broadly speaking, they are disturbed by three things: the extensions of the government interest in professionals and a tendency to convert them from free-lance practitioners to civil servants; an increase of practitioners in established professions, which is alleged to contribute to the lowering of standards; and, finally, the tendency of many occupations hitherto not recognized as professions to aspire to professional organization and status.

In the first case, Lewis and Maude deplore the conversion of a large proportion of free-lance practitioners into salaried professional workers of the welfare state. They consider the latter "experts untroubled by conscience, interested only in getting things done" (p. 264). Since the body of private practitioners, they say, "sets the tone of professional life" (p. 262), their reduction in number will hinder the passing-on of standards (p. 265). But impartial observers would find it difficult to distinguish clearly between free-lance and salaried professions and even more so to ascribe a superior tradition to one. Thus, free-lance doctors hold salaried posts as coroners and consultants, free-lance barristers become salaried judges, and salaried military men turn to free-lance occupations upon retirement. Nor is it true that men in private practice possess superior tradition: college teachers consider it unprofessional to be "in private practice." The armed forces or the civil service have no private practitioners, but even the authors admit their very high professional standards. On the other hand, free-lance professions are not always above reproach. The bodies that opposed, say, Louis Pasteur, may well deserve the epithet of the "most vicious opponents of social progress" which the authors quote, but deny, on page 65. It seems unlikely that in England, where reverence for tradition pervades all classes of society, the shallow bureaucrat will replace the professional expert civil servant.

In the second instance the writers deplore the influx of a great number of *homines novi* into the established professions and seem disturbed by the social, educational, and financial consequences. They hint that the newcomers lessen the prestige of the old professions and cheapen the word "profession" itself (p. 8). They argue that second-rate brains should not be allowed to pass as the equals of first-rate brains (p. 218). Financially, the competition of large numbers lowers the rate of remuneration and focuses attention on "what we get" rather than on "what we give."

By resenting the inevitable trends which widen access to professions, the authors have ignored the historically established machinery for absorbing social newcomers in England. No doubt, the latter will succumb, as they have in the past, to the education and polish of the world within which their mobility has brought them. It is neither right nor possible in an industrial society to perpetuate professional prestige by restricting the number of practitioners. The educational argument is even more misleading. That men should be placed on the social scale according to ability is a feature of the new society which the writers deplore. But wider access to professions may, in fact, improve them through talent drawn from the classes hitherto untapped by higher education.

As to the financial objections: clearly the

character and scope of professional work is so rewarding that many would pursue it regardless of remuneration. And the problem of inadequate incomes is not restricted to professions but plagues the majority of occupations.

The writers exhibit the greatest apprehension when discussing the tendency of several occupations hitherto not classified as professions to adopt outward badges of such. The professions are defined as a vehicle of Christian ideals of "self-examining integrity and self-forgetful service" (p. 1). The writers admit that this code is more honored "in breach than the observance" (p. 71), but, even if not, they would deny it to hitherto nonprofessional occupations either because they are "callings with no recognizable body of tradition" (p. 10) or because they deem professionalism to be inconsistent with the "quality of enterprize" of the commercial callings.

But tradition is often created by a previous professional organization. Neither the apothecaries of 1815 nor the civil service of 1854 possessed the prestige of professional rank which they now enjoy. Their traditions grew from their organization as professional and examining bodies. Nor can commercial callings be arbitrarily debarred from professional status. Ancient guilds such as the glovers or the goldsmiths boast a venerable professional tradition. Professions such as stockbrokers and real estate agents perform in a clearly commercial fashion. Cannot a man who sells coal acquire a sense of belonging to a vocation and of serving the community?

On page 83, though in undertones, we come to grips with the real problem which disturbs them. "If the rich old lady of 93 can be saved by an expensive operation or by expensive drugs then the lives of all poor ladies suffering from the same complaint must be saved. . . . And who, asks the benevolent reader, is to say that this should not be so? *Not we, at any rate—or at least not here.*" (Italics mine.) Specimens of such sarcasm can be found in several places. On page 94 the writers discuss the attempts to widen the recruitment of officers to the Royal Navy. The democratization of this process, they claim, means a steady loss of naval men with private means. "A type of man very conscious of his pay" is attracted to the service. This prompts the writers to display some remarkable opinions. "The difficulty of handling a situation in which men may not be able to afford to hoist their flag would no doubt be overcome by a left-wing administration through arrangements for the British Council, rather than the British Navy, to sustain the nation's prestige abroad." We submit that jingo nostalgia is inadequate equipment for a dispassionate sociological study of the professional field.

GEORGE Z. F. BEREDAY

Boston College

Spanish Speaking Groups in the United States. By JOHN H. BURMA. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1954. Pp. ix+214. $4.00.

This is a timely volume, bringing together the significant materials on the various Spanish-speaking peoples of the United States, whose current increase as a segment of the national population makes them of increasing sociological importance. Professor Burma has covered the subject of the native Spanish-Americans of the Southwest, the recent Mexican immigrants, the Filipinos, and the Puerto Ricans.

The justification for studying such diverse peoples together is the unity of their language and the basic cultural elements in which their linguistic affinities are rooted. But much more could be made of this unifying strain to produce a book that would have both wider appeal and more lasting value in the general field of cultural relations.

As it is, the book emphasizes rather the common social problems, such as discriminatory practices, poverty, and relatively low educational attainment, in the welter of which the Spanish-speaking peoples largely lose their special character. In the portion of the book which deals with New Mexico and immediately bordering areas the picture presented is largely static and misses the current rapid trends. Burma has placed heavy reliance on materials published in the thirties and early forties, even in his use of statistics. There is much in native Hispanic culture that moves slowly, but it has shown remarkable adaptability under recent stimuli and pressures.

PAUL WALTER, JR.

University of New Mexico

The Telegraphers: Their Craft and Their Unions. By VIDKUNN ULRIKSSON. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1953. Pp. v+218. $3.75.

The author in writing an extremely interesting and scholarly volume on the history of the

telegraphic industry and the various attempts of telegraphers to organize into unions of their own choosing has produced one of the better books on the history of unionism in this country. This study covers almost a hundred years of the struggles and hardships, the successes and failures, of a group of workers representing a highly skilled craft in its early history, to organize a stable union organization that would survive crisis and the opposition of antiunion employers. One could generalize upon the basis of this treatment of a particular industry and gain considerable insight into the type of problems faced by other unions in the American labor movement.

The telegraphers conceived of their craft as a profession, and many of the obstacles experienced by the union in developing an effective organization were created out of attitudes usually attributed to white-collar workers generally and to professional workers in particular.

Dr. Ulriksson describes a number of disastrous strikes in the telegraphic industry which virtually put an end to the efforts to achieve some stability in union organization. The experience reveals the difficulties of organizing a union by calling a strike. Each strike is carefully analyzed, and the author thoroughly documents the various factors which led to failure after failure in establishing an effective union. The courts, the technique of blacklisting, yellow-dog contracts, the antiunion bias of the government, and the monopoly position of Western Union all contributed to the failure to organize an effective union. This volume also has a very good description of jurisdictional disputes and rivalries within the union, and between unions, which played an important part in the history of unionization in this industry and in the labor movement.

The first successful union of any kind was a company union which grew out of the paternalistic behavior of Western Union during the first World War. Only as a result of a favorable governmental climate instituted by the New Deal did the telegraphers achieve their greatest success in building their union, yet this occurred only after the National Labor Relations Board ruled, in 1939, that the existing union was company-dominated and must be disbanded.

The expedient philosophy of the American labor movement was revealed when telegraphers supported William Randolph Hearst for mayor of New York City on the strength of his rela-

tions with the union and the fact that the Hearst papers in that city were paying telegraphers, under a five-year contract, a wage scale that was reputed to be the "highest in the world." The presentation of incidents of this type gives dramatic impact to the telling of this story and also adds to the value of this volume for any reader interested in the industrial history of our country. For those readers interested in the sociology of occupations, the author devotes his last chapter to a discussion of the telegraphers' fraternity. There is also a discussion of technological changes in the industry which have transformed it from a highly skilled to a semiskilled occupation.

To anyone interested in gaining further insight into the industrial history of our country over the last hundred years this volume is recommended.

JACK LONDON

University of California
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The Uneducated. By ELI GINZBERG and DOUGLAS W. BRAY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1953. Pp. xxv+246. $4.50.

This book, the first publication of Columbia University's Conservation of Human Resources Project, is a timely piece of action research. It shows how far the system of American public education in some states and areas has fallen short of meeting John Milton's definition of an education as "that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war."

The authors assume that the mental screening done by the armed services during World War II was "mainly a mesaure of educational deprivation." Seventy-two per cent of the deprived were citizens of the southeastern and southwestern states. Rejection rates in those states were 202 and 107, respectively, per thousand registrants among Negro males, and 52 and 54 per thousand registrants among white males. Total rejection rates per thousand registrants in those two groups of states were 97 and 60, respectively, compared with 17 for the New England, 15 for the Middle Atlantic, and 14 for the Central states. Poverty of education in the United States is thus shown to be highly correlated with economic poverty—and, one

might well add, the fiction of the doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities. It is with such salient, well-known, and oft-documented facts as these that Part I, "Education and Society," is packed.

In Part II, "Military and Civilian Performance," the authors present a body of material concerning the ability of the uneducated and poorly educated to perform certain kinds of military tasks, once they had been given the opportunity to acquire basic literacy.

The armed services established special training units for three hundred thousand men who had been rejected on the ground of illiteracy. Of these, 85 per cent were graduated and entered the main stream of Army activity. "Those in authority" in the Army judged they performed "poorly." It was, in part, to test this judgment that an exhaustive study was made of a sample of 400: one-half white and one-half Negro males. Of this sample, 257 "repaid the investment of training at least to the extent of performing well enough for the Army to keep them until demobilization or until they volunteered and were accepted for re-enlistment" (p. 87). Thus, in so far as this sample was reliable, the Army's judgment proved to be impressionistic and unreliable.

Part II also reports an attempt to get the broad general picture rather than detailed reliable findings of the role of the uneducated in southern industry. The textile industry was heavily represented, although data were also secured from the metal products, petroleum, explosives, paper, steel, aluminum, and chemical industries. The focal interest was "the extent to which industrialists in the South give consideration to educational facilities in locating their plants" (p. 144). One of the most revealing statements is that, "when public education was in an early stage of development, progressive textile manufacturers frequently subsidized the local school," whereas "today . . . they want to be sure that they do not place themselves at a competitive disadvantage in attracting and holding workers who value a good education for their children" (p. 145).

The rapid expansion of southern industry has not opened up employment opportunities for the masses of the uneducated. It has not brought about the hiring of Negroes as machine operators or in other types of industrial employment. It is clear that "the expansion of the Southern industrial system, particularly at the lower level, has outdistanced the economic ad-

vance of the South" (p. 164). This helps to explain why the South has the highest internal migration of any region in the country, likewise the largest out-migration, Negroes constituting a disproportionate number of these migrants.

The policy recommendations in Part III, "Human Resources Policy," are these: (1) that the armed services revise their present mental tests in order to accept a larger number of uneducated who, through special schooling, can become good soldiers and (2) that the federal government help the poorer states in raising the general level of education rather than trying merely to attack illiteracy in a separate and detached way.

This study goes far beyond the problem of the relation between illiteracy and national security. It is an able and valuable documentation of the role which social science inquiry may make to the Good Society. Federal and state lawmakers, as well as scholars, may well ponder the wisdom of both its methods and its findings.

EARL S. JOHNSON

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Unity and Diversity in European Labor: An Introduction to Contemporary Labor Movements. By ADOLF STURMTHAL. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953. Pp. 237. $3.75.

Since the end of World War II, labor movements of Central and Western Europe have become major centers of attention in the developing struggle between East and West. Indeed, the industrial workers of continental Europe may yet prove to be the decisive social group in the determination of the outcome of this struggle. Accordingly, for students of industrial society an understanding of the traditions and aspirations of the labor organizations of Europe is vital. Professor Sturmthal has concisely presented here the essential facts that will make them comprehensible.

The central thesis is that the European worker, unlike his American counterpart, has accepted a social philosophy based upon the existence of and the conflict between clearly identified social classes. Class consciousness developed historically under feudalism, which yielded to an enlightened absolutism. The continental European, worker and intellectual alike, became convinced that political power was the essential instrument of the fundamental social transformation he desired.

Though the tempo of this development and its precise forms were different in various countries of Europe, all major labor unions of Europe are exponents of a distinct ideology representing a political philosophy. To this extent, European trade-unionism is political unionism: the labor movements of Europe are closely allied with political parties, except perhaps in France. But even in France the syndicalist tradition of the French workers has broken down since the war, so that the leading trade-union federation, the Communist-dominated CGT, is supported by the largest segment of French labor. Though the CGT is not formally tied to the Communist party, many of the federation's leaders are dignitaries of it. Likewise the CGT-FO—Force Ouvrière—has its parallel in the political life of the French Socialist movement.

In abbreviated form the volume explains the historical background of the major European unions in their relationship to political movements. Similarities and differences as between the Austrian and German movements, on the one hand, and the Italian and French, on the other, are discussed as well as differences between these and the British and Scandinavian movements. The long and involved debates between various intellectual currents in European labor are presented in short and easily readable fashion. Attention is given to collective-bargaining practices and the role of the unions in nationalized enterprises. The volume concludes with a modified and abbreviated version of the author's earlier critical comments on Perlman's *Theory of the Labor Movement*.

Because of its concise form, the volume is not suitable as a text in comparative labor movements. However, it should prove to be a valuable collateral reading for all students of social and political movements and particularly for students of industrial relations.

BERNARD KARSH

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The Child Audience: A Report on Press, Film and Radio for Children. By PHILIPPE BAUCHARD. Paris: UNESCO, 1952. Pp. 198. $2.00.

This volume by a professor in France is one of a series of UNESCO reports on "Press, Film and Radio in the World Today." The author discusses such problems as the content, organization, and reactions of children to the given media and the legislation and pressure-group activities in twelve countries representing "different civilizations"—Belgium, France, German Federal Republic, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States, and Uruguay. The governments and "experts," generally unnamed, in these countries have supplied Professor Bauchard with his data.

The primary value of this study to the sociologist is that it indicates the universality of problems which we may think of as uniquely our own. Thus in the report we see the well-nigh universal appeal of such themes as Superman, the western, science-fiction, and detective stories and likewise the prevailing belief of educators, parents, and legislators that these themes, and the manner in which they are presented, are harmful to children. As yet none of the nations discussed has satisfactorily resolved the problems.

In this study the author assumes that the messages of the media of mass communication are unambiguous and that children are rather easily and directly influenced by the stereotypes, violence, lack of accuracy and realism, and generally "low quality" of these media. Unfortunately for the thesis of the author, his rather strong judgments are without support from scientific data. In actuality, our knowledge of the way in which these media influence children is very meager.

FREDERICK ELKIN

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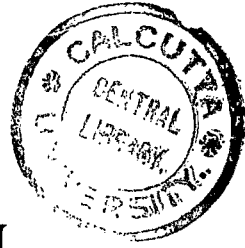
THE AMERICAN
JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

"STRIKE-PRONENESS" AND ITS DETERMINANTS*

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ABSTRACT

Strikes are not an invariable symptom of unrest and are probably connected with other manifestations. The propensity to strike varies considerably for workers in different regions and industries, being strongest in homogeneous and isolated communities. Over time, the incidence of strikes is affected by the trade cycle as well as by political and social changes. In this century British strikes have become more frequent but less severe: with increased union strength, they have been acquiring a new character and significance. The expressed causes of strikes have also altered, but these are probably a poor guide to the grievances they symbolize.

I. INTRODUCTION

STRIKES AND OTHER SYMPTOMS OF UNREST

Strikes are not the only symptom, not necessarily the most important, and certainly not an invariable symptom, of unrest among industrial workers. Other signs may be a high rate of labor turnover, absenteeism, sickness and accidents, sabotage and restrictive practices, addiction to drink or movies, or intensive political activity. So also may be habitual pilfering, which may be dictated less by economic need than by social resentment.[1]

* Paper presented to the Second Congress of the International Sociological Association, Liége, Belgium, August, 1953.

[1] "Quite respectable men, who would not themselves steal, take a light view of pilfering. They seem to think that because the men have grievances they are justified in such conduct. 'We are robbed all the time, therefore we are justified in robbing'; or 'The employers exploit us, and so why shouldn't we get a bit of our own back?' or, 'It isn't poor people who will lose by it,' are common trains of thought and argument" (John Hilton *et al.*, *The Other War* [London: Allen & Unwin, 1918], pp. 82–83).

Unrest finds expression in strikes only if workers have some social cohesion and tradition of common action. While, for instance, it will often take this form with coal-miners, with young unorganized women in the clothing industry it may appear in a high rate of labor turnover. Thus a decline in the number of severity of strikes does not necessarily mean that unrest is less; it may merely mean that it is finding expression in other ways or even not at all —except perhaps in the speeding-up of the escapist routine of mechanized amusements, in the growth of "irresponsibility" or pilfering, or in other apparently unrelated social phenomena. The expression of unrest among industrial workers thus ranges from these vague indications at one end of the scale to organized "go-slow," strikes, and political activity at the other—the form of expression being determined by a complex mechanism of economic, political, technical, and psychological factors.

One might expect to find some connection

between the incidence of these different manifestations, if only sufficient evidence were available. Certain special studies have, indeed, indicated a relation between voluntary absenteeism and labor turnover. Again, some connection has been found between voluntary absenteeism in coal-mining and the distance of mineworkings from the pit bottom, which suggests—since the remoteness of workings means a reduction in coal-getting and therefore in earnings—that absenteeism is partly due to dissatisfaction ´ about wages.[2] A limited inquiry of mine has indicated that mining strikes and absenteeism may be alternative forms of unrest.[3] More generally, in Britain there has been, for more than a century, something of an alternation between the industrial and political activity of the Labour movement. Political discipline has been looser than on the Continent, and until recently there has been little conscious co-ordination between strikes and political action, so that here again there is the appearance of alternative expressions of unrest.

But strikes are the most obvious and dramatic of all these symptoms, and they provide the simplest heads under which to collect information. Partly for this reason, but partly also because strikes used to be considered a form of crime, strike statistics exist, in most countries, in considerable detail and covering a long period. And, while data relating to the more devious manifestations of unrest are at best limited or

[2] H. M. Vernon and T. Bedford, *A Study of Absenteeism in a Group of Ten Collieries* (Medical Research Council, Industrial Fatigue Research Board Report No. 51 [London, 1928]). However, if wages fall sharply, absenteeism—which itself involves a loss of wages—naturally declines also. A few years later a further report by these authors, while confirming the results of the previous study, noted that "when the possible earnings of the coal face workers fell by 32 per cent, the time lost by voluntary absenteeism fell to a half" (*Two Studies of Absenteeism in Coal Mines* [Industrial Health Research Board Report No. 62 (London, 1931)], p. 33).

[3] Kenneth G. J. C. Knowles, *Strikes: A Study in Industrial Conflict* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), pp. 225–26.

sample data, strike statistics are not samples but more or less inclusive compilations and are thus the best quantitative evidence we have. What is the value of this evidence?

CHARACTER OF STRIKE STATISTICS

Strike statistics are limited in scope and necessarily somewhat inaccurate, incomplete, and ambiguous in character. British strike statistics do not, for example, give the relative numbers of men and women involved, of trade-unionists and nonunionists, or of official as against unofficial strikes. Until recently the figures have usually been given only under seven very broad industrial categories. There is no systematic breakdown by regions. As often happens, many series are available for limited periods only. Lockouts are not separated from strikes in British labor statistics; but, since other forms of strike restraint have been developed, they have for a long time been numerically negligible.

The basic series are those of the number of strikes, of workers "directly" and "indirectly" involved, and of "working days lost." Other series relate to causes, results, results by causes, size by length, methods of settlement, etc.

There are difficulties in sheer enumeration. Accurate figures of working days lost cannot be given if, as often happens, men drift back to work day by day. Such a figure is bound to be incomplete, because no account can be taken of the "multiplier" effects of strikes in other industries or even factories. On the other hand, appropriate deductions cannot be made for working days which would have been lost in any case from unemployment, accidents, sickness, or absenteeism—quite apart from the self-compensating effects by which the losses caused by even the biggest strikes have, in the past, been made up. The category "indirectly involved" is limited to workers employed at the establishment where the strike happens; and the distinction between directly and indirectly in-

volved is in any case arbitrary, since, in Peterson's words, "it would be necessary for a psychologist to have a personal interview with each employee . . . in order to determine the number who were responsible for or who actually favored the strike. Also, as attitudes change as the strike progresses, this number would change from day to day."[4]

There are greater difficulties in classifying strikes, as is done in Britain and other countries, according to their apparent main "cause or object." Any such classification must be somewhat subjective, since not only do most strikes break out on a multiplicity of issues, the relative importance of which may change in the course of the strike, but the main issue on which the strike is fought may turn out to be more or less irrelevant to the real cause of discontent. "No impartial student of strikes," wrote a research worker in this field in 1948, "can fail to be impressed by the lack of correlation between the precipitating cause of the strike and the amount of feeling necessary to lead to such drastic action. . . . The choice of a bone of contention, whether in industrial life or in personal relations or anywhere else in society, may often be almost accidental."[5]

The classification of the results—even the immediate results—of strikes is still more dubious; for, since the field of possible demands and concessions is very wide and bluffing is very common, the concepts of victory, defeat, and compromise are often hazy in the extreme. Moreover, the immediate results of a strike may be a very poor guide to its long-term results, and it is a hard fact that "the statistician of strikes cannot wait until the long term has become the present."[6] Since 1943 British labor statisticians have given up trying to classify strikes in this way.

[4] Florence Peterson, *Strikes in the United States, 1880–1936* (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Bull. No. 651 [Washington, D.C., 1938]), p. 9.

[5] John Meredith, "The Psychological Aspect of Strikes," *Penguin Parade, Second Series*, II (1948), 3.

Finally, there are the difficulties of interpretation, not only of the statistics of causes and results, but of the basic series themselves. What meaning can one attach to a change in the number of strikes when a one-day stoppage of ten clothing workers, a seven-month strike of a million miners, and a nine-day general strike of workers in all the main industries of the country each count as one strike? Obviously also any averages of the size and length of strikes may be quite misleading. Again, not only is one strike not like another, but one working day lost is not like another. For example, a figure of 600 working days lost might refer to a strike of 600 men for 1 day, a strike of 100 men for 6 days, six 1-day strikes of 100 men apiece, etc. The causes and effects of these are unlikely to be identical, even if they happen in the same factory, and still less if they happen in different factories or in different branches of industry or are subject to the infinitude of other circumstantial differences of industrial life—not to mention differences in the general economic, social, and political climate.

These are some of the weaknesses— many of them unavoidable—of the main source of evidence which we must use for trying to measure "strike-proneness." Apart from official statistics, there are a very few case histories, very many press reports, and a mass of partisan literature; but, although these often add something to our knowledge, they seldom contribute very much to our understanding.

II. "STRIKE-PRONENESS"

By "strike-proneness" we mean the relative propensity of workers to take strike action. We can seldom measure what would perhaps be the most interesting aspect of strike-proneness: the propensity of workers to strike rather than, say, to go absent or to change their jobs. But we can compare

[6] John I. Griffin, *Strikes: A Study in Quantitative Economics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), p. 89.

their striking with their own performance at other times or measure it against that of workers in other industries or in other regions. To do this, we often have a choice of units of measurement—number of strikes, of workers involved, of working days lost, or averages of size and length of strike based on these—but these series move rather differently, and their significance in a given context naturally also differs. When we come to consider the determinants of strike-proneness, we may compare the strike series with cyclical economic

and social morality."[7] This is certainly not an overstatement.

INDUSTRIAL STRIKE-PRONENESS

The relative propensities to strike of British workers in different industries are illustrated by Tables 1, 2, and 3. In these tables the strike figures have been divided by estimated numbers of workers in employment, so that, although these figures are imperfect, it is possible to get some idea of the importance of strikes relative to the effective size of the industries in which

TABLE 1

STRIKERS AS A PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS IN EMPLOYMENT
(Per Year)

	Mining and Quarrying	Textiles	Metal, Engineering, Ship-building	Transport	Building	Clothing
Prewar periods:						
1911–14	34.4	7.2	5.3	15.1	2.4	1.6
1936–39	27.9	1.4	2.9	2.0	1.6	1.2
War periods:						
1915–18	22.7	8.1	8.7	3.0	2.5	1.7
1940–45*	35.7	1.0	4.0	2.8	1.9	1.1
Postwar periods:						
1919–20	83.0	23.7	12.8	26.7	5.0	3.7
1945†–47*	29.9	0.8	4.7	8.0	0.6	1.7
1911–45*	32.4	8.9	4.7	5.4	2.2	1.2

* January–June. † July–December.

fluctuations in employment, wages, prices, etc., as well as with other relevant series— accident rates, indexes of adverse social conditions, or even variations in the seasons or the weather. All this, however, is no more than scratching the surface of the problem, for the determinants of strikes cover an almost unlimited field. "It would be no exaggeration to say that in the problem of industrial unrest are focused nearly all the major problems of social organisation, and that in the last analysis the remedies would be found to involve modifications in our social organisation, in not only its economic aspects, but in its political structure, and also in our individual

they happen. Thus one can see the relative liability of workers in different industries to be involved in strikes, the relative losses of working time through strikes, and the relative frequency of outbreaks. The growing predominance of mining strikes during the period is especially marked (Table 3), and this is underlined by the fact that miners—far more than workers in other industries—tend to strike more than once in the same year. Coal-mining is, in fact, the only industry for which the Ministry of Labour has regularly given net as well as

[7] A. E. C. Hare, *Industrial Relations in New Zealand* (Wellington: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1946), p. 49.

gross figures of strikes (Table 4). In recent years, however, for special reasons partly connected, possibly, with the bringing of these industries under national control, dockworkers have struck—in proportion to their numbers—even more than miners, whose repetitive striking has tended, on the whole, to fall back.[8]

As Kerr and Siegel have lately shown, it is not only in Britain that miners and dockers have been readiest to strike; there is an appreciable similarity in the inter-

TABLE 2

WORKING DAYS LOST PER WORKER IN EMPLOYMENT
(Per Year)

	Mining and Quarrying	Textiles	Metal, Engineering, Ship-building	Transport	Building	Clothing
Prewar periods:						
1911–14.........	8.16	1.46	0.96	1.51	1.11	0.25
1936–39.........	1.12	0.12	0.17	0.18	0.08	0.09
War periods:						
1915–18.........	0.98	0.74	0.57	0.16	0.19	0.18
1940–45*........	1.22	0.05	0.17	0.10	0.04	0.03
Postwar periods:						
1919–20.........	8.97	4.00	3.45	1.98	0.86	0.58
1945†–47*.......	0.61	0.04	0.27	0.67	0.02	0.16
1911–45*........	8.70	1.54	0.83	0.43	0.42	0.14

* January–June. † July–December.

TABLE 3

STRIKES PER 10,000 WORKERS IN EMPLOYMENT
(Per Year)

	Mining and Quarrying	Textiles	Metal, Engineering, Ship-building	Transport	Building	Clothing
Prewar periods:						
1911–14.........	1.39	1.12	1.54	0.72	1.19	0.61
1936–39.........	4.59	0.78	0.77	0.38	1.01	0.51
War periods:						
1915–18.........	1.07	0.54	1.03	0.44	1.15	0.60
1940–45*........	9.71	0.72	1.43	0.60	0.97	0.46
Postwar periods:						
1919–20.........	1.77	0.80	1.49	1.02	2.96	0.87
1945†–47*.......	17.01	0.52	1.46	0.85	0.65	0.50
1911–45*........	2.82	0.66	1.00	0.47	1.01	0.46

* January–June. † July–December.

[8] In the last five prewar years (1935–39), out of nearly ten million man-days lost in strikes, the miners accounted for more than half, and the transport workers for about a tenth. But in the first five postwar years (July, 1945, to June, 1950) the miners' loss had fallen by nearly half and the transport workers' had increased by nearly three times. Thus, out of nearly eleven million man-days lost, miners accounted for little over a quarter and transport workers for nearer 30 per cent—notably in big-scale dock strikes. A fuller examination of these strikes is made in Kenneth G. J. C. Knowles, "The Post-war Dock Strikes," *Political Quarterly*, XXII (June–September, 1951), 266; and in Jean

industrial strike patterns of many countries. The explanations are partly sociological and partly economic. The workers who are most prone to strike "live in their own separate communities"; they have their own "codes, myths, heroes, and social standards"; they are "a largely homo-

TABLE 4

REPETITIVE STRIKING BY COAL-MINERS

YEAR	COAL-MINERS INVOLVED IN STRIKES (THOUSANDS)		AVERAGE NUMBER OF STRIKES PER STRIKER (1) ÷ (2)
	Gross (1)	Net (2)	
1912........	1,105.7	999.7	1.11
1919........	906.0	756.0	1.20
1920........	1,414.0	1,114.0	1.27
1921........	1,251.0	1,151.0	1.09
1926........	1,050.0	1,009.0	1.04
1931........	281.0	246.0	1.14
1934........	73.3	59.0	1.24
1935........	199.7	144.0	1.39
1936........	181.8	123.0	1.48
1937........	392.5	211.0	1.86
1938........	173.6	115.0	1.51
1939........	205.8	124.0	1.66
1940........	189.8	107.0	1.77
1941........	154.2	79.0	1.95
1942........	252.0	150.0	1.68
1943........	294.0	180.0	1.63
1944........	568.0	350.0	1.62
1945........	243.0	120.0	2.03
1946........	216.0	130.0	1.66
1947........	307.9	200.0	1.54
1948........	189.1	140.0	1.35
1949........	247.8	200.0	1.24
1950........	141.9	90.0	1.58
1951........	134.8	100.0	1.35
1952........	273.5	190.0	1.44

geneous, undifferentiated mass—they all do about the same work and have about the same experiences"; "all people have grievances, but what is important is that the members of each of these groups have the same grievances—industrial hazards, or

McKelvey, *Dock Labor Disputes in Great Britain* (New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations Bull. No. 23 [March, 1953]).

severe depression unemployment, or bad living conditions which seem additionally evil because they are supplied by the employer, or low wages, or intermittent work"; there is not the "class stratification" that is found in building or the metal trades, in the catering industry, or in a government office; the jobs are specialized and not of the pleasantest; and there is relatively little mobility in and out of such industries.[9] Where public opinion is tinged—as it still is in Britain in the case of dockers[10]—with a low opinion of these workers' social status, this is likely to enhance their feeling of isolation and therefore of solidarity at critical times.

The contrast emerging from Kerr's analysis between the strike-prone workers, who tend to live in "isolated masses," and the relatively "peaceful" workers, who live more as individuals integrated into a complex society, tends to confirm the results of my own study of the regional and industrial strike-proneness of British workers between 1911 and 1945. This may now be briefly considered.

REGIONAL STRIKE-PRONENESS

To get a picture, necessarily very crude, of regional strike-proneness in Britain, one must have recourse to the monthly lists of "principal disputes" given in the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*. These are an arbitrary selection of important strikes—mostly, but not all, large strikes. The only advantage of this material for us is that the localities are given (together with some details of workers' occupations). Between January, 1911, and June, 1945, some 75 per cent of all workers involved in strikes were in-

[9] Clark Kerr and Abraham Siegel, "The Isolated Mass and the Integrated Individual: An International Analysis of the Inter-industry Propensity To Strike" (paper prepared at the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, 1951).

[10] Dockers were graded twenty-ninth out of thirty occupational groups in a postwar survey of social gradings (Hester Jenkins and D. Caradog Jones, "Social Grading of Occupations," *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. I [March, 1950]).

volved in these "principal disputes." But, since few small strikes were listed, it seemed better to omit the workers in strikes affecting less than a thousand workers. If, then, we call those "principal disputes" which involved a thousand workers and over "major strikes," then major strikes affected about 72 per cent of the workers involved in all strikes. To make a regional analysis, however, we had also to exclude the workers

workers involved in major strikes falling within the (population census) regions amounted to some 43 per cent of all workers involved in strikes, and it was on this inevitably biased sample that the analysis was made which is summarized in Tables 5 and 6.

In the first place, the percentage of strikes within each region over the period as a whole was divided by the percentage

TABLE 5*

REGIONAL "STRIKE-PRONENESS": ALL INDUSTRIES, 1911–45†

Region	Percentage of Industrial Population (1)	Percentage of Strikers (2)	Regional Strike-Proneness Ratio: (2)÷(1) (3)	Standard-ized‡ Regional Strike-Proneness Ratio (4)
South Wales.................	3.6	17.3	4.8	1.3
West Riding.................	7.7	18.2	2.4	1.2
Northern Ireland.............	2.6	2.1	0.8	1.2
Lancashire and Cheshire........	14.4	28.7	2.0	1.1
Scotland.................:.....	10.2	11.5	1.1	1.1
North and central Wales........	1.4	0.5	0.4	0.5
Northern rural belt............	2.6	1.3	0.5	0.5
West Midlands.....:.........	10.0	4.9	0.5	0.4
Northumberland and Durham...	4.3	4.4	1.0	0.4
London and Southeast..........	30.0	7.7	0.3	0.3
East Midlands................	5.3	2.8	0.5	0.3
Eastern counties...............	3.7	0.5	0.1	0.1
Southwestern counties..........	4.2	0.1	<0.1	0.1
All regions................	100.0	100.0	1.0	1.0

* The figures relate to major strikes only; i.e., to those "principal disputes" listed in the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* which involved 1,000 workers or more (and which were confined to one Census region).

† January, 1911, to June, 1945.

‡ I.e., weighted by the share of the various industries in the total striking.

involved in those strikes which extended beyond regional boundaries—notably, those involved in nation-wide strikes (chiefly miners and transport workers). This exclusion had, of course, the effect of reducing the apparent strike-proneness of these workers; and, on the other hand, since the textile industry is highly concentrated in Lancashire and a "national" strike of textile workers can thus take place inside a regional boundary, the relative strike-proneness of textile workers was somewhat exaggerated. After these exclusions, the

of occupied population working in that region (as reported in the industry tables of the 1931 Census)—the resulting ratio being taken as the "regional strike-proneness ratio" for the period. This was done by each region in respect of each industry and (first three columns of Table 5) of all industries. Second, the percentage of strikers in each industry was similarly divided by the percentage of the occupied population working in that industry. This, again, was done by industries in respect of each region and (first three columns of Table 6) of all

regions. Table 6 is thus a cruder way of measuring industrial strike-proneness than Table 2; the reasons for the differences between the two tables will be evident from what has already been said.

Closer examination brought out a number of points which need only be touched on here. In textiles it was the cotton workers who had been most involved in strikes in relation to their numbers; in the metal, engineering, and shipbuilding groups it was the shipbuilders; in transport it was

strike-proneness, although the underlying assumption of such a procedure—that the social environment of workers outside industry will affect their propensity to strike —is almost a commonplace. But any measurement of regional strike-proneness will reflect, to a considerable extent, the regional concentration of industries; and, if the regional and industrial strike-proneness ratios are standardized (by reference to the share of the workers in question, by industries and regions, respectively, in the total strik-

TABLE 6*

INDUSTRIAL "STRIKE-PRONENESS": ALL REGIONS, 1911–45†

Industry	Percentage of Industrial Population (1)	Percentage of Strikers (2)	Industrial Strike-Proneness Ratio (2)÷(1) (3)	Standard-ized‡ Industrial Strike-Proneness Ratio (4)
Mining and quarrying..........	6.2	41.8	6.7	3.7
Textiles.....................	6.6	28.4	4.3	2.0
Metal, engineering, shipbuilding.	11.6	15.0	1.3	1.3
Transport....................	6.8	7.8	1.1	1.1
Building.....................	5.3	1.9	0.4	0.4
Clothing.....................	4.2	1.6	0.4	0.3
Other industries and services....	59.3	3.5	0.1	0.1
All industries and services..	100.0	100.0	1.0	1.0

* The figures relate to major strikes only; i.e., to those "principal disputes" listed in the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* which involved 1,000 workers or more (and which were confined to one Census region).

† January, 1911, to June, 1945.

‡ I.e., weighted by the share of the various regions in the total striking.

the railwaymen in earlier years and the dockers and road transport workers in later years. As regards the experience of the regions over time, the relative propensity to strike of South Wales tended to decline from the beginning of the period, despite a rise during the depression of 1930–32; that of Lancashire and Cheshire declined from the middle of the period; while that of Scotland and the West Riding tended to increase latterly.

Except to the British, these regional strike-proneness ratios can have little intrinsic interest; but their existence deserves noting. It is admittedly somewhat academic to try to separate regional from industrial

ing), much of the difference in regional strike-proneness disappears. In other words, it matters less where you live than what you do for a living. It would seem likely that the regional strike-proneness of workers in South Wales, Lancashire, and other strike-prone regions has been due, in part, (1) to their unbalanced industrial structure, since they are regions where certain industries have been highly concentrated[11] and other industries have hardly

[11] "Over-centralisation of industries in certain areas may produce a social atmosphere which may tend to, shall we say, industrial strikes" (Sir Patrick Abercrombie, in *Minutes of Evidence before the Royal Commission on the Geographical Distribu-*

existed at all and where—partly in consequence—conditions of work and ordinary living have often been savagely depressed; and also (2) to the fact that they are regions where people live near their work and in densely packed communities, and where it is therefore much easier for them to combine and for their attitudes to affect their fellows.

Conversely, any policy (1) such as that outlined in the 1944 White Paper on Employment Policy, of diversifying the industrial structure of such regions, or (2) of creating balanced townships where people live away from their work and at a greater distance from their fellow-workers, may tend to reduce a regional tendency to strike-proneness—quite apart from any effect it might have on the economic prosperity of the region. Since 1939, indeed, some degree of industrial diversification has been achieved in all parts of Britain—most successfully, it is interesting to note, in Wales.[12]

III. DETERMINANTS OF STRIKE-PRONENESS

Why, and under what conditions, do workers strike? We must first of all distinguish between (1) the immediate causes of strikes, (2) the conditioning causes, and (3) the underlying causes, for the causation of any given strike will be a complex of all three.

IMMEDIATE CAUSES

The statistics of the immediate causes of strikes are dubious for the reasons already given; but their general trend can be summarized in the statement that, while wage questions still appear to be the most important issue, their importance is diminishing and that of what may be called "frictional" issues is increasing (Table 7 and note). Strikes on "solidarity" issues fluctu-

ate fairly haphazardly; of these, those strikes on "trade-union principle" which are concerned with the mere right to organize have presumably declined, while those for the "closed shop"—in the sense of 100 per cent organization—have lately increased. (It is perhaps noteworthy that the limited statistics of strike-results-by-causes show that from 1927 to 1939 the proportion of workers winning strikes on "trade-union principle" was 66 per cent—a far higher proportion than for all other issues [16 per cent].) It might be thought that an increased proportion of strikes on working arrangements, since these seem to involve basic industrial questions less than do strikes on other issues, should yield increasingly to fuller joint consultation at lower levels, improved welfare, a more astute or enlightened industrial psychology, etc. But it is by no means certain that the change is what it seems, for the issues on which strikes take place are largely symbolic. Thus the decline in wage strikes and the corresponding increase in strikes on "frictional" questions may mean no more than that wage issues—now that the scope of collective wage settlement has so greatly increased—are no longer as effective a symbol as before.

When these qualifications are taken into account, a certain pattern in strike causes emerges from the limited figures available by industries (1927–36). In Table 8 the relative propensity of strikers in particular industries to be involved in strikes on particular issues is expressed as a ratio between the percentage of strikers in a given industry who came out on a given issue and the percentage of strikers in all other industries who were so involved. As regards "basic" issues of wages and hours, the low figure for miners and the high figure for textile workers are peculiar to the period; many of the biggest wage strikes of miners had taken place in previous years, whereas the textile industry was feeling the full impact of the depression at the end of the 1920's. As for "frictional" issues, a high

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tion of Industry [London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1937], p. 95).

[12] See C. E. V. Leser, "Changes in Level and Diversity of Employment in Regions of Great Britain," *Economic Journal*, LIX (September, 1949), 346.

figure for metal and transport workers could be expected in any period, since in these trades working arrangements are subject to sharp changes (breaking-down of jobs and dilution in engineering, alteration of schedules in road transport, etc.). And the traditional readiness of coal-miners to

CONDITIONING CAUSES

The conditioning causes of strikes include, first of all, the trade cycle—the prospects of forcing concessions seeming better, and the possible penalties of failure less, when profits and employment are rising. Strike fluctuations—in particular, fluctu-

TABLE 7

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF STRIKES*

Period	On "Basic" Issues	On (i) Only	On "Frictional" Issues	On (vi) Only	On "Solidarity" Issues	On (vii) Only	On All Issues
	Percentage of Strikes						
1911–14............	67.1	(44.7)	22.6	(5.9)	10.3	(8.4)	100.0
1936–39............	50.8	(22.6)	37.5	(12.0)	11.7	(9.6)	100.0
1915–18............	72.3	(58.6)	20.1	(5.0)	7.6	(6.0)	100.0
1940–45†...........	57.5	(21.1)	37.8	(24.5)	4.7	(2.3)	100.0
1919–20............	71.4	(53.0)	21.3	(5.9)	7.3	(4.7)	100.0
1945‡–47†..........	47.3	(11.2)	47.6	(34.6)	5.1	(3.1)	100.0
	Percentage of Workers Involved§ in Strikes						
1911–14............	67.0	(25.8)	10.3	(5.0)	22.7	(20.9)	100.0
1936–39............	44.6	(21.9)	32.3	(10.9)	23.1	(9.9)	100.0
1915–18............	65.8	(49.3)	22.1	(3.4)	12.1	(10.0)	100.0
1940–45†...........	61.7	(19.5)	27.6	(14.3)	10.7	(2.7)	100.0
1919–20............	86.3	(57.5)	9.8	(2.5)	3.9	(1.2)	100.0
1945‡–47†..........	50.3	(17.5)	33.0	(18.6)	16.7	(6.5)	100.0

* The immediate causes of strikes are classified as follows:

"Basic" issues: (i) wage-increase questions; (ii) wage-decrease questions; (iii) other wage questions; (iv) hours of labor.
"Frictional" issues: (v) employment of certain classes or persons; (vi) other working arrangements, rules, and discipline.
"Solidarity" issues: (vii) trade-union principle; (viii) sympathetic action; (ix) miscellaneous.

NOTE.—Strikes concerning hours of labor and strikes on "miscellaneous" issues were inconsiderable in most years.

† January–June.   ‡ July–December.   § Directly involved only.

strike in solidarity with their fellows emerges very clearly. Such a picture does at least make sense in the light of what we already know and, although it throws little or no light on the ultimate causation of strikes, illustrates the tendency of strikes to take different forms in different industries.

ations in the number, or frequency, of strikes[13]—do, indeed, as many studies have shown, exhibit some correspondence with

[13] Attention has quite often been drawn to correspondences between other strike series and economic fluctuations, but usually only for particular countries at particular periods. For a fuller examination of these relationships see Knowles, *Strikes,* chap. iv.

cyclical economic fluctuations. Forchheimer has noted that this reaction is strongest in Britain, Germany, and Canada but that there was a trace of it in all the countries he examined: "This makes for a kind of international agreement in the short run changes in the frequency of disputes."[14] It is not surprising that the number of strikes —a figure which, despite the shortcomings mentioned, does give some indication of the number of separate points of friction in industry—should be the most sensitive of all strike series to economic events, since the numbers of workers involved and of days lost, and the averages of size and length of strike, are more affected by non-economic influences such as the trend of union policy and the character of union leadership. (There is, however, some tendency for big strikes to break out during downswings, when the unions decide on full-scale resistance to money-wage reductions[15]—until the deepening of the slump inhibits further action.) But the limits of economic determinism in explaining strike movements are in any case fairly narrow; moreover, these movements are becoming less spontaneous than they once were and are increasingly subject to political and organizational checks and controls (wartime restrictions and other labor legislation, the development of joint negotiating and disputes machinery, etc.).

We must add, when considering the conditioning causes of strikes, that—as could be expected—the seasonal working of certain industries, the fortunes of war, the incidence of holidays, the extent of trade-union membership, and perhaps even the weather (though any effect of this kind is

possibly indirect, as the weather is not without influence on seasonal economic activity) have all had appreciable effects on the incidence of strikes.[16] Moreover, strikes are themselves to some extent infectious; in British experience there is in most cases a strong correlation between the fluctuations in the number of strikes breaking out in any one industry and in all other industries. But it is impossible to separate the effect of this from that of the trade-

TABLE 8

RELATIVE PROPENSITY TO STRIKE ON DIFFERENT TYPES OF ISSUE, 1927–36*

INDUSTRY	RATIOS ILLUSTRATING RELATIVE PROPENSITY TO STRIKE ON:		
	"Basic" Issues†	"Frictional" Issues†	"Solidarity" Issues†
Mining and quarrying	0.73	1.24	4.68
Textiles..............	1.51	0.57	0.10
Metal, engineering, shipbuilding.......	0.90	1.37	0.77
Transport...........	0.51	2.51	1.07
Building............	1.05	0.97	0.84
Clothing............	0.74	1.08	2.46
Other industries and services...........	1.15	0.71	0.84

* The relative propensity of workers in a given industry to strike on a particular type of issue is indicated by the following ratio: the percentage of strikers in the industry who struck on the type of issue in question divided by the percentage of strikers in all other industries who struck on the same type of issue.

† See n. * to Table 7.

cycle itself: to say how far the correspondence between the striking of, say, engineers and miners is due to "strike fever," or to the fact that the upswing of the trade cycle seems to offer good opportunities to each set of workers independently of the others. The same sort of consideration applies to the connection of strikes with the degree of trade-union organization, for member-

[14] Karl Forchheimer, "Some International Aspects of the Strike Movement," *Oxford University Institute of Statistics Bulletin*, X (January, 1948), 16. (See also issues of the *Bulletin* for September, 1948, and September, 1949).

[15] Number of workers directly involved per strike in the United Kingdom, 1911–47: for wage increases, 588; against wage decreases, 2,088.

[16] Cf. also William Goldner, "Fluctuations in the Volume of Strikes" (paper prepared at the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, 1953).

ship itself also fluctuates with the trade cycle. But, although there is evidence to show that even before the second World War a large proportion of British strikes were unofficial (i.e., unsupported by the trade-union leadership), the degree of trade-union organization probably has some independent effect on striking, since the organized are better equipped to strike than the unorganized. The independent influence of political agitators on striking seems, on available evidence, to have been small in the United Kingdom at most times.[17]

UNDERLYING CAUSES

Many studies of industrial relations stress the importance of underlying causes of strikes, whose operation may never become explicit. The decline of craftsmanship and therefore of pride or teleological interest in work, the growing size and impersonality of firms and therefore the growing social insignificance of the individual worker, bad social conditions,[18] new forms of industrial fatigue associated with the intensity and monotony of certain forms of repetitious work,[19] the growing isolation of the trade-union rank and file from their highly specialized negotiating officials, the remoteness and delay of nation-wide bargaining, have all, it is believed, tended to cause unrest—not to mention the conflicts, sometimes presumed unresolvable, of economic and social interest between employer and workers.[20] Such considerations underline the worker's essential inferiority—his relative propertylessness, his lack of mobility,

his lack of knowledge of what his labor is really worth, his liability to be summarily dismissed, his lack of control of the physical and mental stresses resulting from his work —and, as industrial psychologists have pointed out, "inferiority compensation finds its outstanding expression in the strike."[21] An important and related aspect of strikes is that they represent a complete break, a release from everyday compulsions. It is not accidental that American strikers have called themselves "vacationists"; that in Britain "playing" should have been a traditional euphemism for striking; that Belgian miners should have called their strikes "pit holidaying"; and that the Spanish word for strike should also mean leisure, recreation, or merrymaking. There are analogies in other languages.

Thus, when we consider the immediate causes of strikes, we are in effect, as was suggested above, considering little more than symbols. Wage disputes, for instance,

[17] I have discussed this question at some length in *Strikes*, pp. 49–59, and in "The Post-war Dock Strikes," *op. cit.*, pp. 281–86.

[18] A definite connection can be established in the United Kingdom between regional strike-proneness and bad social conditions (as measured by unemployment, social class, poor relief, overcrowding, and the poverty of Local Authorities), although it must be remembered that acute and widespread poverty may divert workers' attention from the possibility of remedying it in the sheer struggle to obtain the necessities of life. It is sometimes well above the lowest levels of poverty that workers are most capable of self-discipline and common action.

[19] Cf. Russell Fraser, *The Incidence of Neurosis among Factory Workers* (Medical Research Council, Industrial Health Research Board Report No. 90 [London, 1947]). Fatigue may, of course, not be the product of monotonous unskilled work but of concentration on highly skilled work. Sir F. C. Bartlett (*Proceedings of the Royal Society, Series B*, CXXXI [1943], 247–57) has described an experiment with a machine specially constructed to test a man's adaptability and skill: "When the operator began, absorbed in his task, he was usually silent. As he went on, sighs and shufflings emerged from the machine. Then mild expletives took the place of sighs. By the end of the experiment, which lasted for two hours or more, most operators kept up a flow of the most violent language they knew. And all the time their handling of the controls became more and more rough, so that they were doing more work, and not less, as the task went on. It was at this stage that the tendency to project all errors on the experimenter or the machine reached its height." It is easy to see how the kind of fatigue reproduced in this experiment may give rise to a discontent which is projected on to the management and subsequently rationalized in the form of a particular grievance as the immediate cause of a strike.

[20] Cf. *Royal Commission on Industrial Unrest (South Wales)* (Cmd. 8668; London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1917), p. 23.

[21] Morris S. Viteles, *Industrial Psychology* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1933), pp. 565–66.

which are still probably the commonest form of strikes the world over,[22] rarely indicate poverty below subsistence level. Burns pointed out long ago that low wages were a relatively unimportant cause of active unrest, that the worst-paid workers had usually neither the organization, resources, nor energy for strikes, and that the main causes of industrial unrest "are more fundamental, and may be only slightly affected by adjustments of wages."[23] Strikes for wages proportionate to "what the trade can bear," or to the wages of other workers, would seem to derive from a desire for social justice or social recognition and reflect the worker's feeling of inferiority rather than his poverty.[24] This suggestion is borne out to some extent by the fact that, despite trade-union argumentation, considerations of real wages seem to play little part in strikes; at any rate, money-wage cuts have been resisted more fiercely, even though real wages are rising, than money-wage increases have been demanded to keep pace with a fall in real wages.

It is true that generalizations about strikers' feelings of frustration and inferiority, the symbolical character of many of their demands, their largely unconscious susceptibility to economic pressures, etc., do not carry us very far beyond the obvious. Some sociologists stress the essential irrationality of strikers and would therefore have us "keep away from any attempt whatsoever to find cause."[25] I do not think we should be deterred; much human behavior is not motivated strictly rationally, but this by no means precludes rationality in interpretation. What is emphatically needed is a far greater number of case studies than anyone has yet thought it worth while to undertake; and in Britain at least the public concern with state-run industries provides opportunities which should surely not be neglected.[26]

IV. CHANGING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF STRIKES

Within the past half-century the nature of strikes in Britain has radically changed. Although at all times there are in industry countless petty frictions which could lead to strikes, whether they do so or not depends partly on the presence or absence of deeper-seated grievances. This is particularly true of major strike waves, such as those before and after the first World War, when Edwardian luxury and ostentatious class distinction, contrasted with a long-term fall in real wages and followed by war profiteering, produced an exasperation which found its outlet in strikes led by men who advocated "workers' control" as the only means of raising the worker's economic and social status. "The supply of good-tempered, cheap labour—upon which the fabric of our contemporary ease and comfort is erected—is giving out. The worker is beginning now to strike for unprecedented ends

[22] Cf. Sheila Hopkins, "Industrial Stoppages and Their Economic Significance," *Oxford Economic Papers, New Series,* V (June, 1953), 213–14.

[23] Eveline M. Burns, *Wages and the State* (London: P. S. King & Son, 1926), pp. 19, 405. Cf. the findings of Warner and Low: "Most of the formal demands of the strikers concerned wages and the recognition of the union, but interviews with workers during and before the strike clearly showed that many of the basic grounds for discussion had little to do with the amount of wages received" (W. L. Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory: The Strike—a Social Analysis* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947], p. 131).

[24] Wages have, in fact, come to be regarded as compensation for many nonfinancial disabilities: "Ce caractère du salaire provoque chez l'ouvrier un complexe permanent de frustration qui le pousse à réclamer sans cesse des compensations sur le terrain pécuniaire qui en fin de compte est le plus accessible" (Yves de Wasseige, "La Grève: phénomène économique et sociologique," *Bulletin de l'Institut de Recherches Economiques et Sociales de l'Université de Louvain,* XVIII [November, 1952], 687).

[25] T. T. Paterson, "Why Do Men Go on Strike?" *The Listener,* XLIX (January 29, 1953), 167.

[26] T. T. Paterson and F. J. Willett ("Unofficial Strike," *Sociological Review,* Vol. XLIII, Sec. 4 [1951]) claimed to have made, as far as they were aware, "the first detailed sociological description and analysis of a common enough social phenomenon." There is certainly a dearth of such studies in Britain, and even in the United States, where these problems arouse more concern.

—against the system, against the fundamental conditions of labour, to strike for no defined ends at all, perplexingly and disconcertingly. The old-fashioned strike was a method of bargaining, clumsy and violent perhaps, but bargaining still; the new-fashioned strike is far less of a haggle, far more of a display of temper." So wrote H. G. Wells in 1912.[27]

After the war, however, the bitter experience of the general strike and the chronic depression tended to turn the Labour movement from industrial to political action. Moreover, real wages rose for those in work, and the "good old days" never returned for the upper classes. The strike wave subsided; "workers' control" in the Syndicalist sense was gradually forgotten. The worker's status was to be raised by a Labour government which would guarantee full employment and massive social services: Keynes, and later Beveridge, showed that this was possible without making a clean sweep of capitalism. During the second World War there was little ideological opposition from the extreme Left (at any rate after 1941), a greater Labour participation in government, a more genuine community of danger, and more equitable rationing and price control—all of which helped to prevent serious strikes. After the war Labour attained full power, the social services were expanded, and, with full employment and the nationalization of the main industries, the unions found themselves in a stronger position than ever before. There were fewer fundamental grievances in industry; there was no general wave of heavy striking as after 1918.

Yet the very growth and power of the unions, the recognition and respect which they had won from employers, and their many new-forged links with government produced new sources of uneasiness among

their members. In a number of cases, but particularly in the docks (where, ironically enough, "workers' control" had come nearest to being achieved, since the unions participate directly in managerial functions), the men apparently began to feel that they were losing control over their own organizations. "We go to see the boss," a docker said in 1950, "and we find our trade union leader. We go to see our own trade union official, and find the Government. We don't know where we are."[28] The reorganization of wages and working conditions which was involved by nationalization produced a crop of new frictions; in industry at large, the number of strikes (which had reached an all-time maximum at the end of the war) remained very high; and, whether or not there were political agitators ready to take the lead, many of these strikes were as much acts of defiance against the unions' leadership as struggles for improvements. Thus, while the egalitarian policy pursued by postwar governments must have helped to remove some of the older social grievances, fresh determinants of strike-proneness have come to the surface.

But the significance of recent strikes should not be exaggerated, for most of them have been very small and short. Ever since the twenties, the machinery for avoiding and settling industrial disputes has been greatly extended. Very big or nation-wide strikes—notably in coal-mining—have been virtually outlawed. Even of the larger strikes classified as "principal," over 90 per cent during the last twenty years have affected the employees of single firms only. The proportion of strikes lasting less than a single week has been rising fairly steadily; in the years before 1914 it was about 45 per cent, but nowadays it is about 90 per cent, and in recent years

[27] Herbert George Wells, *The Labour Unrest* (London: Associated Newspapers, 1912). (This pamphlet was a reprint of articles written for the *Daily Mail* in May of that year.)

[28] Quoted in an article by the Right Honorable Malcolm McCorquodale, in *Sunday Times*, January 29, 1950. Cf. the statements attributed to London busmen by Donald Port and Ruth Crombie, in "Closed Shop," *Pilot Papers*, II (September, 1947), 54.

almost half the recorded[29] strikes have lasted for no more than one day. Strikes today are different almost in kind from their immediate ancestors.

Their consequences are also very different, and this in itself illustrates their changing character. The statistics of the immediate results of strikes showed, before they were discontinued, a persistent trend toward a higher proportion of em-

promise without recourse to a strike at all); (2) the growth of unofficial strikes which are disowned by the unions as well as by the employers; and (3) the fact that strikes are more often demonstrations than battles of the old-fashioned kind.[30]

Some comment should be made on the wider consequences of strikes to the community as a whole, since public opinion, not excluding that of industrial workers

TABLE 9

IMMEDIATE RESULTS OF STRIKES

Period	In Favor of Workers	By Compromise	In Favor of Employers	(On Employers' Terms without Negotiation, etc.)	In All Ways
	Percentage of Strikes Settled				
1911–14.........	27	44	29	(9)	100
1936–39.........	25	28	47	(27)	100
1915–18.........	28	46	26	(8)	100
1940–43.........	17	25	58	(35)	100
	Percentage of Workers Involved* in Strikes Settled				
1911–14.........	42	44	14	(3)	100
1936–39.........	19	25	56	(36)	100
1915–18.........	21	60	19	(6)	100
1940–43.........	17	26	57	(31)	100

* Directly involved only.

ployers' victories and—despite the elaboration of innumerable devices for face-saving in industrial relations—a lower proportion of compromises (Table 9). These paradoxical trends reflect not so much any gain in strength by employers or management as (1) the increasing "marginality" of strikes in general (important issues being increasingly settled by negotiated com-

[29] Strikes lasting less than one day are not recorded unless the man-days lost exceed 100; and, since the number of recorded strikes has been higher in recent years, it seems likely that a larger number of "lightning" strikes have passed unrecorded by the Ministry of Labour. For example, the National

themselves, is sometimes colored by such considerations. Strikes are commonly deprecated in the press as "antisocial" on the ground that they result always in a loss of output and often in an ensuing rise in wages—and therefore eventually in

Coal Board reported 1,635 strikes as having occurred in coal-mining in 1947, as against the Ministry's figure of 1,053.

[30] Again, strikes which interrupt negotiations already in progress—which unofficial strikes often do—were classified as settled in the employers' favor whatever the result of the ensuing negotiations.

prices. Needless to say, these arguments seem particularly cogent today.

The lost output should not be overstated. If working days lost are taken as a crude indication of lost output (although this is like estimating air-raid damage by reference to the bomb tonnage dropped, irrespective of target or type of bomb),[31] the reduction in recent years is startling. During the second World War, for instance, the annual loss was well under half what it had been during the first; and the loss in the two years after 1945 was less than a tenth of what it had been in the two years after 1919. In any case the loss of working days through strikes is at most times very small when considered in relation to total numbers employed: over all the main industries (as listed in Tables 1–3) taken together, the loss since 1936 has never been as much as half a working day per worker per year and has often been less than a fifth. If the loss were considered as spread over the whole working population, it would appear infinitesimal—perhaps 0.1 per cent of total production time in recent years.

Certainly, other causes of loss—for example, unemployment before the war, inefficiency at all levels, sickness, absenteeism, etc.—have been, on a similar reckoning, far more telling.[32] Of course, the un-

predictable shock effect of strikes may—as is no doubt intended—be felt more severely than the "running-sore" type of loss, and some abnormally big strikes like the coal strikes of 1912, 1921, and 1926 jolted the whole economy for a time. But in the past the economic effects (though not necessarily the social and political effects) of even the biggest strikes were short lived; stocks had often been built up in anticipation, and the time "lost" was sometimes "really taken out of the time that employees would have been idle in any case rather than out of production time."[33] Indeed, as has been pointed out before now, the question is wider even than this, since a strike may sometimes be socially and economically preferable, even if it does involve a certain loss, to a prolonged period of hostility, ca' canny, or even chronic apathy. However, the position today, when unemployment is very low and stocks are even lower, is very different; and, although even now certain offsetting factors will no doubt operate,[34] it would be frivolous to belittle the possible effects of strikes in Britain and other European countries at present. The general economic context of strikes provides the most significant weighting of any figures of time or output lost, and under existing conditions a small strike in a key industry

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[31] The loss of output is of course not proportionate to the loss of working hours; over quite a wide margin time lost may have little to do with output lost—witness the frequent arguments for a shortening of working hours in the interests of increased productivity. Moreover, the regional, industrial, and ,occupational incidence of strikes will obviously affect the loss of output per day of strike: strikes in regions where productivity is relatively high, strikes of key workers, strikes of workers in the processing or distribution of perishable goods, will inflict disproportionate losses.

[32] In 1925, for instance, some 8 million days were lost in strikes (a high figure, never touched after 1929); but benefit was paid in respect of some 138 million days of sickness, and unemployment can hardly have accounted for less than 370 million days' loss. In the year 1944–45 the loss per worker from strikes was a mere fraction of a working day,

but the loss from illness alone—not counting absences from injuries and long-term illnesses—was well over a fortnight. Even in coal-mining, the most strike-prone industry of all, in the prewar years 1938–39 the loss from strikes was roughly about 3½ per cent of the loss from "want of trade"; and during the war the loss from strikes was about the same proportion of the loss from absenteeism. Although these figures are extremely crude, they do give a fair picture of the "normal" relative order of magnitude of strike losses.

[33] C. W. Doten, in *Waste in Industry* (Washington, D.C.: Federated American Engineering Societies, 1921), p. 309.

[34] E.g., measures to combat waste and inefficiency may be developed during a strike, and there is likely to be an increase in overtime and possibly a decline in absenteeism after any prolonged stoppage, so that workers may make up the immediate loss of wages.

could have a much more crippling effect than a big one would have had twenty or thirty years ago.[35] There is no doubt that this has reinforced the unions' determination to avoid strikes on any considerable scale and, if they should break out unofficially, to end them as soon as possible.

As regards the pressure exerted by strikers on wage levels, the effective coverage of British statistics is 1927–36; and this period is of doubtful relevance, since it was one of low militancy owing to the aftermath of the general strike and the onset of the great depression, although tradeunion policy was more like that of the present than it had been before 1926. Over this period only a little over 100,000 workers (about 4½ per cent of all strikers) struck for wage advances. About 15,000 of these won their demands outright, and another 56,000 won a proportion of them by compromise; yet the aggregate increase in wages which was considered as directly won by striking amounted over these ten years only to some £351,000—less than 0.6 per cent of the wage increases that came about by other means. During the same period wage reductions of course heavily outbalanced wage increases. Over a million workers (getting on for half the total number of strikers) resisted wage cuts by striking, but these cuts represented less than 10 per cent of the total sum of wage reductions, and little more than 2 per cent of the strikers were wholly successful in

[35] The British "fuel crisis" of 1946–47, which was in some ways analogous in its effects to a national coal strike of one to one and a half days, demonstrated the narrow safety margins of sudden stoppages in vital industries. The loss of 895,000 tons of coal could not be made good despite the best efforts of miners and transport workers and was therefore passed on to the rest of industry, where unemployment jumped further and far more sharply than in the three-month coal strike of 1921 or the sevenmonth coal strike of 1926.

resisting them. It would of course be absurd to conclude from this that strikes had never had major effects on wages or even that the speed and comprehensiveness of the development of wage-fixing machinery owed nothing to past strike action on many issues (in particular for the right to organize); but, although things would no doubt have been very different had tradeunions not existed and had the strike not been in the background of negotiations, it would seem that the strikes which actually happened have been rather less responsible for wage changes—directly at least—than is sometimes assumed.

It may also be argued that what happened before 1940 is largely irrelevant, since British workers have gained so much in bargaining power since then, and that therefore the very threat of a strike is now more cogent than the direct achievements of strikes suggest. According to this view, concessions are extorted by threats alone, explicit or implicit; and the strikes that still happen are, generally speaking, those which are judged to be relatively harmless economically, even though the workers may think them to be a useful nuisance weapon. For many years now they have been less and less an instrument of union policy and increasingly a weapon of rebellion against union authority—and sometimes state authority. Socially, however, strikes still fulfil the function (in some ways an increasingly important function) of calling immediate attention to the weaknesses in the working of the ever more complex machinery by which industry is regulated; statistically, they provide a certain measure of the importance of these weaknesses and, more generally, of the distrust felt by rank-and-file workers of the system of regulation as a whole.

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INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT AND ITS MEDIATION[1]

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ABSTRACT

Industrial conflict, inevitable in a democratic society, serves certain social purposes: it assists in the solution of controversies, it may reduce intergroup tensions, and it may benefit the worker by balancing management power against union power. "Tactical" mediation can reduce aggressive industrial conflict by decreasing irrationality, by removing nonrationality, by aiding in the exploration of solutions, by abetting the parties in making graceful retreats, and by raising the cost of conflict, but its general contribution cannot be large; "strategical" mediation, or the structuring of the environment, on the other hand, can effect major changes. It involves the better integration of workers and employers into society, the increased stability of society, the development of ideological compatibility, the arrangement of secure and responsive relationships among leaders and members, the dispersion of grievances, and the establishment of effective rules of the game.

Industrial society, quite generally, is highly disposed in favor of law and order. Aggressive conflicts between capital and labor are considered both undesirable and largely unnecessary. It is often suggested that carefully devised mediation machinery administered by skilled practitioners can be effective in greatly reducing such conflict. This paper is concerned with this series of attitudes and beliefs. It advances the contrary theses that aggressive industrial conflict,[2] in one form or another, cannot be eliminated and can be only temporarily suppressed; that such conflict, provided that it takes place within certain broad rules of the game, can serve important social functions; and that tactical mediation, which will be defined a little later, has limited value in reducing aggressive conflict and, under certain conditions, may even increase it. Strategical mediation will be presented as being more effective but also more difficult.

THE NATURE OF INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT

Organized groups, like individuals, may develop four general types of relationship toward one another. They may isolate themselves; they may co-operate, voluntarily or involuntarily; they may compete; or they may enter into conflict. Each type has, of course, its subtypes and its degrees; and any

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[1] Paper presented to the Second Congress of the International Sociological Association, Liége, Belgium, August, 1953. This discussion assumes the cultural context of an "open society"—a democratic, capitalistic, industrialized society within which the state, the employers, and the unions are separate and largely independent entities; a society not marked by rigid class stratification and one in which the strike is an economic rather than a political weapon; societies such as those of the United States, England, and the Scandinavian nations. This discussion does not relate to industrialized societies in which labor-management relations take the form of warfare between social movements, the political strike is common, and conflict is not of the "limited-purpose" type; nor does it relate to those in which aggressive conflict between managers and managed is suppressed.

[2] "Industrial conflict" is used loosely to mean at least three things. Sometimes it includes the sources of discontent, the bases of hostility, the grievances, the oppositions of interest. Thus labor and management are said to be in conflict over wage payments or managerial prerogatives in the sense that they have different desires. Sometimes it covers all forms of opposed action, both nonviolent, such as collective bargaining, and violent, such as the strike. In this sense,

conflict means not the incompatible views of the parties but the battle between them which finds its source in these views. Sometimes conflict is opposed to peace. Thus a strike is said to constitute industrial conflict, while bargaining is peaceful.

In this paper the following terminology is employed: (1) "sources of conflict" covers the various dissatisfactions and discontents of the parties with each other; (2) "conflict" will designate all opposed action which emanates from these or other (external) sources; (3) "diplomatic conflict" will mean opposed actions which rely primarily upon verbal persuasion, such as contract negotiation and grievance handling; and (4) "aggressive conflict" will identify those actions which are of a forceful nature and are intended to harm the other party so that he will be compelled to respond in a desired manner, for example, by strikes and lockouts.

single relationship may be a combination of two or more of the generalized types. Competition and conflict are distinct types of relationship, although they do bear some similarity to each other. In competition, two or more parties seek to gain reward from a third party or parties. Thus two automobile manufacturers may compete for the consumer's dollar. In conflict, two or more parties seek to gain from each other. (If there are few competitors and particularly in bilateral monopoly, competition and conflict become much alike, for then what one gains is taken away from the other in a quite personal way.) Thus a union may seek to transfer prerogatives from management to itself. Conflict, by its very nature, is likely to be more personal, more intense, and more destructive than competition.

Labor-management relations are a classic form of conflict. Except possibly where joint collusive arrangements against consumers are entered into (and even here there is likely to be conflict over the division of the spoils), organized labor and management are primarily engaged in sharing between themselves what is, at any one moment of time, a largely given amount of income and power.[3] The more the one gets or keeps, the less the other has.

Inevitability.—Conflict between organized labor and management is more than an expression of irrationality or ill will. Given a rational reaction of each party to the other and mutual good will (and the two are not necessarily always compatible), conflict is still inherent in the situation for at least four reasons.

1. The desires of the parties are more or less unlimited, while the means of satisfac-

[3] The "pie" to be divided is not, of course, always fully given. Particularly under conditions of industry-wide bargaining in periods of prosperity when the employers can pass on added costs to the consumers fully and immediately, the expansibility of the "pie" is quite significant. The size of the "pie" is enlarged to accommodate labor's gains without injuring industry. The power "pie," however, is always fixed in dimensions. The more fixed the size of the "pie," of course, the more intense the conflict is likely to be.

tion are limited. Wages can never be as high as workers desire or profits or salaries as high as owners or managers might wish; yet the money available for distribution between the contending claimants is always limited in the short run. The power to make those decisions lying within the orbit of an economic enterprise is also finite. Given the survival of both parties, they must share it in some fashion, and neither can ever be entirely happy with the distribution, for, so long as the other has any power at all, it can make unsatisfactory decisions.

2. Someone manages and someone is managed, and this is an eternal opposition of interest, which may be made bearable but can never be eliminated in a complex, industrial society. The larger the basic productive unit, the greater this opposition of interest is likely to be.

3. Industrial societies are dynamic. Even if a certain distribution of income and power could be devised which, in a given situation, was not subject to controversy (though this seems unlikely), the situation itself would change—because of new regulations by the state, changed expenditure patterns of consumers, higher costs of raw materials, a reduced value of the monetary unit, increased real income for a comparable group elsewhere—and the parties would need to seek a new allocation of income and power.

4. If management and labor are to retain their institutional identities, they must disagree and must act on the disagreement. Conflict is essential to survival. The union which is in constant and complete agreement with management has ceased to be a union. It has destroyed itself; and the same is true for management. Institutional, like individual, independence is asserted by acts of criticism, of contradiction, of conflict, of competition.

Thus labor-management conflict flows inevitably from the unsatiated desires of men, the relationship of managers and managed, the need to adapt to changed conditions in one fashion or another, and the drive for institutional separateness. In the cultural context which we have assumed, there are

sources of conflict, and organized groups can make decisions which translate their discontents into action against another party.

Variety.—Industrial conflict has more than one aspect, for the manifestation of hostility is confined to no single outlet. Its means of expression are as unlimited as the ingenuity of man. The strike is the most common and most visible expression. But conflict with the employer may also take the form of peaceful bargaining and grievance handling, of boycotts, of political action, of restriction of output, of sabotage, of absenteeism, or of personnel turnover. Several of these forms, such as sabotage, restriction of output, absenteeism, and turnover, may take place on an individual as well as on an organized basis and constitute alternatives to collective action. Even the strike itself is of many varieties. It may involve all the workers or only key men. It may take the form of refusal to work overtime or to perform a certain process. It may even involve such rigid adherence to the rules that output is stifled.

These various kinds of actions are alternatives to one another. Knowles has shown recently[4] that in England absenteeism and strikes seem to be substitutes for each other, as are also trade-union expenditures on strikes and on political action. In Sweden, where strikes during a contract are illegal, the "masked strike" takes the place of the open strike. The forms of contention may be broadly classified as the "diplomatic," such as bargaining and grievance handling, and the "aggressive," such as the strike, the boycott, and restriction of output. (Conflict, additionally, may take the form of political action against the interests of the opposed party.) In a democratic nation, where the coercive power of the state against individuals and groups is limited, some forms of aggressive conflict cannot be effectively stopped, except for very short periods. Even in time of war, strikes cannot be entirely prohibited, and it is even more difficult to

arrest restriction of output or the planned absenteeism or quitting of key men.

Acceptability of certain aggressive conflict. —Aggressive industrial conflict is not wholly evil. It does lead at times, it is true, to grievous injury to the parties themselves or to third parties; but the costs are frequently greatly exaggerated. Man-days lost owing to industrial disputes are far fewer than losses due to unemployment or illness. In the industrialized and democratic nations, they currently average about one-half man-day per year for all nonagricultural employees. Against these costs (and they are not the only ones) must be reckoned the gains, for aggressive industrial conflict, like conflict generally, as Simmel argued so forcefully,[5] has a positive role. First, out of aggressive conflict or its latent possibility comes the resolution of many disputes. The strike and the lockout and the threat of these actions are means for inducing agreement—out of war or the threat of war comes the settlement of controversies.[6] It is through such aggressive conflict or its potentiality that the parties find the bases for continued association and acceptance of each other. Collective bargaining and grievance handling are the more effective because of the more violent alternatives at hand. In the absence of aggressive conflict, controversies would be much longer drawn out, since there would be no decisive terminal point, and the absence

[4] K. G. J. C. Knowles, *Strikes—a Study in Industrial Conflict* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), pp. 210–11 and Appendix A, pp. 225–26.

[5] See Georg Simmel, *Sociology*, chap. i, "The Sociological Nature of Conflict" (trans. Kurt Wolff [unpublished manuscript]).

[6] "A strike in the ordinary industrial relationship is, as you know, a part and a very useful part of the machinery of collective bargaining. . . . In the last fifteen minutes of big controversies it is the right to strike or the threat of a strike, the possibility of a strike, that is the instrument with which the controversy is settled. It is always present at the conference table. It is the thing that puts a limit on unreason and it is the thing that holds the parties in the last fifteen minutes to the full responsibility of making their own decisions. And without that responsibility you do not have collective bargaining" (William H. Davis, "Collective Bargaining and Economic Progress," in *Industrial Disputes and the Public Interest* [Berkeley and Los Angeles: Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, 1947], pp. 12–13).

of a settlement can be costly, too, in increased irritability and tension between the parties. Fortunately, unlike war between nations, aggressive conflict between labor and management cannot last too long or harm the parties too much, since they have limited staying power and can only survive individually as they survive jointly.

Second, conflict, and particularly open conflict, reduces tensions.[7] In modern industrial society the sources of unrest and hostility are enormous. The strike provides an outlet for them when they are so severe as to require forceful expression. As in the ancient Greek tragedies, reconciliation follows more easily if retribution has preceded. In a sense, thus, strikes are constructive when they result in the greater appreciation of the job by the worker and of the worker by management. It is a not uncommon occurrence for productivity to rise after a strike. The chance to rebel against the other party on occasion establishes the independence of the group and of the individual, makes acceptance of the surrounding social system easier, and, therefore, can make a net addition to satisfaction and to production. The "five-and-dime" revolution can be readily absorbed into a flexible social system.

Third, out of the conflict of management and union—and this on occasion may involve aggressive action—the worker is better served. As the two parties compete for his loyalty, his interests are advanced. Further, this conflict protects him from domination. In its absence, one or the other organization might become too powerful for him to retain a minimum of personal liberty. Management and union check and balance each other.

[7] "Smoldering discontent may exist for a long time without coming to a head. Such discontent is reflected in decreased efficiency and an increased cost of production. Even strikes may be preferable, clearing a surcharged atmosphere and affording a basis for a fresh start. Many an industry which has had no strikes for years nevertheless has anything but satisfactory industrial relations.

"Labor disputes are not necessarily an evil" (Edwin E. Witte, *The Government in Labor Disputes* [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1932], pp. 3–4).

This is not to advance the notion of violence for violence' sake or to say that unlimited antagonism is desirable. Rather, it is to argue for the golden mean, for some reasonable combination of conflict—even aggressive conflict—and co-operation between the extremes of anarchy and complete collaboration, and to argue against the view that there should be a unitary solution to the worker-management relationship, that a monistic organization including both is desirable, and that conflict should be entirely suppressed. Limited antagonism serves a social purpose.

Observations.—If industrial conflict is natural, if it may take several forms, including aggressive ones, and if, in reasonable amounts and restricted expressions, it serves the welfare of society, then certain conclusions follow.

1. There are no utopian solutions which will bring universal industrial peace through better understanding and more effective systems of communication, through the application of the science of semantics to clarify the meaning of words, even through better mediation machinery or more skilled mediators, or through any other special device.[8]

2. If industrial dissatisfaction cannot be entirely suppressed in the long run, then a realistic choice should be made as to the forms of its expression. In the industrial field, collective bargaining and its natural companion, the normal strike, are probably the most satisfactory forms. They take place in the open and can be handled effectively and in a disciplined fashion between the two parties. A conflict of this sort is more subject to compromise than one on a larger scale in the political arena—more subject to a definitive solution than organized absenteeism or restriction of output or sabotage. Industrial

[8] In fact, misunderstanding and the misuse of words have probably made a substantial contribution to industrial peace. If the parties had more often fully appreciated each other's motives, there would undoubtedly have been more conflict than has been the fact, and a barrier of imprecise language has often kept the parties from lunging at each other's throats.

conflict should be accepted as a natural concomitant of an industrial society and should be channeled along constructive lines.

In summary, there are real sources of conflict in an industrial society of managers and managed; these sources of conflict can find an expression in actions of semi-independent interest groups in a democratic nation; some of these expressions are aggressive in nature in the sense that they are intended to coerce the opposite party; such aggressive expressions and their availability make nonaggressive forms of conflict more effective in settling disputes, and, additionally, the fact of aggressive conflict and its accessibility eases social tensions. But conflict may be destructive as well as constructive, and thus it needs to be guided if the social fabric is to be protected and serious injury to individuals and groups avoided.

THE TYPES OF DECISIONS WHICH LEAD TO CONFLICT

Between the desire to oppose another party and an attack against that party lies a decision to act. We shall be concerned here primarily with decisions to undertake aggressive conflict (specifically, the strike), since it is such decisions, rather than those to pursue diplomatic conflict, which involve the most important calculations of prospective gain and prospective cost. The decisions may be grouped in three major categories: rational, nonrational, and irrational. There are, of course, many mixed cases: thus it might be said that there are rational, nonrational, and irrational elements in cases, rather than decisions.

Rational decisions.—These are decisions which stem from true knowledge of the situation and are founded on a recognized purpose. They may, in turn, relate to "real" or "induced" conflict or some combination of the two. Real conflict exists where the principals (the owners and the workers) have a purpose to be served by the action taken; induced conflict, where the representatives (managers of enterprises or of employers' associations, and union officials) have an end to be gained by conflict, although the prin-

cipals do not, for membership and leadership are seldom unitary. In the former type, the group is acting rationally; in the latter, the leaders are. Real conflict is likely to stem from three desires: (*a*) a desire for more power or income for the group;[9] (*b*) a desire to strengthen the organization, or perhaps to initiate it, through the common experience of external combat; and (*c*) a desire to vent generalized dissatisfaction and relieve strain, perhaps taking the form of a "quickie" strike.

Induced conflict normally stems from the desire of a representative to strengthen his position directly by demonstrating his importance to the organization (for example, the lawyer representing an employer or an employers' association can charge a larger fee when there is more trouble to be dealt with) or his superiority over a rival or indirectly by invigorating the organization to offset apathy or to counter the efforts of a competing group. It may also originate in a desire to serve some end external to the group, perhaps of a political nature. External combat is chosen as a device for settling internal difficulties. It may seem strange to prefer external troubles to internal, but this is often a quite rational choice. The external conflict is usually more open to acceptable compromise than the internal one, which is to be either won or lost; and the cost of the external conflict is largely borne by others. Such conflict is normally induced on one side only; but, where the leaders on both sides have become sophisticated and professional, they may agree tacitly or explicitly that conflict would serve their respective purposes, and they may even negotiate in advance the nature and duration of the conflict and the terms on which it will be concluded.

Nonrational decisions.—These differ from rational decisions because of lack of full knowledge. The conflict has a purpose according to the knowledge available, but the

[9] The aim may be current gain or establishment of the power to inflict damage as an investment designed to produce future gain—what Hicks called "burnishing the sword" (see J. R. Hicks, *The Theory of Wages* [New York: Macmillan Co., 1932], p. 146).

knowledge is faulty. There may be a mis-understanding of the actions or intent of the other party, or false estimates of the result of the conflict,[10] or improper calculations of the costs to be incurred, for example. The leaders are more likely to be rational than are the members but may be unable to re-strain their nonrational citizenry.

Irrational decisions.—These are decisions which are wild, aimless, and purposeless. This type of decision is quite rare where bar-gaining relationships are well established.

In time, as experience accumulates and organizations become more bureaucratic and less responsive to their constituencies, nonrational conflict probably decreases, and induced conflict probably increases.

RESPONSES TO CONFLICT

Faced by conflict, each party to it has three broad alternatives: it may withdraw; it may seek to destroy or to dominate the other party; or it may accept the adversary more or less permanently, adjust itself to the fact of conflict, and adapt itself to live with it. Labor-management conflict is of a special sort because, by and large, only the third alternative—accommodation—is a realistic one. Withdrawal is hardly possible and cer-tainly not likely. The union and the com-pany have, in a sense, the same rank and file—for the employees of the company and the members of the union are the same indi-viduals. One or the other party can with-draw only by abandoning its members, and this means extinction, except for such in-stances as a company's moving its location and recruiting a new labor force.

Destruction or domination of the other party is not common in the cultural context with which we are here concerned, although it can and does happen. Companies have broken unions (have "killed them with kindness") or have turned them into ap-pendages of management; and unions have broken companies, although rarely, or have

[10] Pigou designated this as the problem of con-flicting "expectations" (see A. C. Pigou, *The Eco-nomics of Welfare* [4th ed.; New York: Macmillan Co., 1950], p. 453).

subdued them, and this is not so rare where a powerful union faces small employers. Generally, however, the surrounding society gives some protection to each party in the preservation of its individual sovereignty. The common situation is continuation of a degree of conflict, whether substantial or minimal, and acclimatization of each party to a milieu of conflict.

Industrial relations differ from interna-tional relations quite sharply in this regard as in others.[11] Two nations, if in conflict, have a wider range of possible choices. With separate constituencies, they can withdraw from each other and still survive. Also, dom-ination or destruction of the opponent is a more likely possibility, since there is no ex-ternal society with comparatively over-whelming power to protect the individual sovereignty of each party. Thus control and structuring of conflict to make it mutually bearable are less likely. Both ends and means are more unlimited.

In industrial relations, where they must live together indefinitely in some degree of conflict, the parties almost universally es-tablish, formally or informally, some rules of the game to limit the conflict, or they accept establishment of such rules by the state. These rules normally protect the survival of both parties, reduce the potential injury to each, introduce some predictability into their actions, and protect third parties from un-due harm. The employer, for example, may forego the use of strikebreakers, the dis-charge of strikers, or the blacklist. The union may forego sabotage, the boycott of prod-ucts, or violence against officials of the com-pany. Together they may limit the initiation of conflict to stated intervals or to stated subjects, and they may specify the succes-sive steps it will follow. The state may inter-vene to forbid violence or to enforce con-tracts during their term of life. The develop-

[11] Thus the cost of international conflict is, of course, almost infinitely greater. Also, conflict, once started, is less likely to be resolved by conciliation between the two parties, since they have not the same membership in common and can live longer without each other than can management and labor, among other reasons.

ment of these rules is of the greatest importance, and in time they tend to grow more complex and rigid, until conflict may become quite stylized and perhaps even ceremonial. Such fully developed rules remove much of the cost to the parties and much of the impact on the public at large. Warfare is neither constant nor unrestricted.

These responses to conflict affect mediation in at least two ways. First, mediation appears always to be successful. Given the necessity, and usually the urgent necessity, of agreement, since aggressive conflict is so costly to both sides, all disputes end at some point, and all strikes are concluded. Perhaps no agency of government can post such a record of constant success as its mediation service, and few mediators ever fail. Contrariwise, mediation might be said to make little or no contribution in the sense that all disputes would be settled sometime without outside intervention. In fact, there is no accurate quantifiable test of its efficiency.[12] Second, much mediation, where relations are well established, is quite ceremonial. The mediator enters the case as a matter of established practice or as proof proffered by the leaders to their constituencies on both sides that they carried on a bona fide dispute and did not yield too soon or too much. In either event, the participation of the mediator may be quite perfunctory. Mediation is part of the game but not an essential part.

TACTICAL MEDIATION

Guidance by a third party to an acceptable accommodation is the essence of mediation, which thus stands midway between conciliation, that is, adjustment of a dispute by the parties themselves, and arbitration, that is, decision by a third party. Mediation, in its traditional sense, involves the intervention of a third party into a particular dispute, and this participation of a third party

[12] For attempts to measure the effectiveness of mediation see Arnold M. Rose, "Needed Research on the Mediation of Labor Disputes," *Personnel Psychology*, autumn, 1952. See also J. W. Steiber, *Ten Years of the Minnesota Labor Relations Act* (Industrial Relations Center Bull. 9 [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949]).

in a situation which is already given will be called "tactical" mediation. "Strategical" mediation consists, instead, of the structuring of the situation itself, of the creation of a favorable environment within which the parties interact. The purpose of tactical mediation is to bring existing nonviolent conflict between the parties to a mutually acceptable result so that there will be no need for it to become violent or to end violent conflict by agreement or by transfer to nonviolent means. Strategical mediation aims instead at reducing the incidence of conflict and channeling it along nondestructive lines of development.

Tactical mediation is a particularly appealing method of reducing industrial conflict. It is simple to apply. It relies on persuasion rather than on force. It is almost universally supported, at least at the verbal level. But what contribution, in fact, can a tactical mediator make to the resolution of a conflict which the parties cannot provide for themselves? The parties will usually be more familiar with the situation and will have the greater incentive. Viewed analytically, the following are the major potential contributions.[13]

1. *Reduction of irrationality.*—The mediator can bring the parties toward a more rational mood by giving the individuals involved an opportunity to vent their feelings to him, by keeping personal recriminations out of joint discussions, and by drawing the attention of the parties to the objective is-

[13] This discussion will deal with an analysis of the mediation process. It will not describe legal mechanisms or actual techniques. A particularly helpful recent discussion of mechanisms and techniques is found in Elmore Jackson, *The Meeting of Minds* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1952). For a discussion of techniques see also Rose, *op. cit.*; E. L. Warren and I. Bernstein, "The Mediation Process," *Southern Economic Journal*, XV, No. 4 (April, 1949), 441–57; F.H. Bullen, "The Mediation Process," *Proceedings of the New York University Annual Conference on Labor*, 1948, pp. 105–43; and John T. Dunlop and James J. Healy, *Collective Bargaining* (rev. ed.; Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, 1953), chap. iv.

For a study relating the mediator's personality and background to the mediation process see Irving R. Weschler, "The Personal Factor in Labor Mediation," *Personnel Psychology*, summer, 1950.

sues in dispute and to the consequences of aggressive conflict.[14]

2. *Removal of nonrationality.*—The mediator can aid the parties in reaching a full appreciation of reality by clarifying the intentions of the parties toward each other, the issues in controversy, and the pertinent facts and by leading each party to accurate calculations of the cost of aggressive conflict and of the prospective results of such conflict. Quite commonly, each party, particularly when collective bargaining is new to it, underestimates these costs and overestimates the potential gain. The mediator can often bring a truer estimate of the strength of the opposite party and a truer expectation of the outcome than is available initially.[15] While it is not normally too difficult to assist the leaders in these realizations, the task of reaching the constituencies on both sides is often an impossible one. The constituencies may come to recognize reality only through the fire of combat, for the endurance of a strike often serves an educational purpose. It is one of the functions of a strike to raise the calculation of cost and reduce the prospect of gain. The intervention of a mediator is sometimes timed to correspond with the growing recognition of true costs and realistic prospects.

3. *Exploration of solutions.*—Not only can a skilled mediator help the parties explore solutions which have occurred to them independently, but he can create new solutions around which positions have not yet become fixed.[16] In collective bargaining, as elsewhere, there are several means to the

same end, and some of these means will be less abhorrent than others to the opposite party. The mediator can assist in finding those solutions in which, for a given cost to one party, the advantage of the other is maximized or, phrased reversely, in which a certain gain for one party can be secured at the minimum cost to the other. The exploration of solutions is generally most effective before the positions of the parties have become strongly solidified. It is particularly difficult to mediate disputes when the parties have rationalized or theorized their positions or have tied them in with a general ideological orientation. They are then not practical problems but matters of principle.

4. *Assistance in the graceful retreat.*—All, or almost all, collective bargaining involves some retreat by both parties from their original positions. The union normally asks for more than it expects ultimately to receive, and the employer offers less than he expects ultimately to concede. There are at least two major reasons for this. First, neither party is likely to know exactly what the best offer of the other party will be. Thus it is only prudent to make one's own original demand well below or well above the most likely level of concession of the opponent to avoid any chance of having foregone a possible gain. Second, to insist to the end on the original proposal is almost an unfair labor practice, under the rules of the game, for it denies the other party the opportunity of forcing some concession and thus claiming a victory of sorts.

Normally both parties must retreat from their original positions, and much of the fascination of collective bargaining is in the tactics of retreat. Each party seeks to dis-

[14] Sometimes, however, the mediator may encourage settlement by inducing an irrational desire on the part of the representatives for agreement through the use of all-night sessions or of liquor, for example.

[15] The mediator, however, is unlikely to be interested in removing nonrationality in those cases in which one or both parties has overestimated the strength of the opponent or has underestimated the potential result. Furthermore, he normally wishes to encourage an exaggerated estimate of costs and a minimal estimate of gains. In other words, his goal is a peaceful settlement, not the removal of a nonrationality in the parties, although the latter, in the standard situation, conduces to the former.

[16] George W. Taylor has emphasized the "art of proposing the alternate solution" as the crucial part of the mediation process. The skilful application of this art also involves assistance in the "graceful retreat" (see below), which Taylor has termed bring-ing about a "consent to lose." (See "The Role of Mediation in Labor-Management Relations" [address at a conference of regional directors of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, Washington, D.C., June 23, 1952], pp. 15 ff., and "Instead of Strike-bargaining," *New York Times Magazine,* July 6, 1947, p. 27.)

cover and profit from the best offer of the other without disclosing and having to concede his own. The mediator can assist the retreat in at least three ways. First, he can call the parties together. Particularly when a strike is in process, neither side may wish to request negotiations for fear it will betray a sense of weakness. The mediator can help avoid such embarrassment by issuing the call.

Second, the mediator can act as a go-between on the making of offers. Not only is it unwise to retreat a step without getting the other party to retreat a step also, but any open retreat at all may be unwise if it appears that no agreement may be reached, for then the parties may wish to resume their original positions unencumbered by face-to-face concessions. The mediator can help control the pace of retreat, for, if one party initially retreats too rapidly, the other may miscalculate the ultimate stopping point, and, in trying to push too far, cause aggressive conflict. Moreover, the mediator can speed up the retreat for both sides by making it more revocable, since he, rather than the parties themselves, seems to be making the suggestions. The more revocable a concession, the easier it is to make. The mediator makes it possible for the parties to yield without seeming to yield and thus to disclose their true positions to each other without being eternally committed to them. Each offer, after all, is presented as the "last offer," not as the "next to last" offer, and there is no point in prematurely becoming committed to the truly last offer unless it is necessary and will settle the controversy.

Third, he can help "save face." The mere entrance of a mediator is a face-saving device. In collective bargaining there are no really objective tests of the performance of the representatives of each side, yet their constituencies seek to test them, and they seek to justify their stewardship. Appearances thus are important. One proof of capable stewardship in negotiations is that the results are as good as or better than those achieved in similar situations elsewhere; another is that concessions were wrung from

the opposite party; another is that an elected negotiating committee participated in the negotiations; and another is that the controversy was so hard fought that a mediator had to be brought in.

But a mediator may do more than put in an appearance: he may make recommendations, perhaps even public recommendations (as in the case of a so-called "fact-finding board").[17] A party can sometimes accept such recommendations, particularly if they come from a person of prestige, when it could not make a similar offer itself or accept such an offer from the other party.[18] The mediator shoulders some responsibility for the result, and the responsibility of the representatives is consequently lightened. The bargaining positions and arguments of the parties are preserved more intact for the next conflict. The public normally lends its support to third-party recommendations, and this makes their acceptance also more accountable. Such recommendations may even be privately handed to the mediator by one or both parties, with the comment that they will be acceptable if the mediator will take public responsibility for their suggestion. Defeat or partial defeat at the hands of a third party is more palatable than a similar surrender to the second party.

5. *Raising the cost of conflict.*—A mediator may also raise the cost of conflict to one or both parties as an inducement to settle by bringing or threatening to bring public wrath down on their heads, by persuading their allies to withdraw their support, by threatening retribution (or reward) from government or customers or some other source, by going behind the backs of the representatives to reach and influence the prin-

[17] Advanced forms of mediation approximate arbitration, just as arbitration of disputes over new contractual arrangements (as contrasted with grievance disputes) often takes on many of the aspects of mediation.

[18] "Agreement" requires that both parties reach the same point in their concessions to each other. "Acceptability" only means that they are close enough to a point set by a third party so that they will not revolt against it. The range of "acceptability" may, of course, be wide or narrow.

cipals in favor of a settlement. But these tactics are not normally pursued and are usually reserved for only the most crucial cases of great public concern. The mediator masquerades as a friend of the parties, and particularly of their representatives, with whom he has face-to-face dealings, and these are the acts of an enemy. Moreover, no mediator who employs such tactics is long acceptable as a mediator.

Some disputes are not subject to a mediation settlement short of aggressive conflict, regardless of the skill of the mediator. There are situations where aggressive conflict has positive values in itself—where there is some institutional gain from such conflict, such as a larger or more devoted membership; where the leaders need an external war to improve their internal positions; where one or both parties want to "burnish the sword"; where, as Pigou notes,[19] an employer may wish to use a strike to get rid of excess stocks or may encourage a strike during a slack period so that one during a peak period will be less likely; where an employer uses a strike as an excuse for raising prices or for withholding production until a more favorable tax period arrives; where one or the other party seeks to further some end external to the relationship—it might be political, or it might be the union leader's need for an occasional strike to encourage the sale of "strike insurance"; or where a strike is desired as a relief from tension. A strike for strike's sake must run its course.

A particularly difficult controversy to mediate, strangely enough, is one in which the costs of aggressive conflict to each party are enormous.[20] Then any one of many solutions is better than a strike, and the process of narrowing these possible solutions to a single one is an arduous task.

While several important types of dispute are not susceptible to effective mediation at all, short of aggressive conflict, mediation does undoubtedly settle some controversies peacefully.

[19] Pigou, *op. cit.*, p. 454.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 460–61.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF TACTICAL MEDIATION

Mediation, undoubtedly, does make a substantial net contribution to the reduction of aggressive industrial conflict, but this does not mean that it does so in every case: indeed, it may even increase the propensity to strike. It may encourage a strike, of course, where an unskilled mediator serves only to turn the parties more against each other or to obscure solutions; but it may do so also when the mediator is skilled, for he may aid the parties to fight, as well as to retreat, gracefully. (The sophisticated negotiator is more likely to need help to fight gracefully under certain circumstances than to retreat gracefully under the same circumstances.) If the public is opposed to strikes and may take action against them, the participation of a mediator in a dispute may convince it of the good faith of the parties' attempts to reach a settlement, making the public more tolerant of a strike and thus making it easier for the parties to strike; or, if a strike is in process, the entrance of a mediator may forestall more drastic public intervention and thus make it possible to strike for a longer period.

Likewise, if a strike serves a leadership but not a membership purpose,[21] the use of a mediator may help convince the membership that the leaders made a determined effort to reach a settlement, when in fact they did not, and thus ease membership acceptance of strike costs. This ruse will not be successful if the membership is sufficiently sophisticated, but this is very seldom the case.

The mediator has been employed in both these situations as a device to make the situation appear different from what it really is, to camouflage true intentions, to mislead the public or the members. This is "for-the-record" mediation. (See cases 1 and 2 below.)

The mediator may be an unwitting party, in the hands of skilled practitioners, to this

[21] This assumes, of course, that there is a "membership purpose," but the membership may be and sometimes is so divided in its desires or interests that no single membership purpose can be said to exist.

deception, but he may also participate willingly, for basically he works for the representatives of both sides, not for the principals or for the public. It is the representatives with whom he associates and from whom he expects acceptance. But in some cases, particularly those of vital public concern, the mediator may go behind the backs of the representatives to reach the principals (or, in the case of the union, also to higher levels of the union organization) and encourage them to press their representatives for a peaceful settlement; or he may go over their heads to the public to exert pressure for settlement, by, for example, attacking the stubbornness of the representatives of one or both parties. (See cases 5 and 6 below.) The former is particularly difficult, however, for it involves a partial or complete repudiation of the representatives. The latter is especially effective in a culture, such as that of Germany, which places great stress on law and order and great reliance on public authority, and, conversely, it is less effective in the United States.[22] Where the public is unconcerned about a strike or is concerned but is unable to take effective action or where the membership has no control over its representatives, the mediator, of course, has no recourse beyond the representatives themselves. (See cases 3 and 4 below.)

More common are the situations in which the mediator can aid the leaders or members or both toward a more rational position or can bring skill beyond that available to the parties in making proposals or in aiding the retreat. (See cases 7, 8, and 9 below.)

Table 1 sets forth analytically these various situations.[23] It does not exhaust all the

[22] Mediation occurs at four levels of intensity: (1) where the mediator convenes the parties and transmits their offers back and forth (often called "conciliation"); (2) where the mediator makes suggestions and raises considerations on his own; (3) where the mediator makes public recommendations; and (4) where the mediator tries to manipulate the situation against the wishes of the representatives.

[23] This table assumes, as does the general discussion, that irrationality and nonrationality, misrepresentation of membership interests by leaders, and lack of skill conduce toward aggressive conflict, and this is normally true. But there are contrary situa-

possible combinations, for reality is immensely complex, although other combinations not specifically set forth may be suggested. Particularly, the table abstracts from reality in giving only two alternatives ("Yes" and "No") to such questions as membership control of leaders, when, in fact, there is an infinite number of degrees of control.

Case 1 is the "pure" situation of full rationality, representativeness, and skill all around. Here the mediator can help the parties reach a settlement, if they want to agree, but he is not really necessary. If the parties do not wish to agree, however, his presence can only serve to fool the public about intent to settle and thus increase the propensity to strike. The public, of course, may not care whether a strike occurs or not, and then the mediator's influence is neutral (case 3); or, if the public does care enough, the mediator may turn against the parties and bring public pressure to bear on them (case 5).

Case 2 is one of misrepresentation in a context of leader-membership responsiveness. The representatives of one or both parties want a strike which will not benefit the members. Here the mediator serves only to hoodwink the members, unless he is willing to go behind the backs of the representatives (case 6). The membership may not be able to control the representatives, however, and here the mediator serves no or little pur-

tions—the leaders or members or both may overestimate the cost of a strike; the leaders may be too lazy and bureaucratic to want to manage an otherwise desirable strike, or they may "sell out" to the other party; or, through lack of skill, representatives may stumble into an agreement they never wanted. Generally, nevertheless, there is less peace, rather than more, because of lack of rationality, skill, and representativeness.

When the leadership misrepresents the membership in favor of peace, unauthorized or "wildcat" strikes may occur, and they are particularly difficult to mediate because the conflict is a three-way affair —membership versus leadership versus employer. Generally, cessation of the membership versus leadership controversy is a prerequisite to effective mediation of the leadership versus employer conflict.

pose, one way or the other, if the representatives desire a strike (case 4).

Cases 7, 8, and 9 show, respectively, where the mediator adds to the rationality of the leaders and the members, to the rationality of the members where the leaders are already rational, and to the skill available to the leaders on one or both sides.

The nine cases may be described, in order, as follows:

into thinking that the maximum effort toward settlement is being made, when, in fact, the leaders want a strike for their own purposes.

3. *The case of the indifferent public.*—The public does not care one way or another whether there is a strike or not, and so there is no point in trying to fool it through introducing a mediator into the situation.

4. *The case of the impotent members.*—The

TABLE 1

TACTICAL MEDIATION—THE STRUCTURE OF INDIVIDUAL CASE SITUATIONS

SITUATIONAL FACTORS	CERTAIN TYPE SITUATIONS AND THE EFFECT OF MEDIATION ON PROPENSITY TOWARD AGGRESSIVE CONFLICT								
	Increase		Neutral		Decrease				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Leaders (on both sides):									
Are they rational?................	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No*	Yes	Yes
Are they skilled?.................	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No*
Do they represent their members?...	Yes	No*	Yes	No	Yes	No*	Yes	Yes	Yes
Members (on both sides):									
Are they rational?................	Yes	No*	Yes	Yes	Yes	No*	No*	No*	Yes
Do they control their leaders?......	Yes	Yes	Yes	No*	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Public:									
Does it dislike a strike, and is it able to penalize the parties?..........	Yes*	Yes	No*	Yes	Yes*	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mediator:									
Is he responsive to the wishes of the leaders rather than to those of the members and the public?.........	Yes	Yes*	Yes	Yes	No*	No*	Yes	Yes	Yes

DEFINITIONS: (1) "Propensity toward aggressive conflict" includes both the proneness to strike and the duration of the strike. (2) "Rational" means full and accurate knowledge of costs and results of aggressive conflict. (3) "Skilled" means ability to retreat gracefully, if so desired, without third-party assistance or gracefully to avoid a retreat, if so desired, with third-party assistance. (4) Leaders may "represent their members"-either by working solely for membership goals (such as "burnishing the sword") or by working for leadership goals (impeding the rise of a rival) where the latter calls for the same action as the former. (The representative of the single employer may be the employer himself, although on the employer side, as well as on the union side, the principals do not usually directly represent themselves.) (5) "The members control the leaders" when the members are able to prevent leadership action contrary to membership desires.
BASIC ASSUMPTIONS: (1) There is a rational basis for some aggressive conflict in that conflict pays one or both parties, and the parties do not wish to avoid it. (2) Nonrationality, irrationality, and lack of skill of leaders or members and action flowing from leadership, as contrasted with membership interests, all increase the propensity toward aggressive conflict. (3) The membership, or at least a majority of it, is relatively homogeneous in its interests. (4) The mediator is skilled.
* Asterisks denote the particularly significant factors in each case.

1. *The case of the hoodwinked public.*—The servant-of-the-parties mediator helps the parties to fool an agitated public into thinking that all is being done which can be done to encourage a peaceful solution, even though the parties are intent on warfare.

2. *The case of the hoodwinked membership.*—The servant-of-the-parties mediator helps the leaders to fool the ignorant members

members have no control over their leaders, and so nothing is to be gained by a pretense of a bona fide effort at settlement through mediation.

5. *The for-God-and-Country case.*—The public servant mediator takes the side of an agitated public and puts pressure on the parties against their will toward a peaceful settlement.

6. *The for-God-and-the-Common-Man case.*
—The public servant mediator turns against
the leaders in order to achieve a settlement
where he believes the leaders are, for their
own selfish reasons, choosing a strike against
the interests of an ignorant membership.

7. *The case of general lack of appreciation
of the situation.*—The mediator introduces
rationality to both leaders and members.

8. *The case of selective lack of appreciation
of the situation.*—The mediator helps the
leaders bring rationality into the views of
the members.

9. *The case of awkwardness.*—The media-
tor supplies negotiating skills which the
leaders lack.

Cases 7, 8, and 9 are certainly the most
common of all, and they occur most fre-
quently where small employers and local
unions are involved and the members and
the leaders are inexperienced; cases 3 and 4
are probably the next most common and
arise chiefly when there is sophisticated
leadership of well-established organizations
in industries of no special concern to the
public; cases 1 and 2, which come next in
order of probable importance, develop when
the leadership is highly sophisticated but
must be careful of the sensitivities of the
public and the members; and cases 5 and 6
are the least common and take place only
where the conflict is of enough concern for
the mediator to sacrifice his standing by tak-
ing action contrary to leadership interests.
Historically, as collective bargaining moves,
albeit quite slowly, from cases 7, 8, and 9 to
cases 1, 2, 3, and 4, with the growth in size of
organizations and the gain in sophistication
of leaders, mediation can serve less and less
of a positive purpose, except as it under-
takes the disagreeable tactics implicit in
cases 5 and 6. Compulsory mediation, as
practiced in some countries, is no more effec-
tive than voluntary mediation unless such
tactics are employed.

When a member joins an organization, he
does so, in part, to purchase rationality and
skill not otherwise available to him. If this
purchase were always a successful one, medi-
ation would be largely unnecessary. It finds

its justification basically in the failings in
this act of purchase—leaders are not skilled
or are not rational or are not representative,
or the members do not believe them if they
are.[24]

There is no convincing evidence that tac-
tical mediation has had much of an effect in
reducing the totality of aggressive industrial
conflict. Strikes seem to go their own way,
responsive to other, more persuasive forces.
To understand the role of tactical media-
tion, we must thus examine not only the
internal characteristics of situations but
also the external environments within which
they arise.[25]

STRATEGICAL MEDIATION

A strike is not an isolated event, a solitary
episode. It occurs within a given social con-
text, a surrounding economic and political
environment. The major variations in the
incidence of such conflict relate not to the
efficacy of the direct ministrations to the
conflict, such as tactical mediation, but to
the total milieu within which it arises. Fewer
strikes are experienced in Sweden than in

[24] This leadership-membership relationship is a
difficult one, at best, for, if the members are not
themselves rational, they can hardly know whether
they did, in fact, purchase rationality, and, if they
are rational, the purchase may be unnecessary. The
former is the more common case and helps explain
the usual skepticism and cynicism of the members
vis-à-vis their representatives.

[25] Proposals for strengthening the effectiveness of
the mediation process have generally been concerned
with recommendations which are confined within the
tactical-mediation orbit. Establishing orderly or-
ganized-procedure arrangements or fixing a definite
time period as appropriate for mediation ("after col-
lective bargaining has ended in disagreements and
before a work stoppage has begun"), as Leiserson,
for example, has suggested, could at best reflect in
the efficacy of tactical mediation but could not cir-
cumvent the inherent limitation of tactical media-
tory practice per se. (See William M. Leiserson,
"The Role of Government in Industrial Relations,"
in *Industrial Disputes and the Public Interest* [Berke-
ley and Los Angeles: Institute of Industrial Rela-
tions, University of California, 1947], and his presi-
dential address before the Industrial Relations Re-
search Association, "The Function of Mediation in
Labor Relations" in L. Reed Tripp [ed.], *Proceedings
of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Industrial Rela-
tions Research Association* [1951]).

the United States, and fewer in the garment industry than in coal-mining, not because tactical mediation is more skilled in Sweden than it is in the United States or is more skilled in one industry than in another, but rather because of the differing surrounding environments. Aggressive industrial conflict varies greatly from nation to nation, industry to industry, firm to firm, and time to time. Which situations are most conducive to nonviolent, and which to violent, conflict?

Strategical mediation is concerned with the manipulation of these situations and thus with factors quite external to the parties themselves.[26] From one point of view, society is a huge mediation mechanism, a means for settling disagreements between rival claimants—taxpayers and recipients of benefits, buyers and sellers, proponents of opposing political ideologies—so that people may live together in some state of mutual tolerance. Some societies mediate their disagreements, through their markets, their courts, their political processes, more effectively than do others. Society in the large is the mediation machinery for industrial as well as other forms of conflict.

Two recent studies demonstrate the crucial relationship of the environment to industrial conflict. The first[27] investigated the strike proneness of industries in eleven na-

tions and found that some industries (like mining and longshoring) universally evidenced a high propensity to strike and others (like clothing and trade) a low propensity. The second study[28] summarized the environmental characteristics of a series of industrial plants in the United States noted for their industrial peace and concluded that these plants all fell within a definable environmental setting. Drawing on these two studies and, among others, on recent ones by Ross and Irwin[29] and by Knowles,[30] the social arrangements which seem in the long run generally most favorable to nonviolent industrial conflict, within the cultural context with which we are here concerned, may be set forth as follows:

1. *Integration of workers and employers into society.*—To the extent that workers and employers consider themselves primarily citizens with roughly equal status, privileges, and opportunity, the sting is taken out of their relationship. The greater the social mobility, the more mixed in membership the various social associations, the more heterogeneous the community's occupational composition, the more accepted the institutions of workers and the greater their participation in general community life, the more secure the worker in his job and the higher his skill—the less violent will be the industrial conflict in the long run.

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[26] Intermediate between tactical mediation and strategical mediation lies "preventative tactical mediation." It takes for its province more than the individual dispute but less than the total relevant environment. It deals with the relationships of the parties in general. It may be concerned with a long-run change in the attitudes of the parties toward each other or toward their mutual problems, with the nature of the leadership on one side or another, with the pressures to which the parties may be subject, with the timing of contract expiration dates, or with the alliances of the parties. It seeks to manipulate the parties and their relationships in advance in favor of nonviolent conflict.

[27] Clark Kerr and Abraham Siegel, "The Interindustry Propensity To Strike—an International Comparison" (to be published by the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, in a volume on *Industrial Conflict*, edited by Robert Dubin, Arthur Kornhauser, and Arthur Ross).

[28] Clark Kerr, "Industrial Peace and the Collective Bargaining Environment," published by the National Planning Association as part of its final report in its series on "Causes of Industrial Peace."

[29] Arthur M. Ross and Donald Irwin, "Strike Experience in Five Countries, 1927–1947: An Interpretation," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, April, 1951, pp. 323–42. See also comment by Adolf Sturmthal (pp. 391–94) and rejoinder by Ross (pp. 395–98) in the April, 1953, issue of the same journal.

[30] *Op. cit.* See also his paper presented to the Second Congress of the International Sociological Association, Liége, Belgium, August, 1953, "Strike-Proneness and Its Determinants" [which appears in this issue.—JOURNAL EDS.]. Another paper presented to the same congress by Harold L. Sheppard, "Approaches to Conflict in American Industrial Sociology," suggests that only those studies of industrial conflict which take account of the broader environmental milieu can be productive of fruitful generalization.

2. *Stability of the society.*—The incidence of strikes is directly related to major changes in the operation of the society—particularly to the business cycle and to wars.[31] Each major economic or political change creates a new situation for the parties, and they must adjust their relationship to it, often in a trial of strength. Similarly, unusually rapid growth or decline of an industry or technological change in it is likely to raise problems in a form which invites a violent solution. The parties normally can adjust more peacefully to gradual than to precipitous change.[32]

3. *Ideological compatibility.*—The attitudes of people and groups toward each other and their over-all orientation toward society affect industrial relationships. Where people believe in brotherly love or the equality of man, for example, their disagreements will be fewer, less sharp, and more amenable to easy compromise. Where, however, they believe in the inevitable opposition of classes, in the rapacity of other men, then violent industrial conflict is more likely. The perspectives of men, it should be noted, are not unrelated to their actual experiences in their social environments. The close co-operation of leaders of industry and labor in the Netherlands during the German occupation in World War II, for example, has been a source of their intimate relations since then.

4. *Secure and responsive relationship of leaders to members.*—For the minimization of violent industrial conflict, it is desirable that leaders be (*a*) relatively secure in their posi-

tions and (*b*) responsive to their constituencies. Security of position, on the union side, for example, means lack of intense rivalry for leadership and solidarity of the organization against defection of its members or attack by a rival group. When the leaders are under pressure directly or indirectly, they may respond by encouraging an external war. Vested interests in conflict may be particularly damaging when the leaders make the decisions but the members pay the costs. Under these conditions the leaders will seek to assure the irrationality or nonrationality of the members.

At the same time, leaders should be responsive to their constituencies; otherwise, they may make aggressive use of the organization as a means to an end external to the life of the organization, or by their neglect they may encourage internal revolt with its repercussions. It is relatively easy in many mass organizations for the leadership to exploit the membership in one fashion or another. The proper combination of security and responsiveness of leadership is not always readily attainable, for these two requirements point in somewhat contrary directions.

5. *The dispersion of grievances.*—The mass grievance, one which is held by many people in the same place at the same time against the same antagonist, grows and feeds on itself. Society can more readily accommodate and adjust the small grievance.[33] Thus it is helpful if discontent can find several outlets—individual quitting of jobs and political expression, for example, as

[31] See Sheila V. Hopkins, "Industrial Stoppages and Their Economic Significance," *Oxford Economic Papers* (new ser.), June, 1953, pp. 209–20, for one of the more recent of the many studies which note the tendency of fluctuations in business activity to affect the frequency and duration of industrial unrest.

[32] See Robin M. Williams, Jr., *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions* (Social Science Research Council Bulletin No. 57), pp. 56–58, where the propositions that "intergroup conflict is the more likely the more rapid and far-reaching the social changes to which individuals have to adjust" and that "conflict is especially likely in periods of rapid change in levels of living" are singled out as significant factors in the incidence of hostility and conflict.

[33] "A society riven by many minor cleavages is in less danger of open mass conflict than a society with only one or a few cleavages. . . . In the most extreme case of mass violence: An essential step in the development of revolution is the gradual concentration of public dissatisfaction upon some one institution and the persons representing it" (quoted from L. P. Edwards, *The Natural History of Revolution* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927], p. 46, in Robin M. Williams, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 59). Williams points out further that "the reduction of intergroup conflict depends upon . . . proper canalization of existing hostilities, through sanctions, diversions, redefinition of situations, etc." (p. 62).

well as organized economic action; if it is directed against several individuals and groups—the merchant, the landlord, the state, for example—rather than against an employer who also provides housing, retail facilities, and law enforcement; if it coagulates into small lumps by craft, by firm, by industry, rather than over the whole society; if it finds expression a little at a time, rather than in a single explosion; if it can be blunted by the imposition of relatively impersonal laws and rules standing between the parties on the basis of which decisions can be made which flow not alone from the parties in controversy but from less volatile sources; if it finds expression in several stages through appeal or through periodic reopening of questions and if it seldom encounters a final barrier to its voicing; if freedom to act and react is constantly preserved. At the opposite extreme is the mass grievance against a single source of power, subject to a single personal decision.

6. *Structuring the game.*—As we have seen above, rules which reduce the risks of the parties and limit the means they may employ, without unduly stifling the conflict, can make a substantial contribution to non-violent resolution of controversy or can mitigate the destructive consequences of violent conflict. Rules which guarantee the independent sovereignty of each party, which raise the cost of fighting (as does multiemployer bargaining),[34] which set some fairly precise norms for the settlement (as does the "pattern bargain"), which prohibit use of certain provocative means of combat, which limit conflict to intermittent periods,

which confine the subjects for disagreement to some reasonable area at any one time— all aid the nonviolent settlement of industrial disputes. The rules of the game aid rationality—knowledge of costs and consequences—and thus diplomatic resolution of controversies. Fortunately, in industrial relations, contrary to international relations, these rules are enforcible by society if not accepted by the parties voluntarily.

These are not easy prescriptions, although all of them are potentially subject to some utilization—not, however, in totality by any single "third party" or even by a single institution. Strategical mediation relates to an over-all community approach to its organization and to the handling of its problems, and to a general philosophical orientation toward the management of the affairs of men.

CONCLUSION

Industrial conflict, then, may be affected in three crucial ways: (1) by reducing the sources of mutual discontent; (2) by affecting the process by which decisions to act are made, either (*a*) by reducing the power to make such decisions (through control of one party by the other or of both by the state) or (*b*) by facilitating the making and implementing of decisions to act nonviolently; and (3) by channeling the conflict along the least destructive lines. Tactical mediation is concerned with 2*b;* strategical mediation, with 1 and 3. It is suggested that the latter, by the advance creation of favorable situations, can make the greater contribution to the minimization of aggressive industrial conflict and particularly of its most socially harmful aspects.

[34] A high degree of horizontal and vertical integration of worker and employer interests does not, however, prevent strikes. Witness, for example, the largest strike in Swedish history—the metal-workers' strike of 1945.

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SOCIAL TENSIONS BETWEEN FARMER AND FARM LABORER IN NORTHERN HOLLAND[1]

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ABSTRACT

In a well-organized district of the Netherlands personal relations between farmer and farm laborer up to about 1800 were patriarchal and peaceable. Then farmers became capitalistic entrepreneurs, and strong class distinctions developed between them and their hands, who now became an unattached proletariat susceptible to Marxism; and strikes and lockouts became frequent. Following the depression, to save Dutch agriculture, both parties had to make peace and co-operate in a bureaucratically conducted program; yet the class antagonisms persist. It is suggested that the agricultural colleges might correct this by inculcating new attitudes in the young farmers.

Social tensions in the relations between employers and employees in agriculture have never received the same attention which has been accorded to those in industry. Yet satisfactory social relations in rural areas are of the greatest importance for our common life. Accordingly, we propose to discuss in this paper a rural district of Holland in which the tension between farmer and farm laborer is such as to merit fully the special interest of the social research worker, namely, the northeastern portion of the province of Groningen known as *het Oldambt*. In this district the problems arising from the relations between rural employers and employees are thrown into sharp relief.

E. W. Hofstee has written some excellent studies of the social and economic development of the district, and the publications of the Groninger Maatschappij van Landbouw also contain much valuable material. The following survey is based on these publications and, above all, on the studies of Professor Hofstee.

The northeasten part of the province of Groningen, the Oldambt, is the richest and most fertile agricultural district of Holland. The farmers, energetic and progressive, are thriving; for the laborers, too, the material conditions are more favorable here than in many other country districts of Holland.

That in spite of this it should be precisely this district in which the relationship of farmer and farm laborer was formerly and continues to be so strained as to occasion open conflict, and to form the background of a great drift of workers from the land, is a phenomenon which calls for explanation. We propose to trace the historical development of the farmer–farm laborer relationship, the better to comprehend the present situation and draw lessons helpful to other rural districts which may yet have to go through a similar development.

Three periods may be distinguished in the social and economic development of the northeastern part of Groningen: (1) a period when the relation of farmer and farm laborer was patriarchal (i.e., roughly up to the beginning of the nineteenth century); (2) the phase of modern capitalist development (i.e., from the beginning of the nineteenth up to and including the first part of the twentieth century); and (3) the period of organized consultation, which begins after the crisis of the thirties.

Up to the nineteenth century farmer and laborer lived in the same social atmosphere, which was patriarchal. The laborer was loyal to his farmer, and the farmer felt himself responsible for his laborer. The good fortune of both was dependent upon the success of the farm. In mental and spiritual development there was practically no difference between them. They had attended the same school, where instruction

began with the ABC's and was complete when the pupil was able to read the Bible, to write a little, and to do simple arithmetic. Further school learning was not necessary for adapting one's self adequately to everyday life. Life consisted of work on the farm, and this was learned by practice. Farming was carried on by traditional · methods which had been handed down from generation to generation. The ultimate dependence of results, of the size of the harvest, on factors other than hard work and great care, was a fact deeply driven home by experience. The farmer stood helpless when confronted by bad weather or disease among crops and animals, just as in earlier times he had been powerless when armies of plundering soldiers crossed his land. As a result, the farmer and farm laborer felt that they were together dependent on irrational powers against which man could only hold his own by means of great industry and an extremely frugal life. This sense of dependence expressed itself in a deep religious consciousness. The church was at the center of the village communal life; the Bible lay always open in the living- and sitting-rooms.

There were undoubtedly differences between the farmer and laborer. Hofstee has pointed out that, although there was a predominant atmosphere of communal intimacy in the little world of the farm, the farmer and the laborer were even so by no means equals. The authority of the farmer and the dependence of the laborers were, however, never the cause of social strife. The existing relationship was accepted as the will of God. The ideas which were to bring about a social revolution had not yet, up to the end of the eighteenth century, penetrated the agricultural areas of the province of Groningen. There were, of course, now and then individuals who showed signs of dissatisfaction with their way of life, but there was never any question of wholesale disaffection. Hierarchical authority was accepted as a matter of course, a tradition. Possible opposition was reconciled in a popular culture which included everything and everybody and of which spiritual values and the church formed integral parts.

Toward the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century a dynamic development took place in the existing social relationships. There were several different factors which combined to bring about a social revolution. First, an extremely important factor was the cattle plague which repeatedly afflicted the herds in the eighteenth century. Originally the farmer accepted this cattle disease, as also plant disease, with the same resignation as he did unfavorable weather. He looked upon them as the chastising hand of God. But toward the end of the eighteenth century this attitude changed. The farmer learned how to fight against cattle plague, and in this he had the help of scientific research conducted by the Dutch universities. A successful serum was found. The farmers, originally mistrustful of all book learning from the town, were convinced by these results of the practical value of theoretical research. They themselves now learned to master to a great extent the powers to which they had hither to been subjected.

The farmer's economic standing changed at the same time. It is true that there had been up to the end of the eighteenth century many farmers who felt at home in the financial and business affairs of the town, but this did not yet produce that rationalistic attitude toward the economics of life which was to be characteristic of the nineteenth century. Trade was reciprocal: the farmer produced for the town and received in return the products of the town's industries. This attitude changed when, toward the end of the eighteenth and in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the prices of grain rose considerably. Through these rises the Groningen farmer discovered the possibility of producing for a market which would not only provide him with the necessities of life from the

town but could also bring him large profits. To make such profits, however, he had to break with the traditions of the past.

In the first place, he had to alter his manner of farming and change over from stock-raising to grain-raising, for it was precisely by building up his grain production that he was to make his profits. He went ahead with this. Moreover, the changeover to grain-raising forced him to abandon the traditional manner of land cultivation and concern himself deeply with questions which had previously been quite beyond him. The value of scientific research had been brought home to him by the fight against cattle plague, and he now accepted with some eagerness new notions about the technique of agriculture as well as the most recent discoveries of agricultural science, which just at this time were penetrating western Europe from England.

The radical changes in the manner of working, the acceptance of new ideas in the field of agricultural science and modern farming techniques, the institution of capitalist economics—all these things had far-reaching results in the social and cultural sphere for the farmer and his family and later, for the farm worker also. The farmer acquired the mentality of the modern entrepreneur; he learned to take risks and to produce with the object of making high profits. He learned to compete successfully and thereby achieved great prosperity.

In place of a society dominated by the fundamental standards of the group, there came to exist a society in which conduct was governed by competition between individuals. Competition became part and parcel of social life, not only in increasing prosperity, but also in displaying all the outward symbols of prosperity. Thus the Groningen farmer's manner of life changed in every respect. The ancient farms were broken up, and neighboring farmers vied with each other in building up ever greater business and ever more sumptuous farmhouses. The farmers' wives were also involved in this competition. Their rivalry ex-

tended not only to the appointments of their houses but also to being as well dressed as possible according to the latest fashions. The time was past when the farmer's wife took part in the work of the farm; she now had other social obligations. Even the farmer himself now considered it beneath his dignity to work with his laborers. He became the gentleman farmer who managed the business and devoted his spare time to developing his cultural interests. Now he studied books whose very existence would have been unknown to him in the days when his only reading had been the Bible and one or two religious poets. Now he became interestd in books disseminating "enlightened" ideas. Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason,* for instance, was widely read by Groningen farmers.

Not only the farmer and his wife but also their children were involved in these changes. The education of one's children became one of the most important symbols of prosperity, and there was violent competition in this. Even the best schools in the town were hardly good enough for the farmers' daughters; and the sons finally came to study at the University of Groningen.

In these circumstances the Groningen farmer and his family became completely absorbed in the nineteenth-century individualistic rationalist manner of life. Naturally there was no room for the laborer in the communal life of the farmer—certainly not under the same roof. What had the modern enlightened gentleman farmer, his wife, or his sons at the university in common with the laborers toiling and sweating in their poverty? Nothing! In every department of life the farmer kept himself and his family aloof from the laborer and his family. It is true that there came into being an active corporate life among the farmers; this society, however, did not include the village as a whole but was the means whereby the farmer and his wife isolated themselves in an exclusive circle within the village. The patriarchal tie, traditional both in the farm and in the

village community, was now dissolved by the class distinctions which have dominated the social relations of the country districts of Groningen from the middle of the previous century. On the farm there came to exist the labor relationships of capitalist enterprise, and there grew in the villages a body of unattached laborers for whom no one felt responsible.

In the eighteenth century the farm workers had formed for the most part a permanent and resident labor force. The idea of cutting running costs by dismissing laborers had never even occurred to the farmers of that time. Such an idea did not fit in with the sense of responsibility which the eighteenth-century farmer still entertained for his laborers. In the nineteenth century this changed. His notions of responsibility were greatly weakened by the struggle for the highest profits possible. The changeover from stock-farming to grain-raising accelerated this process. On the grain-raising, as distinct from the cattle-raising, farms the seasonal demands of labor were extremely unequal; for the harvest five to six times as many laborers were needed as in the slack seasons. The decision of the farmers in the agricultural crisis of 1818 to cut working costs by dismissing workers was the sign that the last remains of a patriarchal tie had been dissolved. After that, the farmer became an entrepreneur who looked upon labor simply as a factor of production. Human relations were broken between him and his laborers.

At first the consequences were disastrous for the laborer. He had to learn to adapt himself to totally different social conditions. He stood now completely unprotected in a new world, where previously he had found support and protection under the roof of the farm. The changed situation became apparent when, in 1847, potato disease broke out. As a result of it, grain prices rose to a fantastic level in that year, and the farmers made huge profits in consequence. Meanwhile, the laborers were faced with death from starvation because they lacked their usual food—potatoes—and the grain was too expensive for them to buy. The laborer, formerly a member of the family group, had become a stranger to the farmer, who now merely made use of him as manpower.

These developments had still further consequences. Since the farmhouse had ceased to be a home to the laborer, the social as well as the economic basis of his existence had been undermined. He no longer possessed any social status such as he had had previously as a member of the family and village community. He had been thrown out of the family community; and the village community ceased to exist. Property was the sole basis of social esteem in the liberal, individualistic society which came into being at this time. The unpropertied laborer was not integrated in this society but belonged to a proletarian substratum without any of that social prestige which forms the basis of self-respect. When the basis for self-respect has been removed, the way lies open for moral and spiritual degeneration. This was very evident in the Oldambt. Everywhere complaints could be heard about the loss of moral and spiritual values among both male and female workers of the district in the middle and end of the last century.

It was, above all, during the agricultural crisis of 1878–95 that the laborer became conscious of his situation. During these years the market was flooded with huge quantities of agricultural produce from Russia, Romania, Canada, the United States, and the Argentine. This had resulted in great drops in prices and serious impoverishment of the farmers. The farmer had to help himself, for he was not in this period protected by official tariffs. He did this by making his agriculture more intensive, by increasing the efficiency of his farm, and by adopting a more business-like economic attitude than he had done previously. It was of essential importance for the government to give advice by means of agricultural education and experts. In this manner the farmer was in the end once

more enabled to compete as an equal in the world market.

The farm laborer had to work out his own salvation, just as did the farmer. There was no social legislation at the time. The farm laborer found himself unprotected especially against recurring periods of winter unemployment, a fact of which he became conscious during these crisis years. The maxim, "Save yourself," however, took on a totally different form from what the farmer—and indeed not only the farmer—considered normal. About the turn of the century Marxist-trained socialist leaders became his teachers. From them he learned to interpret the relations as they now existed in terms of class conflict. The figure of Domela Nieuwenhuis, in particular, was of great influence in the country districts of Groningen. His anarchist and revolutionary ideas were as a new gospel in the ears of the laborers. They learned to oppose the capitalist power of the farmers with the power of organized resistance. The result of this was that during the first thirty years of the twentieth century—and especially in the Oldambt—violent and embittered strikes occurred. In this struggle the laborers regained a new self-confidence and also recovered from their spiritual and moral degeneration.

In the strike the laborers possessed a weapon against which the farmers stood practically helpless, especially since mechanization was as yet only in the beginning of its development, and most work was still done by hand. The grain-raising farm was and still is extremely vulnerable, especially at harvest time. At that season, provided the weather is favorable, every effort is needed to get the work done quickly. Strikes at that season can result in the loss of the harvest. The laborers seized upon the weapon of strikes at harvest time as a means to obtain higher wages and to gain that recognition which they had lost since the middle of the previous century. Naturally, employers' organizations came to exist among the farmers—at first temporarily during the strikes, and later permanently. This made the struggle even more violent. Up to 1930, strikes were repeatedly met by lockouts. Struggling with great bitterness, neither party spared the other. The goal of the laborers was to oust the farmer from his position of social authority; the goal of the farmer was to uphold that position. They stood opposed to each other in bitter enmity, and it seemed there would be no end to the struggle.

As a result of these circumstances the village community had ceased to exist. The two groups at the extremes of the social scale lived more or less in hostility to each other: on the one hand, the farmer, with the capitalist's economic power, a liberal in his spiritual and cultural ideals, socially a conservative; on the other hand, the Marxist-minded revolutionary laborer.

After the crisis of the thirties something of a change came about. The crisis accelerated a development which was to have far-reaching effects both for the farmer and for the laborer. The changes which took place during and after this crisis were no less radical than those associated with the changeover from patriarchal to commercialized concerns at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In the period following 1900 the prosperity of Dutch agriculture was completely dependent upon the possibility of export. Until 1929 the consumption of the world market was sufficiently great for the farmer to make a living without trouble. Under God he was lord and master of his own affairs.

The crisis after 1929 came like a bolt out of the blue. The world market collapsed, prices fell drastically, and the results for Dutch agriculture would have been catastrophic but for official intervention. The fundamental difference between the crisis after 1878 and after 1930 was that in the former the farmer helped himself but that in the latter he had the direct support of the government. This support consisted of the raising of import duties, the establish-

ment of a quota system, the control of prices by a complicated system of regulating breeding and restricting production, and the granting of subsidies.

These developments also put an end to the farmer's world of "laissez faire, laissez passer, le monde va lui-même." The form of society in which he had lived since the turn of the century, with its basis of free competition and individual responsibility, now collapsed. The farmer, who had always looked on official interference on the part of the authorities as an unwanted meddling in his affairs, was now by sheer necessity compelled to ask for it. Consciously he sacrificed his independence that he might save his business. After 1929 official bureaucracy became an essential part of his life.

In one single respect, however, the farmer committed an error: he supposed that the bureaucracy would be as temporary as the crisis. He did not understand, and very often still does not understand, that a new social order had been brought about—a social order of which bureaucratic control formed an integral part. Certainly the farmer, even in the Oldambt, knew what organized co-operation was. For a long time he had been extending his business, in co-operation with other farmers, by means of numerous co-operative factories, where his straw was turned into cardboard, his potatoes into potato flour, and his sugar beets into sugar. Through these organizations his products could be marketed in every country of the world. He collaborated in vast national purchase and sales organizations through which he bought and sold in New York and Shanghai, in Chile and Algiers. His requirements of credit and the financing of his undertakings were taken care of by a powerful system of agricultural loan banks. In all these organizations, however, his position was very different from the one under the bureaucratic order of the authorities with which, since 1929, he had come into contact. In his own organizations he retained his independent character as a free entrepreneur and continued to wield au-

thority. The purchase and sales organizations as well as the co-operative factories were built up by the farmer himself. They were the product of his own energy and strengthened his belief in his own power. This was no longer possible in the organization which was called into existence by the emergency measures of the crisis. The organizations stemming from public authority were the product of an official world which was unknown to him and which he had been compelled to accept. It was to come home to him very slowly at first that he would have to accept bureaucracy as an integral part of the new social order even after the crisis was past and that the freedom of liberalism would be gone for good.

That fundamental and permanent changes had taken place became clear to the farmer sooner on the social level than on the economic. For indeed not only did the economic aspects of business but also his relationship to his laborers come under the permanent control of the authorities. The employers' and employees' associations, which had become extremely powerful in the struggle, were engaged during the crisis in the execution of emergency regulations. The government gave support but, in return, expected the right to control wages. In this manner the organizations changed from fighting groups into massive administrative bodies functioning as extensions of the central bureacracy. The collective agreements became binding in character, and the authorities exercised control to insure their fulfilment. In the event of impending trouble, official mediators set both sides to work to avoid strikes. Thus the miracle came about that strikes became a rare exception in the Oldambt, where they had previously been a regularly recurring phenomenon. This became possible through the central authority and through the creation after World War II of a body in which farmers' and laborers' organizations are equally represented: De Stichting van de Landbouw. In the hands of the farmers' and laborers' leaders, in collaboration with

government bodies, De Stichting was instrumental in promoting the social and economic interests of both groups. Farmers and laborers have an equal say in De Stichting van de Landbouw, and they are jointly responsible from a social point of view for the conduct of business. It advises the government on all agricultural matters. There had never been in the past anything like this permanent consultative body, which rendered strikes superfluous.

Have the relationships of farmer to farm laborer, and of laborer to farmer, been changed by this co-operation? Unfortunately, only to a very limited extent. The greater number of farmers in the Oldambt, and particularly the older ones, are just as conservative in their thought as they were before the crisis of the thirties, and most of the Oldambt laborers are just as dissatisfied. The co-operation and consultation which have made strikes superfluous is the work mostly of a few leading figures in the farming world and the great recognized trade-unions. The average farmer of the Oldambt remains an individualist, and only under pressure will he acknowledge measures of social legislation. Many of the laborers in the Oldambt turn their backs on the recognized trade-unions and become Communists. The organizations co-operating in De Stichting van de Landbouw fail to make much headway in changing the mentality of farmer and laborer in the Oldambt. The farmer and laborer accept the changed situation in respect of economic and technical organization, but in their relationship to each other there is little alteration perceptible either on the farm or in the social life of the village.

How are we to account for the fact that, although opportunities have been created for the organization of a new community and a genuine rehabilitation of the area, such an achievement has not come about?

This question is of topical interest for the Groningen farmer, for in practice it appears that organizational co-operation is not in itself sufficient to keep the laborer in agriculture. His dissatisfaction expresses itself not only in a tendency to accept a Communist view of life but also in a great migration from agriculture to industry. This migration is understandable among the unskilled proletarian laborers employed only in the busiest season but out of a job at other seasons. But it is a remarkable fact, and one which perturbs the farmers also, that the move away from the land is recorded in ever greater numbers among the skilled workers whom the farmer employs all the year round. This perturbation is apparent from the fact that the society to which most of the Groningen farmers belong, the Groninger Maatschappij van Landbouw, has since the end of World War II already twice submitted this problem for the study of the members. In 1945–46 the problem was formulated as follows: "What expedients are necessary to retain for the agricultural industry in Groningen a sufficiently numerous and skilled labor force which feels itself in harmony with its surroundings and conditions of life?" In 1948 the formulation was: "How can the farm laborer's contentedness with his work be increased and his ties to the farm strengthened?"

It appears from the answers given to these questions that the farmers fail to comprehend adequately that co-operation on a farm demands an attitude of mind on the part of the employer different from that required in industrial co-operation. The employer on the farm is the leader of a small group: the employer in industry is a leader in a formally rational organization. In the bureaucratic system of a large business a social gap between the highest and lowest elements of the hierarchy is inevitable. In the small-group relation of farmer and laborer, with no intermediate links, such a social gap is undesirable and must therefore be avoided. The small or primary group can, then, only function properly when the members of the group also accept each other as fully responsible members in a reciprocal dependence based

on personal knowledge of each other. This is the secret of the successful foreman in the factory, but it is also the secret of the farmer who is esteemed by his laborers as the "good farmer." From the point of view of organization, relationships can be so managed that there is no reason whatsoever for the laborer to strike; but he will only be content in his work when he is accepted by the farmer as a full partner in the primary-group relationship—first on the farm but then also in the communal life of the village. If he does not find such an acceptance, the drift from the land will become ever more and more menacing.

The laborer, then, will feel a tie with the farming business and the communal life of the village only when the farmer is *primus inter pares,* not only on the ground of his commercial and financial insight and his great prosperity, but also, above all, on the basis of a greater professional skill as a worker. The actual situation is far removed from this ideal. As we have already explained, class conflicts dissolved social ties both on the farm and in the communal life of the village. Prosperity and the outward signs of prosperity were the yardsticks by which the social usefulness of the individual and the group were measured. By this method the farm laborer, as an unpropertied person, was on the bottom rung of the social ladder, and the landed farmer at the top. Professional skill, by which the skilled laborer might have had greater prestige and self-respect, counts for nothing in such relationships, for in this class conflict the decisive question is not "How much do you know?" or "What can you do?" but "How much have you got?"

In the milieu of the town and in industry the emphasis is never placed in so one-sided a manner on the possession of property, and the powerful attraction which both the town and the industry exercised on the laborer is therefore not to be wondered at. Here there is the possibility of gaining prestige by means of knowledge and sound judgment, professional competence and skill, such as never exists in the agricultural part of Groningen.

It is extremely difficult for the farmer to grasp that the most important factors in reducing social tensions in the country are those social and psychological relations between man and man living together in a small group, which he broke away from more than a century ago, and not the material conditions of labor or even the well-conducted deliberations of the Stichting van de Landbouw. The farmer who cut himself off from his laborer by making financial speculation and the struggle for high profits his first concern, and who considered the laborer as nothing more than a machine, looking upon him as he did his tractor—to be replaced when worn out—is never fitted to be the leader of the small working group on a farm. This is still true, however strictly he may apply the social regulations and however conscientiously he may live up to the decisions of the Stichting van de Landbouw. With the relationships of a small group, and, above all, of a small labor group, far more is needed than merely sticking to the letter of the law.

The great problem is how it is possible to bring about a change in attitude in the farmer as leader of the small group, the farmer who probably knows his machines better than he does his laborer's need of social recognition. This problem is an urgent one, for a genuine change in human relationships offers the only prospect for ending the perpetual, though mostly latent, social tensions in the country districts of Groningen—tensions which find expression in the tendency to communism and the laborers' drift away from the land.

A hindrance to the solution of this problem is the difference between the farmer's position as leader of the small group on the farm and in the communal life of the village and that of the leader of the small group in industry. The incompetent foreman can be trained or dismissed, but not so the farmer. He acknowledges no superiors. He still looks upon himself as

king of the castle, both on his farm and in his village.

Fortunately there are signs of change, one way and another, even in the mentality of the Groningen farmer. Threatened by the drift of his laborers from the land, he is coming to see more and more clearly the necessity of treating social relationships in his village and farm as a social problem demanding solution. The Groninger Maatschappij van Landbouw has done important work in repeatedly bringing up this problem for discussion by its members. But the theoretical perception of the need for a change and the drawing of practical conclusions are two different things which do not go hand in hand. The farmer looks upon scientific and technical developments in agriculture as essential elements of his training, but terms such as "psychology and sociology of labor relations" are entirely foreign to him. He maintains that his attitude is the right one and that, when there is anything to be changed, it concerns, he argues, only the attitude of the laborer. The problem of re-education is for him the re-education of the laborer. The difficulty is to see how the attitude and the behavior of the individual farmer can be controlled, as was the attitude and the behavior of the foreman in industry. The only means of control are the institutions where the young farmer receives his training—the agricultural college. Every attention should be paid in these institutes to the "social-psychological" and "sociological" forming of the pupil. But that does not happen today; the training is entirely given over to technical and scientific agricultural matters. Many changes are possible in this respect, and the *Volkshoge* school, with its wide experience in adult education in rural districts, can here be of service. By means of agricultural training which is not simply technical and scientific but pays the necessary attention to human relationships in the rural areas, it will probably be possible to bring about the rehabilitation of the rural areas. This rehabilitation must consist in the acceptance of a new rationally organized co-operation among farmers and laborers who no longer base their relationships to each other on traditional class strife but on the common interests of the small group of the village communal life and the working group on the farm. Here the authorities have before them a task which calls for action at a cultural level.

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EFFICIENCY AND "THE FIX": INFORMAL INTERGROUP
RELATIONS IN A PIECEWORK MACHINE SHOP[1]

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ABSTRACT

Conflict relations between the informal work group and plant management may involve the participation of other groups of the factory's social structure. It was found, through participant observation, that the machine operatives of one shop received surreptitious assistance from five "service groups" in a subversion of formally instituted rules and procedures. This informally organized intergroup "ring" was able to frustrate a series of managerial attempts to effect new designs of production control.

As part of a broader examination and appraisal of the application of piecework incentive to the production line of an American factory this paper essays the simple but largely neglected task of exploring the network of intergroup relations in which the work activity of machine operatives is imbedded. Exploration will be restricted to a limited sector of the total web of interaction in one shop; description will center upon those relationships that provide support to the operator group in its resistance to and subversion of formally instituted managerial controls on production. It is hoped that observations reported here not only will bear upon the practical problem of industrial efficiency but will also contribute to the more general study of institutional dynamics.

This could be considered the third in a series of attempts to make more careful discriminations in an area of research that has been characteristically productive of sweeping generalizations, blanket conceptualizations, or algebraic gymnastics that tend to halt inquiry at the same time that they lay a fog over otherwise easily discerned reality. Data for all three papers were acquired in an investigation of a single work situation by a single technique of social inquiry, participant observation. The writer was employed for nearly a year as radial-drill operator in one of the machine shops of a steel-process-

ing plant, and he kept a daily record of his observations and experiences relating to work activity and social interaction in the shop. His major interest lay in the phenomenon of restriction of output, or "systematic soldiering," the practice of which various sociological soundings have revealed in the lower depths of our industrial organization. To complete the analogy: the writer donned a diving suit and went down to see what it looked like on the bottom.

One conclusion has already been set forth,[2] namely, that the usual view of output restriction is grossly undifferentiating. Different kinds of "institutionalized underworking" were practiced, each with its characteristic pattern of antecedents and consequences. The blanket term "restriction" was found to cloak all-important contrarieties of work behavior. Machine operatives not only held back effort; sometimes they worked hard. The very common failure to note such contrarieties has tended, of course, to impede the progress of research by checking consideration of the specific conditions under which differences in behavior occur.

A second finding was the discovery of complexity where simple lines of relationship had generally been assumed to exist.[3] When inconsistencies in the operator's be-

[2] Donald Roy, "Quota Restriction and Goldbricking in a Machine Shop," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (March, 1952), 427–42.

[3] Donald F. Roy, "Work Satisfaction and Social Reward in Quota Achievement: An Analysis of Piecework Incentive," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (October, 1953), 507–14.

havior seemed to contradict the hypothesis that variations in application of economic incentive could account for the variations in work effort, a more intensive examination of response to piecework was undertaken. This disclosed that piecework incentive was not equivalent to economic incentive and that attainment of piecework "quotas" afforded machine operators a complex of rewards in which the strictly economic might or might not play a part.

The third set of observations, to be here discussed, again exhibits complication in a picture that has come to be accepted as simple in design. Here the focus of interest is the structure of "informal" intergroup connections that bear directly upon work behavior at the machine level. The material will not deny the hypothesis that the willingness of operatives to put forth effort is a function of their relationship with management or the widely held affirmation that this relationship is mediated by the organization of operatives into "informal groups." It will indicate, however, that further advances in the understanding of work behavior in the factory may involve attention to minor as well as major axes of intergroup relations. It will show that the relevant constituents of problematic production situations may include "lateral" lines of interaction between subgroups of the work force as well as "vertical" connections between managerial and worker groups.

It will be seen, in other words, that the interaction of two groups in an industrial organization takes place within and is conditioned by a larger intergroup network of reciprocal influences. Whyte has called attention to the limitations of studying groups in "isolation," without regard for the "perspectives of large institutional structures."[4] A second warning might be: The larger institutional structures form networks of interacting groups.

As a bona fide member of an informal

group of machine operatives the writer had an opportunity to observe and experience management–work group conflict in its day-to-day and blow-by-blow particulars. Also, he participated in another kind of social process, intergroup co-operation. Not only did workers on the "drill line" co-operate with each other as fellow-members of a combat team at war with management; they also received considerable aid and abetment from other groups of the shop. This intergroup co-operation was particularly evident when operators were trying to "make out," or attain "quota" production, on piecework jobs.

It has been noted in another connection that machine operators characteristically evinced no reluctance to put forth effort when they felt that their group-defined piecework quotas were attainable.[5] It might seem, at first glance, that the supporting of operators during intensive application to "getting the work out" would represent co-operation *with* and not *against* management. However, the truth is that operators and their "allies" joined forces in certain situations in a manner not only unmistakably at variance with the carefully prepared designs of staff experts but even in flagrant violation of strongly held managerial "moral principles" of shop behavior. In short, machine operators resorted to "cheating" to attain their quotas; and since this often involved the collusion of other shop groups, not as mere "accessories after the fact" but as deeply entangled accomplices, any managerial suspicion that swindling and conniving, as well as loafing, were going on all the time was well founded. If the workers' conviction that the echelons of management were packed with men addicted to the "dirty deal" be additionally considered, it might appear that the shop was fairly overrun with crooks. Since a discussion of "contrast conceptions"[6] cannot find a place within the

[4] William F. Whyte, "Small Groups and Large Organizations," in *Social Psychology at the Cross-roads*, ed. John R. Rohrer and Muzafer Sherif (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951), pp. 297–312.

[5] Roy, "Work Satisfaction and Social Reward in Quota Achievement," *op. cit.*

[6] See L. Copeland, "The Negro as a Contrast Conception," in *Race Relations and the Race Problem*, ed. E. T. Thompson (Durham: Duke Uni-

limited scope of this paper, it must suffice at this point merely to declare that the kind of effort made by operators and their aids to expedite production, when they did try to expedite it, was actually in many respects conflict with management.

One belief, universally accepted in the work group, may be phrased thus: "You can't 'make out' if you do things the way management wants them done." This gem of shop wisdom thus negatively put is hardly a prescription for action, but its obverse, "You've got to figure the angles," gave all hands plenty to do.

According to Al McCann (all names used are fictitious), the "Fagan" of the drill line, "They time jobs to give you just base rates. It's up to you to figure out how to fool them so you can make out. You can't make any money if you run the job the way it's timed."

We machine operators did "figure the angles"; we developed an impressive repertoire of angles to play and devoted ourselves to crossing the expectations of formal organization with perseverance, artistry, and organizing ability of our own. For instance, job timing was a "battle all the way" between operators and time-study men. The objective of the operators was good piecework prices, and that end justified any old means that would work. One cardinal principle of operator job-timing was that cutting tools be run at lower speeds and "feeds" than the maximums possible on subsequent production, and there were various ways of encouraging the institution of adequate differentials. Also, operators deemed it essential to embellish the timing performance with movements only apparently functional in relation to the production of goods: little reachings, liftings, adjustings, dustings, and other special attentions to conscientious machine operation and good housekeeping that could be dropped instanter with the departure of the time-study man.

versity Press, 1939), and S. Kirson Weinberg, "Aspects of the Prison's Social Structure," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (March, 1942), 717–26.

However, the sophistication of the time-study men usually matched the strategy employed against them. The canniest operators often gave of their best in timing duels only to get "hopeless prices" for their pains:

Gus Schmidt was timed early in the evening on a job, and given a price of $1.00 per 100 for reaming one hole, chamfering both sides of three holes, and filing burrs on one end of one hole. All that for one cent!

"To hell with them," said Gus.

This is not to say that the "hopeless price" was always truly hopeless. Since the maintenance of an effective control over job-timing and hence price-setting was an uncertain, often disheartening matter, operators were forced to develop skills for turning bad into good. Under the shaping hands of the "angle-applicators" surprising metamorphoses sometimes took place. Like the proverbial ugly duckling that finally feathered out into a beautiful swan, piecework jobs originally classified in operator vernacular as "stinkers" came to give off the delightful aroma of "gravy." Without going into the particulars of the various types of operation, one might say that jobs were "streamlined." This streamlining was, of course, at times "rough on the tools" and adverse in its effects on the quality of output. The jettisoning of quality called, necessarily, for a corresponding attention to ways and means of shielding supervisors and inspectors from discovering the sacrifices and consequently brought into further play the social graces of equivocation, subterfuge, and prestidigitation.

Still, the adroitness of the machine operators, inventing, scheming, and conniving unto themselves to make quotas attainable, was not enough. Many "stinkers" would not yield before the whitest heat of intelligence or the most cavalier disregard for company property. An appreciable incidence of failure should not be surprising when it is kept in mind that the black arts of "making out" were not only responses to challenge from management but also stimulations, in circular interaction, to the development of

more effective countermagic in the timing process. It would be hard to overestimate the wizardry of the time-study men with pencil and paper in computing "angle-tight" piecework prices. During the latter months of his employment, months that marked the peak of his machine performance, the writer was able to achieve quota earnings approximately half the time that piecework jobs were offered. If this experience is roughly representative of the fortunes of the drill-line group, the battle with the stopwatch men was nip and tuck.

It is to be expected that a group of resourceful operatives, working with persistent intent to "make out" at quota levels, and relying heavily upon illegal practices, would be alert to possibilities of assistance from groups that were able and willing to give it and would not hesitate at further flouting the rules and regulations in cultivating it. It is also to be expected that the upholders of a managerial rational and moral order would attempt to prevent corruptive connections and would take action to stamp out whatever subversive organization did develop. During the eleven-month study, machine operators, including the drill-line men, were enjoying the co-operation of several other shop groups in an illegal facilitation of the "make-out" process. This intergroup network effectively modified certain formally established shop routines, a too close attachment to which would handicap the operators. The "syndicate" also proved adequate in circumventing each of a series of "new rules" and "new systems" introduced by management to expurgate all modifications and improvisations and force a strict adherence to the rules.

The shop groups that conspired with the operators were, namely, the inspectors, the tool-crib men, the time-checkers, the stockmen, and the setup men. With a single exception, these "service" groups stemmed from lines of authority distinct from the one for which the operators formed the base. The one exception was the setup group; it was subordinate to the same set of officials in the "production" line of authority that con-trolled the operators. A brief description of the duties of each of these service groups and a rough tracing of the sequences of interaction involved in the prescribed work routine of the drill men will indicate the formal pattern of intergroup relations within which informally instituted variations were woven.

THE SETUP MEN

A chief function of the setup men was to assist machine operators in the "setting-up" of jigs and fixtures preparatory to operation of machines in the processing of materials. It included the giving of preliminary aid and advice at the beginning of the production process, at which time the setup men would customarily "run the first piece" to show operators how to do it and to indicate that the setup was adequate to meet work specifications. The duties of the setup men also included "trouble-shooting" on occasions when operators encountered difficulties that effected a lowering of the quality of output below inspection standards or a reduction of the rate of output unsatisfactory to operators or supervisors.

THE INSPECTORS

The chief function of the inspectors was to pass judgment on the quality of the output of the machine operators, either accepting or rejecting work turned out, according to blueprint specifications. Their appraisals came at the beginning of operations, when especially thorough examinations of the first pieces processed were made, and subsequently at varying intervals during the course of a job.

THE TOOL-CRIB MEN

The tool-crib attendants served the operators as dispensers of jigs, fixtures, cutting tools, blueprints, gauges, and miscellaneous items of equipment needed to supplement basic machinery and operator-owned hand tools in the processing of materials. They worked inside a special inclosure conveniently located along one of the main arterials of shop traffic and did most of their dispensing across the wide sill of a "window," an aper-

ture which served, incidentally, as locus of various and sundry transactions and communications not immediately relevant to tool-dispensing. There were two other openings into the crib, a door, two steps from the window, and a wide gate, farther down the corridor.

THE STOCKMEN

The stockmen were responsible for conducting a steady flow of materials to the machines for processing. Their work called for the removal of finished work as well as the moving-up of fresh stock and involved a division of labor into two specializations "stock-chasing" and "trucking." The chief duties of the stock-chasers were to "locate" unprocessed materials in the various storage areas, when operators called for stock, and to direct the activities of the truckers, who attended to the physical transportation.

THE TIME-CHECKERS

The time-checkers worked in another special inclosure, a small "time cage," from which they distributed to the operators the work orders "lined up" by the schedulemen of the Planning Department and within which they registered the starting and completion times of each job. There were four time-registering operations for every work order. First, upon presenting an operator with a work-order slip, the checker would "punch" him "on setup" by stamping a separate order card with a clocking mechanism that registered the hours in tenths. Later, when the operator would call at the cage window to announce completion of all preparatory arrangements for the actual processing of materials, the checker would punch him "off setup" and "on production." Finally, following another operator announcement, the checker would clock the termination of the machining process with a fourth punch. At the time of his terminal punch the operator would report the number of "pieces" completed on the job just concluded and would receive a new work order to start the cycle over again. And, since the terminal punch on the completed job would

be registered at the same time as the initial punch on the new one, hours on shift would be completely accounted for.

OPERATOR INTERACTION WITH SERVICE GROUPS

The machine operator's performance of each individual job or order assigned to him involved formal relationships with service groups in well-defined sequences or routines.

First, the operator would receive his work order from the time-checker. Next, he would present the work order to a tool-crib attendant at the crib window as a requisite to receiving blueprints, jigs, cutting tools, and gauges. At the same time, that is, immediately before or after approaching the crib attendant, sometimes while waiting for crib service, the operator would show his work order to a stock-chaser as a requisite to receiving materials to work on. The stock-chaser, after perusing the order slip, occasionally with additional reference to the blueprint, would hail a trucker to bring the necessary stock to the operator's machine. If there were no delay in contacting a stock-chaser or in locating and moving up the stock, a load of materials would await the operator upon his arrival at his machine with equipment from the tool crib.

Upon returning to his machine, the operator would proceed with the work of "setting up" the job, usually with the assistance of a setup man, who would stay with him until a piece was turned out whose quality of workmanship would satisfy an inspector. In appraising a finished piece, the inspector would consult the blueprint brought from the crib for work specifications and then perform operations of measurement with rules, gauges, micrometers, or more elaborate equipment. The inspector might or might not "accept" the first piece presented for his judgment. At any rate, his approval was requisite to the next step in the operator's formal interactional routine, namely, contacting the time-checker to punch "off setup" and "on production."

The operator would ordinarily have fur-

ther "business" contact with a setup man during the course of production. Even if the job did not "go sour" and require the services of a "trouble-shooter," the setup man would drop around of his own accord to see how the work was progressing. Likewise, the operator would have further formal contact during the course of his job with inspectors and tool-crib attendants. Each inspector would make periodic "quality checks" at the machines on his "line"; and the operator might have to make trips to the tool crib to get tools ground or to pick up additional tools or gauges. He might also have to contact a stock-chaser or truckers for additional materials.

Upon completion of the last piece of his order the operator would tear down his setup, return his tools to the tool crib, and make a final report to the time-checker. Should the job be uncompleted at the close of a shift, the operator would merely report the number of pieces finished to a checker, and the latter would register a final punch-out. The setup would be left intact for the use of the operator coming in to work the next shift.

<div align="center">MAJOR JOB CATEGORIES</div>

Certain variations in types of jobs assigned to operators are pertinent to a discussion of intergroup collusion to modify formal work routines. These variations could be classified into four categories: (1) piecework; (2) time study; (3) rework; and (4) setup.

Each piecework job carried a price per 100 pieces, determined by the timing operations mentioned earlier. Time-study and rework jobs carried no prices. The time-study category included (a) new jobs that had not yet been timed and (b) jobs that had once carried a piecework price. As the label indicates, rework jobs involved the refinishing of pieces rejected either by inspectors or in the assembly process but considered salvageable by reprocessing.

Since time-study and rework jobs carried no piecework prices, operators engaged in these two types of work were paid "day rate," that is, according to an hourly base rate determined in collective bargaining. The base rates represented minimal wage guaranties that not only applied to "day work" but also covered piecework as well. If an operator on piecework failed to exceed his base rate in average hourly earnings on a particular job on a particular day, he would be paid his base rate. Failure to produce at base rate or above on the first day of a piecework job did not penalize an operator in his efforts to earn premium pay on the second day; nor did failure to attain base rate on one piecework job on a given day reduce premiums earned on a second job performed that day.

Not a fourth type of job, but measured separately in time and payment units, were the setup operations. Piecework jobs always carried piecework setups; failure to equal or exceed base rate on setup did not jeopardize chances to earn premium on "production," and vice versa. Time-study jobs frequently carried piecework setups; rework never.

Obviously, these formal work routines may easily be modified to fit the perceived needs of machine operators. Possibilities for the development of "make-out angles" should be immediately apparent in a work situation characterized by job repertoires that included piecework and day-work operations; minimum-wage guaranties uniform for all work done; and separate payment computations by jobs and days worked. If, for instance, time formally clocked as day work could be used to gain a "head start" on subsequent piecework operations, such a transferral might mean the difference between earning and not earning premiums on doubtful piecework jobs. Similarly, time on "hopeless" piecework jobs might be applied to more promising operations; and the otherwise "free time" gained on "gravy" jobs might be consumed in productive anticipation of the formal receipt of ordinarily unrewarding piecework. Especially lush "gravy" jobs might even contribute extra time enough to convert "stinkers" into temporary "money-makers." Realization of such possibilities in any given case would necessarily involve obtaining, without a

work order, the following: (1) identification of future operations as listed in sequence on the schedule board inside the time cage; (2) jigs, blueprints, and cutting tools appropriate to the work contemplated; (3) stock to work on; (4) setup help and advice; (5) inspection service; and (6) "trouble-shooting" assistance as needed. Obviously, this sequence of accomplishments would call for the support of one or more service groups at each step. That the required assistance was actually provided with such regularity that it came to be taken for granted, the writer discovered by observation and personal experience.

The following diary recording of interaction between the writer and a time-checker may be indicative of the extent to which service-group collaboration with the operators in perverting the formal system of work routine had become systematized:

When I came to punch off the rework, the time-cage girl said, "You don't want to punch off rework yet, do you?"—suggesting that I should get a start on the next job before punching off rework.

Even line foremen, who, in regard to intergroup collusion preferred the role of silent "accessory after the fact," became upset to the point of actual attempted interference with formal rules and regulations when the naïve neophyte failed to meet the expectations of his own informal system.

Art [foreman] was at the time cage when I punched off the day work of rereaming and on to the piecework of drilling. He came around to my machine shortly after.

"Say," he said, "when you punch off day work onto piecework, you ought to have your piecework already started. Run a few; then punch off the day work, and you'll have a good start. You've got to chisel a little around here to make money."

Acceptance of such subversive practices did not extend, however, to groups in management other than local shop supervision. The writer was solemnly and repeatedly warned that time-study men, the true hatchet men of upper management, were disposed to bring chiselers to speedy justice.

Gus went on to say that a girl hand-mill operator had been fired a year ago when a time-study man caught her running one job while being punched in on another. The time-study man came over to the girl's machine to time a job, to find the job completed and the girl running another.

NEW RULES AND NEW SYSTEMS

During the near-year that he spent in the shop the writer felt the impact of several attempts to stamp out intergroup irregularities and enforce conformity to managerial designs of procedure. He coincidentally participated in an upholding of the maxim: "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose."

Attempts to tighten controls came in a series of "new rules" or "new systems" promulgated by bulletin-board edicts. How far the beginning of the series antedated the writer's arrival is not known. Old-timers spoke of a "Golden Age" enjoyed before the installation of the "Booth System" of production control; then operators "kept their own time," turning in their work orders as they saw fit and building "kitties" on good jobs to tide them over rainy days on poor jobs.

The first new rule during this study went into "effect" less than two months after the writer was hired. It was designed to tighten controls in the tool-crib sector, where attendants had not only been passing out setups ahead of time but allowing operators or their setup men to enter the toolroom to make the advance pickups themselves. An aim of the new rule was also to curb the operators' practice of keeping "main setups" at the machines instead of turning them in at the completion of operations.

A new crib ruling went into effect today. A memorandum by Bricker [superintendent] was posted on the side of the crib window. Those who check out tools and jigs must sign a slip in triplicate, keeping the pink one and turning it in with the tools in exchange for the white original, which would constitute proof that the tools had been returned. No new setups would be issued until the old ones had been turned in.

An optimistic perception of the new procedures was expressed by young Jonesy, a

tool-crib attendant and otherwise willing conniver with the operators: "Tools are scattered all over the shop. This way we'll have them all in order in the crib, and the fellows can get them anytime they need them."

But multiple-drill operator Hanks, old-timer on the line, drew upon his lengthy experience with managerial efficiency measures and saw the situation differently:

Hanks commented unfavorably on the new ruling. He and the day man [his machine partner on the other shift] had been keeping the tools for their main setups at their bench, or, rather, under it. This practice, according to Hanks, was to insure their setting up promptly without inordinate waste of time and to insure their having all the tools needed. Hanks said that on a previous occasion he was told to turn in one of his main setups, which included over a dozen drills, reamers, taps, etc., of varying sizes. He did so, but, when he needed this setup again, the crib man couldn't locate all the tools. He asked Hanks to come back in the crib and help him find them. Hanks refused. After several hours of futile search, Hanks was finally induced to "come back and find his tools." He did so on condition that it would not be on his own time. The foreman agreed to this.

"The same thing is going to happen again," predicted Hanks. "And I'm not going back there to find my tools they scatter all over, on my own time."

Though the operators went through the formality of an exchange of slips when they exchanged setups, the new procedures did not modify the practice of getting setups from the crib ahead of time. Appreciable effects of the new ruling included making more paper work for crib attendants at the same time that more work at assembling setups was thrust upon them. Jonesy's happy prediction did not materialize: the tools were not "always in order." Subsequent events confirmed Hanks's gloomy forebodings:

It took Paul [setup man] and me several hours to get set up for the sockets, as the setup given was incomplete.

Some time was spent in looking for an angle plate that was specially made for the job. Both

Paul and Steve [superintendent] were irritated because the crib men could not find the plate.

We spent an hour setting up because we could not find the jig.

Included in the new ruling was a stipulation that blueprints and gauges be turned in by the operators at the end of each shift, though setup paraphernalia other than prints and gauges were to be left at the machines as long as jobs were in operation. Calling for prints and gauges at the beginning of the shift, waiting at the crib window in the line that naturally formed, even when these items were "located" immediately, consumed operator time.

Owing to the new crib ruling, he [Joe Mucha, the writer's machine partner on another shift] turned in the tap gauge. I spent 20 minutes trying to get it back again. The crib man could not find it and claimed that Joe had not turned it in. Joe stayed after three o'clock to help me get it, countering the arguments of the crib with the slip that he retained as evidence. Finally the gauge was located in the crib.

I started out a half-hour late on operation 55 on the pedestals, due to delay at the crib waiting to check out the print and gauge that Joe had just turned in.

Four months later the new crib ruling was modified by another that canceled the stipulation regarding the turning-in of blueprints and gauges and called for changes in the paper work of operator–crib-attendant relations. These changes were featured by a new kind of work order, duplicates of which became involved in tool-crib bookkeeping. The change reduced the waste of operator time at the start of shifts, but to the burden of the crib attendants paper-work irritations were now added.

When I punched in on the rework and asked Walt [crib attendant] for a print, he fumed a bit as he sought a duplicate of my new-type yellow work order in a new file of his. "I haven't been able to find more than one in five duplicates so far," he said. "And there's supposed to be a duplicate for every one."

Walt said tonight, when I presented him with a work-order card for tools, "That makes

the twelfth card I've had and no duplicate!"

The tool crib under the new system is supposed to have duplicate work orders in their file of all jobs given operators. These duplicates are to be put in the toolroom files as soon as they are put on the board; and the operators are to sign these duplicates when checking out setups.

The "new system" did operate to handicap operators in that they were not to receive new setups from the crib until they received the new yellow work orders from the time cage to check with the duplicates in the crib. However, setup men roamed at will in the toolroom, grinding tools and fixing jigs, and were able to help the operators by picking up setups ahead of time for them. Their detailed knowledge of the various setups made it possible for them to assemble the necessary tools without the use of setup cards.

"This is a good job," I said to McCann [now setup man]. "I wish I could get it set up ahead of time, but I guess it's no use trying. I can't get the setup now from the toolroom until I get the new work order from the time girls."

McCann thought a moment. "Maybe I can get the jig and tools out of the crib for you."

McCann did get the jig and tools, and I got a half-hour's head start on the job.

The writer had found Ted, a stock-chaser, and his truckers, George and Louie, willing connivers in the time-chiseling process. They moved up stock ahead of time, even after the new system made presentation of the new work order to the stock-chaser a prerequisite to getting stock. Contrary to first impressions, for all practical purposes the situation was unchanged under the new system.

I could not go ahead with the next order, also a load of connecting rods, because the new ruling makes presentation of a work order to the stock-chaser necessary before materials can be moved up. So I was stymied and could do nothing the rest of the day.

About an hour before I was to punch off the connecting rods, I advised Ted that I would soon be needing another job. He immediately brought over a load of reservoir casings.

The new system also included complication of operator-inspector relations. Inspectors were now to "sign off" operators from completed jobs before new work orders could be issued at the time booth. The "signing-off" process included notation by the inspector of the time of operation completion, a double check on the time-checker's "punch out." This added, of course, to the paper work of inspectors.

Drill-man Hanks's first response to this feature of the new system was "individualistic":

Hanks commented on the new system tonight. He thinks that its chief purpose is to keep the operators from getting ahead on an operation and starting the next job on saved time. He said that the inspector checked him off a job tonight at 4:40, and he was not due to punch in on the next one until 6:10. He changed the time recorded by the inspector on his work slip to 6:10 and went ahead as usual. If he had not done so, there would have been a "gap" of an hour and a half unaccounted for in the records.

The writer found himself "stymied" at first but soon discovered that the new obstacle could be overcome without engaging in such a hazardous practice as "forging."

It was ten o'clock when we were ready to punch off setup, and Johnny [setup man] asked Sam [inspector] to sign me off setup earlier, so that I could make out on setup.

"Punch me off at nine o'clock," I said, not expecting Sam to check me off earlier, and purposely exaggerating Johnny's request.

Sam refused. "I can't do that! If I do that for you, I'll have to do it for everybody!"

Sam seemed somewhat agitated in making the refusal.

A few minutes later he said to Johnny, "Why did you ask me to do that when Hanks was standing there?"

Hanks had been standing by my machine, watching us set up.

"I can't take you off an hour back. Go find out when you punched in on this job in the first place."

Johnny consulted the time-cage girl as to the time I punched on the job, later talked to Sam at Sam's bench while I was working, and came to me with the announcement that it

was "fixed up" so that I made out on setup and was credited with starting production at 9:30. This gave me an hour and a half of "gravy."

By the time the "new system" was a month old, Sam was not only doing this for everybody but actually taking the initiative:

When I punched off setup for the eight pieces, Sam asked me if I wanted him to take me off setup at an earlier time in order that I might make out on the setup. I refused this offer, as it wasn't worth the trouble for me to stop to figure out the time.

Instead of looking at the clock when an operator asks to be taken off setup, Sam usually asks the operator, "When do you want to be taken off?"

No sooner had the shop employees adjusted to this "new system" and settled down to normal informal routine than they were shocked by a new pronunciamento that barred admittance to the toolroom to all save superintendents and toolroom employees:

A new crib ruling struck without warning today. Typewritten bulletins signed by Faulkner [shop manager] were posted on the toolroom door, barring admittance to all save the toolroom employees and the two departmental foremen [superintendents], Bricker and Steve. Other foremen and setup men are not to be admitted without permission from Milton, toolroom supervisor.

Hanks predicts that the new ruling won't last out the week.

Stimulated by Hanks's prediction, the writer kept an eye on the toolroom door. The rule seemed to be enforced.

On one occasion tonight Paul [setup man] asked Jonesy to let him into the crib; he was in a hurry about something. But Jonesy shook his head, and Paul had to wait at the crib window with the rest of us.

Johnny, the setup man, predicted that the new ruling would be "tough on" the tool-crib employees, not on setup men.

Johnny says that the new rule is going to be tough on grinders and crib attendants, because

setup men and foremen have been doing much of the grinding and have made it easier for them by coming in to help themselves to tools, jigs, etc.

Johnny says that the new rule suits him fine. Now he can just stand at the window and holler and let the toolroom employees do the work.

The line foremen seemed to take offense at the new "exclusion act" and threatened reprisals to the crib attendants.

At quitting time I noticed Gil [line foreman] talking to Walt at the crib window. Gil seemed very serious; Walt was waving his arms and otherwise gesturing in a manner indicating rejection of responsibility. I didn't catch any words but gathered that Gil was voicing disapproval or warning, and after Gil left I said to Walt, "Looks like you're behind the eight-ball now!"

I noticed that Walt's hair was mussed, and he looked a little wild. He denied that he was in any trouble whatsoever; nor was he worried about anything whatsoever.

"I'm just working here!" he exclaimed. "I just go by the cards, and beyond that I've got no responsibility!"

I was curious as to what Gil had told him and asked Johnny later, on the way home. I had noticed that Johnny was standing near by when Gil was talking to Walt. Johnny said that Gil was telling Walt that from now on the crib was going to be charged with every minute of tool delay to the operators—that, if there was any waiting for tools, Gil was going to make out allowance cards charging these delays to the crib.

Contrary to Hanks's prediction, the new rule did "last out the week," and crowds milled around the crib window.

The boys seemed very much disgusted with the slow service at the tool crib. They crowd around the window (always a crowd there) and either growl or wisecrack about the service.

It was at this time that Jonesy, erstwhile optimist and regarded by shop employees as the most efficient of the crib attendants, decided that he had "had enough." He transferred to the quiet backroom retreat of tool-grinding. But several days later, just ten days since the new rule was promulgated, the sun began to break through the dark

clouds of managerial efficiency. Hanks's prediction was off by four days.

While I was waiting for tools at the crib window tonight, I noticed the jockey [turret-lathe man] dash into the tool crib through a door that was left ajar; he was followed soon after by Gil. Later, when the door was closed, Paul shook it and shouted to the attendant, "Let me in!" He was admitted.

Steve [superintendent] called out, "Hey!" when he saw the jockey go into the crib. When the jockey came out, he spoke to him, and the jockey joshed him back. Steve did not seem to be particularly put out about it.

Soon the boys were going in and out of the crib again, almost at will, and setup men were getting setups ahead of time for operators, ignored by the crib attendants.

I noticed that Johnny and others seemed to be going in and out of the crib again, almost at will.

I noticed tonight that Johnny got into the tool crib by appearing at the door and saying to the attendant, "Let me in!"

So much for Faulkner's order—until he makes a new one!

When I asked Walt for some jaws to fit the chuck I had found, he said, "We've got lots of jaws back here, but I wouldn't know what to look for. You'd better get the setup man to come back here and find you some."

Walt said to me, "I break the rules here, but not too much—just within reason to keep the boys on production."

Faulkner's order still hangs at eye level on the crib door.

"So much for Faulkner's order!" The "fix" was "on" again, and operators and their service-group allies conducted business as usual for the remaining weeks of the writer's employment.

CONCLUSIONS

This rough sketch of the operation of one shop "syndicate" has been no more than indicative of the existence of intergroup co-operation in the lower reaches of factory social structure. No attempt has been made here to account for the aid extended by serv-

ice groups, though suggestion that this assistance might be part of a larger system of reciprocal obligations has been implicit. It is apparent, for instance, that tool-crib attendants benefited from their practice of admitting operators and setup men to the toolroom to seek and pick up equipment.

A more complete picture of intergroup relations would include conflict, as well as co-operation, between operators and the various service groups. It could be shown, if space permitted, that changes in relationship accompanied, in cyclical fashion, changes in basic conditions of work.

Furthermore, attention has not been drawn to intragroup role and personality variations in intergroup relations. Such additional discriminations and the questions that they might raise in regard to the study of institutional dynamics must be left for future discussion.

As for their possible bearing on practical industrial administration, materials presented here seem to challenge the view held in some research circles that the "human" problem of industrial efficiency lies in faulty communication between an economically "rational" or "logical" management and "nonrational" or "nonlogical" work groups. While nothing has been offered to deny linkage between communication and efficiency, observations reported here suggest examination of the stereotypes of the two parties.[7] And questioning the fitness of the stereotypes may lead to a more fruitful conceptualization of the process that is reputedly in need of attention: communication.

Do we see, in the situation studied, an economically "rational" management and an economically "nonrational" work group? Would not a reversal of the labels, if such labels be used, find justification? Does it not appear that operatives and their allies resisted managerial "logics of efficiency" because application of those "logics" tended to produce something considerably less than "efficiency"? Did not worker groups connive

[7] William F. Whyte, "Semantics and Industrial Relations," *Human Organization*, VIII (spring, 1949), 1–7.

to circumvent managerial ukase in order to "get the work out"? Did not Walt, for instance, break the rules "to keep the boys on production"? May not the common query of industrial workers, "What in the hell are they trying to do up there?" be not merely reflective of faulty communication but also based on real managerial inadequacy, quite apart from a failure in "explanation"? May it not be assumed that managerial inefficiency is and has been for some time a serious problem to those who labor?

If managerial directives are not the guides to efficient action that they are claimed to be, then, perhaps, "logics of efficiency" would be better designated as "sentiments of efficiency." When failure to "explain" is additionally considered, perhaps bulletin-board pronunciamentos might properly be classified with the various exorcisms, conjurations, and miscellaneous esoteric monkey-business of our primitive contemporaries.

If we conceive of "logical" behavior not as self-contained ratiocinative exercises but as intellectual operations in continuous reciprocal interplay with concrete experience, machine operators and their service-group allies would appear the real holders of "logics of efficiency." Like big-city machine politicians, they develop plans for action that, under given conditions of situational pressures, "work."

But this rejection of commonly held stereotypes cannot lead to mere reversal of invidious distinctions; the situation is far too complex for that. The group life that the writer shared was by no means devoid of "sentiments." To the contrary, operator interaction was rich in shared feelings, attitudes, and practices not only of doubtful bearing on getting the work out but often undeniably preventing production maximization. Nor can it be maintained that management, in applying its "sentiments of efficiency," was always ineffective. Perhaps solution to the human problem of industrial efficiency would best be expedited by abandoning altogether the use of contrasted caricatures handed down to us from a preindustrial social class structure. Instead of concerning ourselves with such blind-alley issues as who is "rational" and who is not, we might recognize with John Dewey that both intellectual and emotional activity are essentials of goal-directed behavior[8] and that the development of effective communication focusing on production goals is a matter of instituting interactional processes that engender ideas, sentiments, and plans for action held in common.

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[8] *Art as Experience* (New York: Minton, Balch & Co., 1934), p. 55.

THE NATURE AND CONDITIONS OF PANIC[1]

E. L. QUARANTELLI

ABSTRACT

Current conceptions of the nature and conditions of panic are inadequate and lack an empirical basis. Using data gathered by the Disaster Team of the National Opinion Research Center and other documentary sources, a comparative and analytical examination of specific instances of the behavior is made. A conception is developed of panic as the very antithesis of organized group activity—as an acute fear reaction marked by loss of self-control which is followed by nonsocial and nonrational flight. Such behavior arises upon a definition of possible entrapment, a perception of collective powerlessness, and a feeling of individual isolation in a crisis.

On the basis of a comparative and analytical examination of specific instances of panic, the following discussion attempts to do two things: to present a systematic social psychological view of the nature of panic and to outline the conditions associated with it.

CURRENT CONCEPTIONS ABOUT PANIC

The fragmentary and scattered sociological and social psychological literature[2] on panic is almost completely nonempirical. With a few exceptions[3] it consists of: deduc-

tions from pre-existing theories of personality or social life which were developed quite independently of any firsthand study of panic; or unsystematic remarks based upon everyday preconceptions and unverified notions of what supposedly transpires when panics occur; or *ad hoc* statements representing impressionistic reflections on a few sparsely detailed accounts by observers of any one of the variety of activities that in popular parlance are termed panic. The lack of concrete, sufficient, and adequate empirical data (the gathering of which admittedly presents great practical and methodological difficulties) has prevented the setting up of a set of propositions about panic that have any implications for social theory, that are particularly useful for guiding research, or that have much value for social control.

Underscoring the inadequate understanding of the phenomenon is the lack of agreement as to what the term "panic" means. The referent at times may be covert personal or collective moods and feelings; at other times overt individual or group ac-

[2] For reviews of the literature see E. L. Quarantelli, "A Study of Panic: Its Nature, Types, and Conditions" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1953), pp. 1–39; Anselm L. Strauss, "The Literature on Panic," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXIX (1944), 317–28.

[3] See, for example, Paul B. Foreman, "Panic Theory," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXXVII (1953), 295–304; and Irving L. Janis, *Air War and Emotional Stress* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951), pp. 26–41, 43, 93–94, 161–62, 192–95. The discussions of both authors, especially the former, are con-

siderably superior to most of the panic literature. Discussions based on experimental productions of so-called "panic" are presented by Alexander Mintz, "Non-Adaptive Group Behavior," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXLVI (1951), 150–59 and John French, Jr., "An Experimental Study of Group Panic," *Journal of the Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society*, LVII (1941), 195. For a better than average nonempirical discussion see Richard LaPiere, *Collective Behavior* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938), pp. 437–61.

tions and undertakings. Thus, basically dissimilar occurrences and events, such as a single individual's pathological anxiety and the institutionalized activities of a collectivity, are labeled and discussed as panic.[4]

As striking as the absence of a single referent is the lack of a set of distinctive criteria for distinguishing between panic as such and other related phenomena. To characterize panic, as is frequently done, as irrational, antisocial, impulsive, nonfunctional, maladaptive, inappropriate—apart from the hindsight evaluation and stereotypic imagery it implies—is of little assistance in classifying a particular individual or mass act. Such general terms are not criteria with which one can positively identify a concrete instance of behavior.

There is also wide disagreement on the conditions which produce or facilitate panic. Seldom is the same aspect even mentioned by more than a few students of the phenomenon. Consequently there is a great divergency in emphasis concerning which factor or set of factors is responsible for panic.[5]

[4] Almost every kind of socially disorganizing or personally disrupting type of activity has been characterized as panic. The range includes everything from psychiatric phenomena to economic phenomena (e.g., the "panics" involved in bank runs, stock-market crashes, depressions, etc.). Thus, in one recent book there are cited as instances of panic such phenomena as lynching mobs, suicidal epidemics, individual and collective anxieties, plundering troops, spy hysterias, military retreats and surrenders, social unrest, war, psychotic behavior, mass hysteria, animal stampedes, confused voting behavior, orgiastic feasts, the activities of war refugees, and group tensions. See Joost Meerloo, *Patterns of Panic* (New York: International Press, 1950). For one comparison of the typically diverse ways in which the term "panic" is used by different writers, see the various articles contained in *Transactions of the Conference on Morale and the Prevention and Control of Panic* (New York: New York Academy of Medicine and the Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation, 1951).

[5] The causative conditions specified by various writers include such diverse factors as: the presence of crowd conditions, the state of the weather, deficiency in the organism of a specific vitamin, psychological isolation, mental contagion, fatigue, suggestion and heightened imitation, social unrest,

The inadequacy of knowledge about conditions underlying panic is particularly emphasized by two facts: the failure to maintain levels of analysis and the lack of specificity in the factors advanced. Physical, physiological, biopsychological, psychological, and sociological factors are all discussed as if they were one. They are treated as if they were at a same general and interchangeable level of analysis rather than being incommensurable and logically belonging to distinct and distinguishable planes of phenomena. Moreover, almost all of the diverse factors noted could just as well be stimulative conditions for phenomena that no one would seriously call panic.

The following analysis of panic, while based on empirical data, should be considered but a first step in an attempt to set panic behavior within existing theoretical conceptions and to provide observations and propositions for guidance and testing in future research.

SOURCES OF DATA

The data have been gathered from two sources. The main body of it is from the tape-recorded, nondirective type of interview gathered by the Disaster Team of the National Opinion Research Center. For the purposes of this study over 150 of these interviews, averaging about an hour and a half in length, were analyzed. Almost all of them were gathered in connection with disasters in which the writer participated in the field work and personally obtained a number of the interviews. Three events provided the bulk of the data. These were: a series of house explosions in Brighton,

hunger, the shattering of group solidarity or group bonds, the presence of predisposed personalities, lack or loss of leadership, emotional instability, poor group morale, lack of critical ability, fear, mimicry, emotional tension, crisis situations, lack of personal and collective discipline, uncertainty, anxiety, etc. For one listing and an insightful discussion of the inadequacy of the "causes" of panic as advanced by seventeen primarily military writers see Strauss, *op. cit.*

New York, September 21, 1951; a plane crash into a residential area in Elizabeth, New Jersey, February 11, 1952; and an earthquake in Bakersfield, California, August 22, 1952. The rest of the analyzed interview data was drawn from such disasters as tornadoes in Arkansas and Minnesota, a coal-mine explosion in West Frankfort, Illinois, a plane crash into a crowd in Flagler, Colorado, hotel and rooming house fires in Chicago, two other plane crashes into residential districts in Elizabeth, New Jersey, and a plant explosion in Minneapolis. This primary source of data was supplemented by carefully evaluated material found in documentary sources dealing with individual and group behavior in dangerous situations. A case-study analysis was made of over two hundred participant and eyewitness accounts of crises in many of which panic had occurred.

THE NATURE OF PANIC

Overt features.—The outstanding feature of panic, so far as outward observation is concerned, is flight. While such behavior is not peculiar to panic, it is nonetheless an ever present feature of the phenomenon whenever it occurs. It most frequently takes the form of actual physical running. However, it may also be manifested in varying activities such as driving vehicles, swimming, crawling, riding horses, rowing, climbing, jumping, digging, etc. This variety in the expressions of flight is possible because most socially learned and culturally ingrained motor patterns of action continue to be available to individuals in panic. Participants in such behavior do not revert or regress to acting in infantile or purely biologically patterned ways. However, since the majority of situations wherein panics occur do not lend themselves to nonrunning activities, panic flight is generally manifested in running.

The flight behavior is always oriented with reference to a threatening situation; that is, people in panic flee from a general locale, such as a collapsing building or a gas-filled house. Usually this involves movement away from specific perilous objects: panic participants thus run away from, for example, that section of a building which is on fire. However, if a perilous object lies between presumed safety and the endangered persons, the flight may be in the direction of a specific peril. Thus, people in panic may run toward danger objects if escape from the threatening situation lies in the same direction (e.g., toward sheets of flame if the only known exit from a building is on the other side). Much panic fleeing which from an outside observer's viewpoint appears to be blind fleeing into danger is probably of this nature. At any rate, panic flight is not random or helter-skelter; the participants do not run every which way but instead take their general orientation for flight from the threatening situation.

In the determination of the particular direction of flight (e.g., which exit an individual will attempt to escape through) two factors are often involved. These are (1) a habitual pattern and (2) the course of the interaction among individuals following the definition of the situation as dangerous. The former factor is exemplified by the cases of some housewives at Brighton who fled out of the frequently used but more distant back door, rather than the infrequently used but nearer front door of their homes. The latter factor is typified in the remarks of a worker after a plant explosion. Upon regaining consciousness he noted: "There was a gush of flame and smoke coming up the elevator shaft. I just started running. Lots of other people were running too. That's how I knew where to go." This interactional factor, however, is operative and influential only within the confines of the actual physical setting participants find themselves in at the time of crisis. Thus if there is only one apparent or known exit, it is in that direction that people will flee. Only when the physical setting presents possible alternative opportunities to escape can social interaction influence the particular direction of flight.

The general and directional orientation

of panic flight to a threatening situation is related to the fact that in panic behavior there is no overt attempt to deal directly with the danger itself. Instead, the only overt action taken is escape or personal removal from the threat. No attempt is made to control the danger, to act toward it, or to manipulate it in any way. As one housewife who went to investigate a hissing she heard coming from a heating unit stated it: "As soon as I realized the gas was escaping from the hot-water heater I thought my house was going to blow up. I just picked up and ran out."

Frequently the flight of panic is the most adaptive course of action that could be undertaken in a particular situation. Thus, to flee from a building whose walls are tottering from an earthquake is on most occasions the most appropriate and effective behavior possible. In such instances the panic flight is functional, if functionality under such circumstances is thought of as activity which from an objective point of view is appropriate to survival. Similarly, not all panic behavior is collectively maladaptive. There are occasions where flight simultaneously engaged in by a number of people not only is appropriate in itself but also has no antisocial consequences. For example, the mass fleeing of the separated householders from their gas-filling houses at Brighton was no hindrance to the fleeing of any other person. There was no bodily contact of a destructive sort on the part of the individuals running out of their homes. The flight behavior there, as it is in many and probably most panics, was personally functional and in no way socially maladaptive to the situation. It is only in the very rare instance that panic takes the form of a crowd of individuals trampling over one another like animals in a wild stampede.

Panic, rather than being antisocial, is nonsocial behavior; ordinary social relationships are disregarded and pre-existent group action patterns fail to be applied.[6] This disintegration of social norms and cessation of action with reference to a group or institutional pattern sometimes results in the shattering of the strongest primary group ties and the ignoring of the most expected behavior patterns. Thus, there is the case of the woman who, thinking a bomb had hit her house, fled in panic, leaving her baby behind, and returned only when she redefined the situation as an explosion across the street. As she stated it, the explosion

shook the house. The first thing I thought of was a bomb. I just felt it was a bomb and I ran out. I was in my bathrobe. You don't think of anything save to get out—just to get out. I ran out and the house over there was flames from the bottom to the top so I ran back and grabbed the baby out of his crib.

This nonsocial aspect may be short-lived but it is this feature which, even at an overt level, distinguishes many cases of panic from controlled withdrawal behavior. In the case of controlled withdrawal, confused, random, ill-co-ordinated activity may be manifested, but the normal social bonds and the conventional interactional patterns are not totally disregarded. Thus, when a plane hit an apartment house in Elizabeth, most families evacuated as units, neighbors were warned, alternative courses of action were discussed, etc. People were running around and there was much confusion and partially unorganized activity but the whole structure of social relations normally guiding human behavior did not collapse as it does when full panic flight occurs.

Thus, panic flight represents very highly individualistic behavior. It involves completely individual as over against group action in coping with the problem of escape from a danger. In the case of panic there is no unity of action, no co-operation with others, no joint activity by the members of the mass; there is a total breakdown of corporate or concerted behavior. In short, panic flight is the very antithesis of organized group behavior.

[6] This does not mean that social interaction does not sometimes occur among participants at the height of panic flight. However, such interaction as does take place is at a very elementary level. It does not involve responding to other individuals in their usual social roles.

Covert features.—Panic participants invariably define the situation as highly and personally dangerous. Whether this be arrived at individually or collectively, panic participants always perceive a direct threat to physical survival. This experiencing of extreme danger to bodily safety is exemplified in the following remarks by a man who looked up and saw a flaming plane diving toward the street where he was pushing a wheelbarrow:

This thing seemed to me as if it was coming right at me. I ran like a scared rabbit across the street. My pushcart—I abandoned that to save my neck. I was scared. This thing went up in a big puff of flame and gasoline. It exploded. All I was thinking was that this big ball of gasoline was coming down on top of me and I was making a run in order to get away from it. I was running pell-mell across the street. I was looking at this big ball as I was running like a scared rabbit for fear it was going to pounce on my head, you know. The only thing I was thinking as I was running across and I was looking up at this big ball of fire, I was thinking to myself, I wonder if any part of this is going to hit me?

Furthermore, as the above quotation indicates, the orientation of attention of panic participants is always to the future, to what subsequently may be endangering. Attention is never directed to what had already happened. Rather it is focused on what may happen. Thus, during an earthquake a panic participant perceives that (to paraphrase many) "if I stay here I will be killed." It is always anticipatory rather than retrospective perceptions of danger that accompany panic activity.

Panic participants see the potential threat as very immediate and survival dependent on a very rapid reaction. A laborer caught in a plant explosion who fled in panic said, after he recovered consciousness: "When I came to, the dust and minerals and everything was crashing all around. My first thought was that something would fall on me and finish me. My main thought was to figure a way to get out."

Not only do panic participants know what they are immediately afraid *for* (which is their own physical safety), but they also are aware of what they are afraid *of*. The fear[7] that is experienced in panic is of something specific, of something which can be designated. The covert reaction of the individual in panic is never in regard to the unknown or the incomprehensible as such. It is always of a specific threat, the particularization of which may be arrived at individually or through social interaction.

Related to this is that in defining the situation panic participants see the threat as associated with a definite place. In fact, individuals will continue to flee in panic only to the extent they believe themselves within a danger area and still exposed to the consequences of the threat. As one worker who fled after a factory explosion expressed it: "My idea was to get away from the building because I had in mind it might fall. At the time I knew I was in danger of death but after I got out of the building I felt I was out of danger." This individual only stopped running after he had removed himself from inside the building which he had defined as the place of danger. (However, in panic the threat is not necessarily associated with being inside a structure. Any open area during a machine-gun strafing, for example, may be viewed as a place of danger.) But whether it be inside or outside, panic participants always see the threat as present at or quickly reaching the place where they are or will be.

[7] Fear, rather than anxiety, is the affective component of the panic reaction. Along one dimension, at least, fear and anxiety may be thought of as poles of a continuum. This is in regard to the specificity of a threat from the viewpoint of the individual. The fear-stricken individual perceives some highly ego-involved value greatly endangered. The threat is something that can be labeled, localized in space, and therefore potentially can be escaped from. The threat is specific. In contrast, there is no such recognition and judgment by the anxiety-stricken person. Anxiety is marked by an inability to designate any object in the environment to account for the diffuse sense of foreboding or even dread the individual is experiencing. This inability prevents any attempts at flight, for physical withdrawal requires a specific object or situation from which an orientation can be taken. See Kurt Riezler, "The Social Psychology of Fear," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX (1944), 489–98; and Rollo May, *The Meaning of Anxiety* (New York: Ronald, 1950), pp. 46–58.

Now people do not usually flee in panic from a threatening situation. Individuals may feel extreme fear and yet engage in a variety of nonpanic behavior including, for example, direct action against the danger. To the extent they do so it is because they check their fear, i.e., their impulse to run from the threatening situation.[8] Self-control is maintained.

Conversely, in panic there is a collapse of existing curbs on the impulse to flee. The participant is the individual who has lost self-control over his fear. For example, one woman expressed her feeling of fear just before she fled in panic as follows:

You wanted to just get away. I felt I wanted to go. I wanted to run. Get away. Get away. I thought if that house goes the one next to me is going to go too and I'd be in the center of it. I heard the crash, the house went up [i.e., exploded] and I went.

A concomitant of the loss of self-control is that the orientation of activity of the panic participant becomes highly self-centered. The fleeing individual thinks only of saving himself. This egocentric attitude is a counterpart of the individualism of the overt flight behavior previously noted. Subjectively it involves a complete focusing upon the idea of getting one's self out of the threatening situation: "All I thought about was getting out of there," said a girl who fled in panic from a building during an earthquake.

The focusing of thought, however, does not mean that the participant acts only reflexively or instinctively and is totally unaware of anything else. If the individual is going to engage in flight at all there has to be sufficient awareness to perceive *and* to continue to define a situation as a highly threatening one. A certain minimal awareness is also indicated by the fact that he does not run blindly into a wall; he heads for a door; and he goes around objects and obstacles in his path rather than attempting

[8] Young notes that "for human subjects to designate an experience as *fear*, the presence of an escape impulse is required." See Paul T. Young, *Emotion in Man and Animal* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1943), p. 197.

to crash through them. Moreover, when fleeing in a collective panic, the participant is at least partially aware of the presence of others although he may not directly respond to their activities.

However, to state that panic flight involves a degree of awareness on the part of participants is not to suggest in any way that it is a highly rational activity. It certainly does *not* involve the weighing of alternative lines of action. As a woman who fled in panic during an earthquake said: "The first thought you have is to run. I had that thought. I ran." On the other hand, panic flight does not involve irrational thought if by that is meant anything in the way of faulty deductions from certain premises. From the position of an outside observer this may appear to be the case but, from a participant's viewpoint, given his limited perspective of only certain portions of the total situation, no such interpretation of irrationality can be made. For the fleeing person, his action appears to him quite appropriate to the situation as he perceives it at that time.

Actually, rather than being rational or irrational, panic behavior is nonrational. Panic participants focus on the idea of fleeing but they do not take into account the consequences of their action (which may be even more dangerous than the panic-inciting threat itself). Faced with the immediate possibility of personal annihilation they do not consider possible alternative lines of action to flight.

To summarize: panic can be defined as an acute fear reaction marked by a loss of self-control which is followed by nonsocial and nonrational flight behavior. Covertly there is an acute fear reaction, i.e., an intense impulse to run from an impending danger. Panic participants are seized by fear of a specific object defined as involving an immediate and extreme physical threat. The most striking overt feature is flight behavior which, while not necessarily nonfunctional or maladaptive, always involves an attempt to remove one's self physically. Thus panic is marked by loss of self-control, that is, by unchecked fear, being expressed

in flight. Two other prominent features are nonrational thought and nonsocial behavior: panic participants do not weigh the social consequences of their flight and are highly individualistic and self-centered in their actions with reference to one another. There is no consideration of alternative courses of action to flight. Thought being focused on the removal of one's self from danger, the ordinary social norms and interactional patterns are ignored and there is no possibility of group action.

CONDITIONS FOR PANIC

Panics occur following crises[9] in which the danger is defined as an immediate and potential threat to the bodily self. However, panic flight is only one possible outcome in such situations. In the face of a threat, the potential courses of action available range from direct attack to movement away from the danger object.[10] If self-control is maintained there may be controlled withdrawal. That is, fear impulses may be curbed to the extent that the usual social

[9] Broadly conceived, a crisis is produced by an interruption of an habitual or on-going line of action. The interruption need not be of a violent nature. Any crisis, however, is marked by a focusing of attention on the introjected stimulation and attempts at adjustive behavior. From its very nature it necessitates some reorientation of activity on the part of involved individuals. See W. I. Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins* (Boston: Gorham, 1909), pp. 17–18.

[10] It may be noted that, generally speaking, except among the military where the group response has been highly conventionalized, there exist no institutional patterns for meeting such situations. In the somewhat special area of military panic, a number of case-study analyses were made in the course of our study. However, relatively little material suitable for analytical treatment could be found. The bulk of the not inconsiderable theoretical literature on military panic (especially in French and German sources) is highly speculative and abstract in nature and generally of a summarizing rather than analytical nature. For one such recent summary statement on panic by military men see John Caldwell, Stephen Ransom, and Jerome Sacks, "Group Panic and Other Mass Disruptive Reactions," *U.S. Armed Forces Medical Journal*, II (1951), 541–67. Actual descriptions of military panics either by participants or eyewitnesses are difficult to find. See, however, the excellent firsthand accounts given in Jack Belden, *Still Time To Die* (New York: Harper, 1943), esp. pp. 141–46, 163–67. Most of the secondhand or

bonds and relationships are maintained while physical separation from the danger is effected in conjunction with others. What then are the specific conditions under which movement away from threat during a crisis will change into panic flight? When does self-control break down in a dangerous crisis?

Specific conditions for the development of panic.—The most important condition for the occurrence and continuance of panic is the feeling on the part of a participant that he may be unable to escape from an impending threat. Whether it be individually or collectively reached, this feeling of possible entrapment predominates from the first and prevails throughout panic flight. As one person stated it: "I didn't even think anything except getting myself out. From the time I left my bed to the door that's the only thing I could think of—am I going to get out? Am I going to be trapped?"

The important aspect is the belief or feeling of *possible* entrapment. This is reiterated again and again in the remarks of panic participants. It is not that affected individuals believe or feel they are definitely trapped. In such instances panic does not follow, as in the case of the woman who said: "I felt like I was trapped. I really knew there was trouble but I didn't know where to run." The flight of panic arises only when being trapped is sensed or thought of as a possibility rather than an actuality.[11]

generalized accounts that are available are of limited research usefulness because of the inaccuracy and/or inadequacy of the materials. See, however, C. T. Lanham, "Panic," *Infantry Journal*, XLIV (1937), 301–8.

In so far as any statement can be made on the basis of the scanty reliable data, it would seem that military panics are the same in nature and development as panic in general. Consideration of the data suggests, however, the necessity of one precondition for the emergence of military panic. Normally, military groups function collectively and effectively as a matter of routine in the face of very extreme personal dangers. Only where there is an absence or breakdown of this normal military group solidarity is panic possible. For a further discussion of this point see Quarantelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–20.

[11] This conclusion was arrived at by the author prior to his knowledge that Foreman had also

The feeling of possibly being trapped does not necessarily (although this is most frequently the case) involve actual physical obstacles to movement. War refugees caught in the open by strafing planes can develop as acute a sense of potential entrapment as individuals inside a building during an earthquake who see all exits becoming blocked by falling debris.

Furthermore, it is only when actual or presumed blockage of escape to safety is related to immediate consequences that the feeling of entrapment plays a part in the generation of panic flight. Coal miners entombed by a collapsed tunnel who recognize they will have sufficient air till rescuers can dig through to them do not panic. Only when being trapped is seen as something that is going to involve immediate personal danger will it possibly initiate flight behavior. Such occurred in the following instance related by an individual who was on the top story of a factory shattered by an explosion: "Six or eight of us became panicky when we found the stairways blocked by chunks of concrete. The dust, which looked like smoke, made us think that the building was in flames below us." In this particular instance the behavior evolved into only rudimentary collective panic. The important point, however, is that the behavior started to take that form because the men thought themselves possibly trapped atop a burning building. As in all instances of panic, they reacted to the immediate dangerous consequences of possible entrapment (i.e., being burned, etc.) rather than to being trapped as such.

Most frequently the feeling of possible entrapment arises in the course of interaction with other persons in the same situation. Yet it may be individually arrived at,

reached a very similar but differently approached conclusion. In his words, "panic develops only when possible avenues for escape become evident" (*op. cit.*, p. 303). This idea that panic arises only when entrapment *and* escape are perceived as possible runs quite counter to one of the most dominant notions about the genesis of panic behavior, i.e., that it arises when a person is completely trapped in a dangerous situation.

especially in the face of a very sudden and highly dangerous crisis such as a sharp earthquake. However, the more progressive the crisis, the greater the possibility that interaction with others will lead to a definition of the situation as one involving potential entrapment.

The other specific condition which is necessary although not unique to the occurrence and development of panic is a feeling of great helplessness. This condition has two components: a feeling of impotency or powerlessness and a sense of "aloneness."

Faced with a necessity of acting, the individual feels he may be unable to prevent the consequences of the impending danger from occurring. This feeling of powerlessness has nothing to do with the capability of a fear-stricken person to flee. Thus, a woman reported:

When I realized the gas was escaping from the hot-water heater I knew it wasn't anything to monkey with, something not to play with. I *knew* that an accumulation of gas would blow up. I mean water you could cope with, dumping it out or something, but with gas I don't know anything. I thought my house was going to blow up. I was really scared. I ran out.

Persons in panic feel powerless to bring the threat itself under control but they do not despair of getting out of danger by fleeing.

Very often the feeling of personal powerlessness is greatly reinforced by social interaction. At first individuals may ·feel individually powerless and be greatly afraid. Yet they may expect or hope others will be able to cope with the danger. When the responses of the others, however, indicate that they, too, are powerless or have even suffered the consequences, panic becomes probable. As an individual caught in explosions in a factory stated it: "I can truthfully say when I heard the moaning and crying of the others I did get quite panicky. I was rather anxious to see which way I could get out." More frequently there is verbal communication about the potential danger.

The other important aspect of the sense of helplessness is the feeling of isolation or "aloneness" It is the realization that one

has to act and to depend upon one's self alone to find a way to safety. As a woman who was working in a plant with a number of other women when an earthquake struck said:

When it started shaking so bad I noticed that I was there by myself. I felt even more scared. When you're by yourself in something like that and there's nobody to depend on. There was nobody around. I don't know where they disappeared to. I didn't see nobody. I ran out.

In all cases of panic, this feeling of "aloneness" or sole dependency on one's own action is present to some degree.

Contributory panic conditions.—One of the most important contributory conditions is the existence of a social or group pre-definition of a crisis as one that is likely to eventuate in panic flight. Of some crises, people have certain preconceptions of their dangerousness because of the probable behavior of others in the circumstances.[12] The simplest example is the belief that a fire in a crowded place is especially dangerous because, among other things, panic is probable. Any such predefining of a situation as potentially panic-producing can have a direct effect on a participant's interpretation of the behavior of others, as well as on his own behavior. He may start to withdraw in order not to get caught in the expected panic. If many of those present do the same, the withdrawing of each person reinforces the like belief of everyone else that what they feared is actually happening. Thus, ordinary withdrawal can become panic flight.

Another contributory condition to panic is a previous crisis that leaves those who have experienced it highly sensitized to signs indicative of a recurrence. This often leads them to prepare to flee immediately upon noting any cues indicative of a possible recurrence of the threat. As one resi-

[12] Alfred Lindesmith and Anselm Strauss note that individuals "become panicked in situations which have previously been linguistically defined as fearful or terrifying." See their *Social Psychology* (New York: Dryden, 1949), p. 332.

dent of Brighton stated a few days after the widespread gas explosions:

Every time we smell a little smoke or we think we smell a little gas or hear noises, such as probably everyday noises that we never noticed before—because everybody is on the alert now—we're all ready to get out of the house.

However, perceptual hypersensitivity is not in itself generally determinative of panic behavior. Whether flight will occur or not depends upon the interaction following the initiation of the crisis; "panic-ripeness" is not enough.

To summarize: panic develops as a result of a feeling of possible entrapment, a perception of collective powerlessness, and a feeling of individual isolation in a crisis situation. Important in the generation, emergence, and persistence of these factors is social interaction. Without such interaction, panic is not impossible, especially if there is a very sudden crisis situation, but it is much less likely to occur. The chances for the development of the above conditions, which form the basis for the loss of self-control, are considerably enhanced when agitated individuals in a dangerous situation are interacting with one another.

However, this does not mean that panic in a particular crisis excludes the concurrent existence of other forms of behavior. An individual may be in panic when the man next to him is not: any widespread dangerous situation will usually evoke a full range of noninstitutionalized to routinized or habitual behavior.

The frequency of panic has been over-exaggerated. In the literature on disasters, for example, so much emphasis is placed on it that one easily gets the impression that it is the most common and important immediate reaction to such crisis situations. This is not the case. Compared with other reactions panic is a relatively uncommon phenomenon.

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LOCAL INTIMACY IN A MIDDLE-SIZED CITY[1]

JOEL SMITH, WILLIAM H. FORM, AND GREGORY P. STONE

ABSTRACT

This study demonstrates that the residents of a middle-sized city generally establish and maintain intimate relationships with other urbanites. These intimate relationships are both locality-centered and spatially diffuse. While locality-centered intimacy is found in high socioeconomic areas, residents of low socioeconomic areas report that neighbors are their most frequent source of friends. This anomaly may be explained, in part, by the fact that intracity mobility is greater and carried on over a larger territory among lower socioeconomic groupings. Hence, intimacy within these groups, although established on the basis of residential propinquity, is spatially diffuse.

This article reports one phase of a long-term research project in a middle western metropolitan area with a total population of around 140,000 and a central city of about 100,000. Among a number of sociologically relevant problems guiding the research is the broad question of urban integration.[2] Specifically, we are interested in the development of tentative answers to the question: How is it possible for metropolitan residents to form those informal, intimate, and diffuse social relationships that condition a sense of identification, involvement, and integration with a social structure that depends upon a pervasive specialization of functions for its persistence? This question has not been adequately answered by the conventional propositions of urban sociology.

Many theorists in urban sociology have used such concepts as organic solidarity, *Gesellschaft*, and secondary group to develop perspectives for the study of urban life. As a consequence, they have elaborated points of view emphasizing that the urban dweller lives in a complex structure which does not provide him with a *raison d'être* that can be reinforced by significant primary relationships.[3] Because such points of view do not provide adequate means for explaining the city's persistence, and because cities do persist and grow, more recent students of urban life have undertaken research which would seem to require an eventual reformulation of urban theory.[4]

[1] The materials reported here derive from a project of the Social Research Service of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Michigan State College. The research is partially financed by grants from the Lansing City Plan Commission and from the East Lansing City Council. Members of the Research Committee include: J. A. Beegle, J. Cowhig (research assistant), J. R. DeLora (research assistant), W. H. Form (chairman), C. P. Loomis, J. Smith, G. P. Stone, D. G. Steinicke, and J. F. Thaden, of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, and G. M. Belknap, of the Department of Political Science and Public Administration.

[2] For reports of other aspects of the study see Joel Smith, "A Method for the Classification of Areas on the Basis of Demographic Homogeneous Populations," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (April, 1954), 201–7, and William H. Form, Joel Smith, Gregory P. Stone, and James Cowhig, "The Compatibility of Alternative Approaches to the Delimitation of Urban Sub-areas," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (August, 1954), 434–40.

[3] Classical examples of this point of view are to be found in the writings of Ernest W. Burgess, Roderick D. McKenzie, Robert E. Park, Georg Simmel, and Louis Wirth. This is, of course, a matter of relative emphasis. These sociologists do not ignore the problem of intimate association in the city but give it comparatively minor attention.

[4] Among these are to be included Walter Firey, *Land Use in Central Boston* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947); Morris Janowitz, *The Community Press in an Urban Setting* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952); Frederick M. Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937); William F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943); Donald L. Foley, "Neighbors or Urbanites?" ("University of Rochester's Studies of Metropolitan Rochester," No. 2 [Rochester: Department of Sociology, University of Rochester, 1952] (Mimeographed); Harry C. Harmsworth, "Primary Group Relationships in Modern Society," *Sociology and Social Research*,

To explain in part the fact that urbanites are able to maintain a satisfying personal existence in the metropolis, this research takes into account such phenomena as primary relationships among city dwellers, the emergence of peculiarly urban institutions as collective representations of the city, and the provision of identification objects for urban audiences by mass media of communication.

There is little doubt that intimate social relationships are an important component of urban integration and that it is possible for such intimacy to develop and exist in the metropolis. In this article four questions about urban intimacy are raised: (1) How widespread are intimate social relationships in the city? (2) To what extent is such intimacy locality-based? (3) How is locality-based intimacy distributed in the city space? (4) How may the spatial distribution of locality-based intimacy be explained?

INTIMACY IN SOCIAL CONTACTS AS AN ASPECT OF CITY LIFE[5]

Friendship is a type of social relationship characterized by a high degree of intimacy. To determine the residential location of the three best friends of each respondent in the larger of two samples, data were obtained which bear on the extent to which urbanites participate in this kind of intimate social relation. Only 87 members of the sample of 573, or 15.2 per cent, did not report as

many as three "best friends," and only 26, or 4.5 per cent, reported none. While this finding does not describe either the quality or quantity of these relationships, the fact that the large majority of informants did name at least three "best friends" is a significant datum which urban theorists postulating isolation and anonymity cannot adequately explain. Furthermore, the data suggest that these are indeed friendships and not just acquaintanceships. For one thing, informants were asked to give the addresses of the friends they named. Most

TABLE 1

LOCATION OF FRIENDS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE NEIGHBORHOOD FOR DIFFERENT CONCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD SIZE

SIZE OF NEIGHBORHOOD DEFINED BY RESPONDENT	RESIDENCE OF FRIENDS WITH REFERENCE TO RESPONDENT-DEFINED NEIGHBORHOOD		
	Inside	Outside	Total
Respondent's block...	6	21	27
Respondent's street..	24	153	177
2–4 blocks...........	83	221	304
5–10 blocks..........	182	250	432
11 blocks to subcommunity...........	168	192	360
Subcommunity or larger.............	69	50	119
Total............	532	887	1,419

$$x^2 = 97.685 \sim p < .01; \text{d.f.} = 5; T = .175$$

were able to do so readily, and this is not always possible among acquaintances. However, it may be argued that some respondents supplied addresses of acquaintances living near by rather than addresses of "best" friends. That this was not the case may be seen from Table 1, which, despite the presence of an association, shows that the majority of the friends reported reside outside the area considered by the respondent to be his neighborhood. From the data in Table 1, it may seem that many of the friends reported here live outside the neighborhood as defined by the respondent only because his conception of the size of that

XXXI (March-April, 1947), 291-96; Herman Schmalenbach, "Die soziologische Kategorie des Bundes," *Die Dioskuren: Jahrbuch für Geisteswissenschaften,* I (1922), 35-105; Gregory P. Stone, "City Shoppers and Urban Identification: Observations on the Social Psychology of City Life," *American Journal of Sociology* (forthcoming); Frank L. Sweetser, Jr., "A New Emphasis for Neighborhood Research," *American Sociological Review,* VII (August, 1942), 525-33.

[5] The data to be analyzed in this paper derive from two samples of 573 and 125 interviews taken in the city of Lansing in 1952-53. The bases of sampling are discussed in Joel Smith, *op. cit.*; William H. Form *et al., op. cit.*; and William H. Form and Gregory P. Stone, "Tests of Status in Anonymous Urban Situations" (unpublished manuscript, 1954).

area is quite small. While this may sometimes be the case, the data show that even those people who conceive of their neighborhoods as large subcommunities of the city report that almost half the friends they named live outside the neighborhood as defined.

TABLE 2

NEIGHBORHOOD SOCIAL INTIMACY SCALE

Question	Intimate (+)	Inter-mediate (0)	Non-intimate (−)
1.......	Quite well, very well	Fairly well	Not at all, not so well
2.......	One or more		None
3.......	About half or more		None, a few
4.......	Yes		No, don't know

IDEAL SCALE TYPES	PATTERN OF RESPONSES TO ITEMS				NUMBER OF CASES*
	1	2	3	4	
I.........	+	+	+	+	34
II........	0	+	+	+	19
III.......	0	−	+	+	12
IV........	0	−	−	+	16
V.........	−	−	−	+	14
VI........	−	−	−	−	21

Coefficient of reproducibility =

$$1 - \frac{49}{4 \times 116} = 1 - \frac{49}{464} = .894*$$

* This scale was developed on the basis of a randomly selected 20 per cent sample of the block interviews. Previous experience of the authors with scales based upon samples of this magnitude shows that coefficients of reproducibility can be expected to vary only within a small range of 1 per cent. The coefficient is computed after the formula presented in Samuel A. Stouffer (Louis Guttman *et al.*, *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II:* Vol. IV: *Measurement and Prediction* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950], p. 117).

defined. Finally, the interpretation of these relationships as friendships has additional support because the location of friends was asked immediately after a set of questions about local acquaintanceships.[6] Therefore, the data may be interpreted as showing that intimate social relationships are to be found in urban areas and that these relationships may be found both inside and outside the local area of residence.

Because of the relevance of local subarea

intimacy for the larger study of urban integration, further salient data were collected in addition to the location of best friends. The responses to six questions pointing to some aspects of neighborhood intimacy and identification clustered consistently on spot maps. These included:

1. How well do you think the people in the neighborhood know each other?
2. About how many of them would you say you know by name?
3. About how many do you spend a whole afternoon or evening with every now and then?
4. If you had your choice would you continue living in this neighborhood?
5. How many families in your neighborhood do you come in contact with for a few minutes every day or so?
6. Do you think this neighborhood is getting better or getting worse?

The responses to these six items were trichotomized and subjected to a Guttman scale analysis. Ultimately, the first four of them (one trichotomous and three dichotomous) were found to scale, with a coefficient of reproducibility of .894. The resulting six scale types for degree of social intimacy[7] in the neighborhood appear in Table 2.

The analysis of the characteristics associated with the scale types is the major means by which the character of local subarea intimacy will be assessed in this article. However, before proceeding, it is appropriate to ask whether the presence of best friends inside defined neighborhoods and the degree of local intimacy (as determined from the scale types) are merely different expressions of the same thing. The data presented in Table 3, bearing upon this question, need to be evaluated with some care. While the test of association indicates a significant tendency for friends to be located inside the neighborhood as local intimacy

[6] The respondents were asked not to consider only local relationships in designating best friends.

[7] It is recognized that the scale items used connote both intimacy and identification. For purposes of simplicity, however, we refer to the items as a scale of social intimacy. The observations of both Cooley and Mead may be invoked as theoretical justifications.

increases, the size of the association, as indicated by T, is so small as to suggest that local intimacy is not solely a function of local friendship relations. The city, then, is a place where the person finds it possible to develop a sense of intimacy both city-wide and locality-based. We are primarily concerned here with the residential origins of intimacy and leave the problem of other origins, such as institutional participation, for later investigation. It is in order, then, to consider the circumstances under which intimacy in the locality is found.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF LOCALITY-BASED INTIMACY

People who indicate different degrees of local intimacy do not seem to be randomly scattered throughout the city. When the intimacy scores of the respondents within each of the city's twenty-eight census tracts are averaged, clear differences emerge among tracts. The range in averages extends from 2.8 to 6.0. While there does seem to be a clear gradient pattern of increase in intimacy from the city center to the periphery in accord with the Burgess zonal hypothesis, as shown in Figure 1, this is not the main point of interest in this analysis. More important is the fact that the highest average intimacy scores are found in areas of high socioeconomic position. This suggests the hypothesis that the existence of local subarea intimacy is associated with socioeconomic level. Specifically, the higher the economic level of the area, the higher the degree of local intimacy as indicated by the scale. When average weekly income for each family is used as a crude index of socioeconomic position, the data, as shown in Table 4, tend to substantiate this hypothesis.

Since the total distribution seemed approximately normal, and a Bartlett's test of homogeneity among group variances was clearly nonsignificant, an analysis of variance was applied to the mean income of the different intimacy groups.[8] This confirmed the significance of the clear tendency for greater local intimacy to be found among higher socioeconomic groupings in the sample.

The conclusion is confirmed by data secured from another phase of the study in which 125 interviews were collected in high, middle, and low economic areas of the city.

TABLE 3

LOCATION OF FRIENDS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE NEIGHBORHOOD FOR VARYING DEGREES OF LOCAL INTIMACY

DEGREE OF LOCAL SUBAREA INTIMACY FROM LOW TO HIGH	RESIDENCES OF FRIENDS WITH REFERENCE TO RESPONDENT-DEFINED NEIGHBORHOOD		
	Inside	Outside	Total*
1.............	20	56	76
2.............	72	114	186
3.............	106	164	270
4.............	158	213	371
5.............	152	158	310
6.............	130	117	247
Total.......	638	822	1,460

$\chi^2 = 24.941 \sim p < .01$; d.f. $= 5$; $T = .09$

* Totals differ from those of Table 1 because of the necessity of using a different basis for the "inside-outside" classification.

When asked where most of their close friends resided, the respondents replied as indicated in Table 5. More of the residents of the high-income area reported that more of their friends lived within that area than would be expected if only chance factors operated. This accounts for the major part of the variation in the table.

The weight of the evidence clearly suggests that local intimacy exists in the city and that it is positively associated with socioeconomic position. This finding, how-

[8] The results of the analysis of variance are reported below:

Source of Variation	Degrees of Freedom	Sums of Squares	Mean Squares
Total.........	488	802,567.26	....
Groups........	5	26,451.66	5,290.33
Individuals.....	483	776,115.60	1,606.86

$F = 5,290.33/1,606.86 = 3.29 \sim p < .01$; d.f. $= 5$ and 483
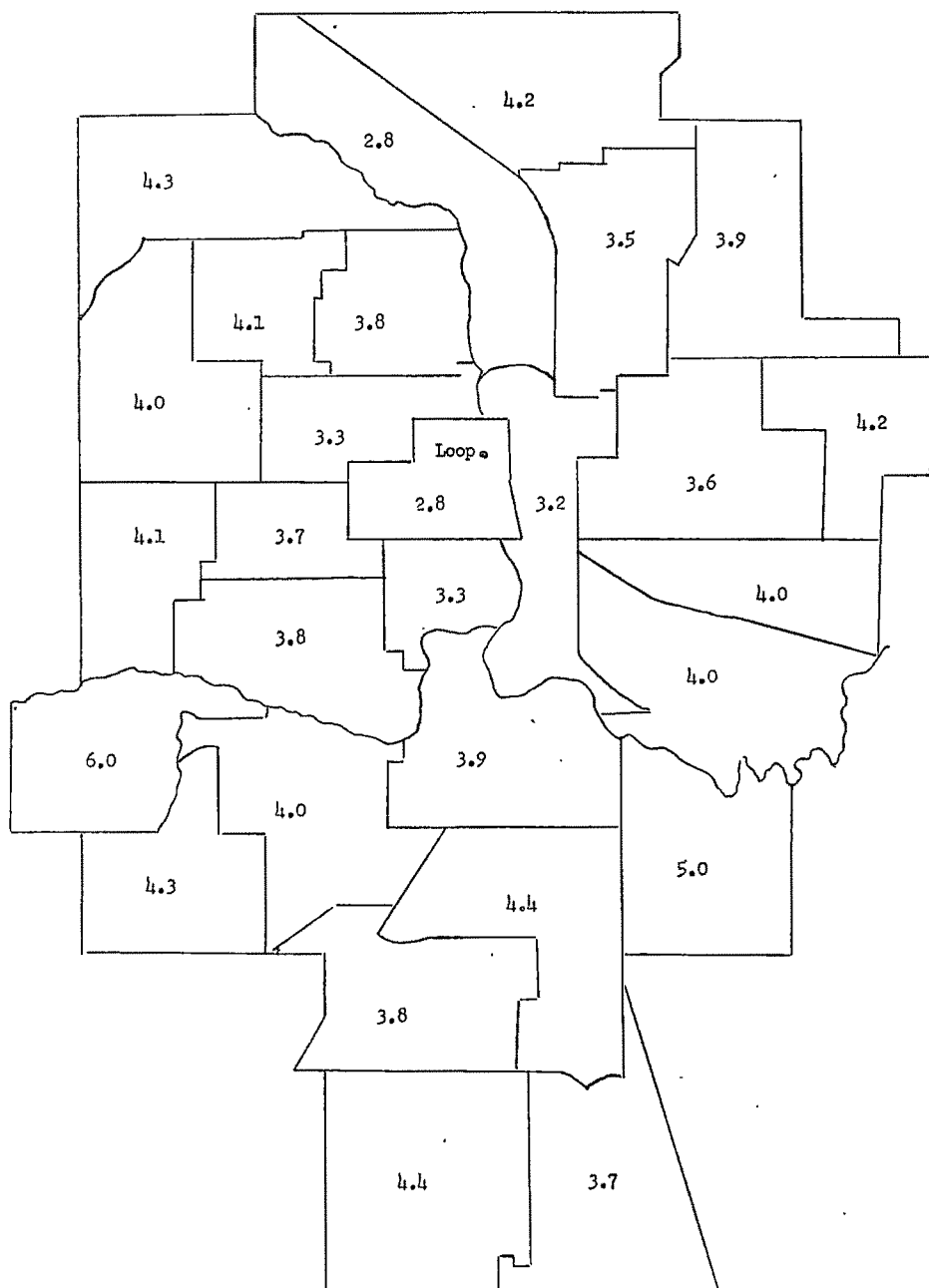
FIG. 1.—Average intimacy scores in Lansing, Michigan, by Census Tracts

ever, is challenged by the observations of other urban sociologists. While they admit the possibility that intimate relationships exist in the city, they see them as collective responses to the social disorganization which characterizes lower economic areas.[9] Moreover, the answers of the 125 respondents selected from high, middle, and low economic areas to a question asking how they meet most of their friends apparently bear out these contentions. Table 6 shows that

[9] E.g., Thrasher, op. cit., and Whyte, op. cit.

the residents of low economic areas tend, more than would be expected if chance alone operated, to make their close friends through neighborhood associations. Clearly, then, the problem is to explain why there is a low degree of local intimacy in low economic areas when the residents of those areas form friendships largely through neighborhood contacts.

The discrepant findings may be accounted for, in part, by differential rates of spatial mobility. Specifically, people who move

TABLE 4

DEGREE OF LOCAL INTIMACY AND AVERAGE WEEKLY INCOME

| AVERAGE WEEKLY INCOME | DEGREE OF LOCAL INTIMACY FROM LOW TO HIGH | | | | | | |
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
$ 0–$ 29	....	7	5	4	5	1	22
$ 30–$ 39	....	....	4	4	4	2	14
$ 40–$ 49	....	1	4	4	2	....	11
$ 50–$ 59	....	2	4	11	5	4	26
$ 60–$ 69	6	12	5	18	8	6	55
$ 70–$ 79	4	10	10	13	15	11	63
$ 80–$ 99	7	13	25	30	13	16	104
$100–$119	4	5	20	15	21	14	79
$120–$149	3	10	8	13	18	9	61
$150 and over	2	4	7	12	13	16	54
Total*	26	64	92	124	104	79	489
Mean	$96.73	$86.88	$91.79	$91.41	$100.10	$107.78	$95.62

* Totals are less than complete groups and total scalable sample because some respondents refused to give income information.

TABLE 5

ECONOMIC LEVEL OF RESIDENTIAL AREA AND LOCATIONS OF FRIENDS

| LOCATION OF FRIENDS | ECONOMIC LEVEL OF RESIDENTIAL AREA | | |
	High	Middle and Low	Total*
Inside neighborhood	8	9	17
Elsewhere	24	82	106
Total*	32	91	123

$x^2 = 3.00 \sim .1 > p > .05$; d.f. $= 1$

* Two of the respondents did not answer the question.

TABLE 6

ECONOMIC AREA OF RESIDENCE AND SOURCE OF FRIENDSHIPS

| SOURCE OF FRIENDSHIPS | ECONOMIC AREA OF RESIDENCE | | |
	High-Middle	Low	Total
Neighbors	12	14	26
Other	71	28	99
Total	83	42	125

$x^2 = 5.023 \sim .05 > p > .02$; d.f. $= 1$

with greater frequency and/or have moved into their area of present residence relatively recently may report a low degree of local intimacy, while less mobile people would not be as likely to perceive their neighborhoods in the same way. Nevertheless, although highly mobile people report a low degree of local intimacy in their present residential areas, they may have developed intimate social relations elsewhere. It follows that mobile city dwellers may maintain close ties with people located in areas where they lived formerly, and, at the same time, build new intimate relationships in areas where they now reside. The data in

Tables 7, 8, and 9 uniformly confirm the existence of a significant degree of association between mobility and local intimacy. The less they are intimate in the locality in which they live, the greater, on the whole, the number of residences of the respondent since 1946. The higher the intimacy, the earlier both the year moved to the local subarea of residence and the year moved to the current residence.

Moreover, the increasing differences between the mean year moved to the present residence and the mean year moved into the local subarea of present residence suggest a greater stability of residence within local

TABLE 7

DEGREE OF LOCAL INTIMACY AND NUMBER OF RESIDENCES
LIVED IN SINCE 1946

NUMBER OF RESIDENCES SINCE 1946	DEGREE OF LOCAL INTIMACY FROM LOW TO HIGH						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
One.............	9	30	51	75	65	62	292
Two.............	12	20	24	40	33	17	146
Three...........	5	6	9	8	9	5	42
Four or more....	4	14	14	12	8	2	54
Total.......	30	70	98	135	115	86	534
Average.....	2.27	2.27	1.97	1.82	1.72	1.38	1.83

$$\chi^2 = 28.855 \sim p < .01; \text{d.f.} = 15$$

TABLE 8

DEGREE OF LOCAL INTIMACY AND YEAR MOVED INTO LOCAL SUBAREA

YEAR MOVED INTO LOCAL SUBAREA	DEGREE OF LOCAL INTIMACY FROM LOW TO HIGH						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
1952–51.........	12	17	23	24	19	5	100
1950–45.........	13	25	30	41	32	28	169
1944–41.........	1	6	15	24	12	11	69
1940 or earlier...	4	17	30	43	47	38	179
Total.......	30	65	98	132	110	82	517
Average.....	1947.1	1942.5	1942.1	1941.5	1939.1	1939.3	....

$$\chi^2 = 36.669 \sim p < .01; \text{d.f.} = 15$$

subareas for those reporting higher local intimacy. Since this greater tendency for people with higher local intimacy to move less and to move within the area when they do move might be construed in part as an artifact of their conceptions of the size of their local areas, this association was tested and was not found to be significant.

The consistency of these data strongly suggests that local intimacy develops as a result of residential stability. Furthermore,

source of friends for people living in low economic areas cannot be denied.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of the investigation reported here call into question those propositions of urban sociology which suggest that the city, a place of specialization, segmentalization, and anonymity, denies its residents the opportunities for the kinds of intimate social relationships that contribute to social in-

TABLE 9

DEGREE OF LOCAL INTIMACY AND YEAR MOVED TO PRESENT ADDRESS

YEAR MOVED TO PRESENT ADDRESS	DEGREE OF LOCAL INTIMACY FROM LOW TO HIGH						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
1952–51...............	14	21	28	27	22	6	118
1950–45...............	12	28	33	49	41	33	196
1944–41...............	1	5	13	22	9	12	62
1940 or earlier.........	3	16	26	34	39	33	151
Total.............	30	70	100	132	111	84	527
Average...........	1948.3	1943.8	1943.4	1943.0	1941.3	1941.1	....

$$\chi^2 = 38.862 \sim p < .01; \text{d.f.} = 15$$

Differences between averages expressed in Tables 8 and 9.......	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.5	2.2	1.8	....

greater local intimacy will be found in high-income areas than in middle and lower economic areas. The reasons for this are twofold. First, low economic groupings are more often subject to economic pressures demanding changes of residence than are high economic groupings. Second, low economic groupings occupy a greater share of the city's space and have more spatial alternatives for moving. As a consequence, friendships in this stratum of the urban population tend to be dispersed more widely through the city's space than friendships among urbanites in higher strata. Even so, the significance of the residential area as a

tegration. Such relationships are prevalent in the city and are to be found both throughout the city and within local areas of residence. Moreover, intimacy, apart from that generated in friendships, may be found in local subareas. This kind of intimacy is more likely to be found among people residing in high economic areas than in low economic areas. However, although residents of lower economic areas do achieve a sufficient degree of local intimacy to be able to form friendships within their areas of residence, their higher rate of spatial mobility results in a greater spatial dispersion of intimate social relationships. On the other hand, longer residential tenure of

high-income groups, further qualified by the more limited range of residential alternatives open to them, explains their higher proportion of local intimacy. Thus, urban social integration is contributed to by the fact that urbanites derive social satisfac-tions from informal relationships both within and outside of their local areas of residence. Spatial mobility makes for city-wide ties; stability makes for local areas ties; and most urban residents have both.

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE

MORMONISM AND THE AVOIDANCE OF SECTARIAN STAGNATION: A STUDY OF CHURCH, SECT, AND INCIPIENT NATIONALITY

THOMAS F. O'DEA

ABSTRACT

In the development of Mormonism ten factors combined to enable it to escape sectarian stagnation. Instead there emerged a large ecclesiastical organization which is the organized core of the Mormon people, who have evolved a subculture and homeland and for whom religious fellowship is impenetrated by the total bonds of community and family. The study illustrates both the relationship of religious fellowship to incipient nationality and the importance of a unique concatenation of events in social causation.

One of the many churches founded in the region south of the Great Lakes in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, or the Mormon church, alone avoided the stagnant backwaters of sectarianism. Founded in New York State in 1830 by a small group of men, it has today more than a million members in the United States and in its mission countries of Europe and the South Seas. It is the only religious body to have a clear majority of the population in a single state (Utah), and it has been the central and strategic group in the settlement of the intermountain West. Of its numerous dissident bodies, five survive, the largest of which has 100,000 members; the smallest, 24. The former, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, is an important denomination in parts of the Middle West.[1] From its founding the Mormon church has set out to establish the Kingdom of God on earth and had created—once in Ohio, twice in Missouri, and once in Illinois—settlements in which this ideal was to be realized, only to see them consumed by external conflict and internal dissent. Finally, in 1847, the Mormons, harassed and persecuted, dispossessed of all but faith, leadership, and superb

organization, crossed the plains and settled in the Utah desert. There, relying on these spiritual and sociological assets, they established a regional culture area bearing the pronounced imprint of their peculiar values and outlook.

This article attempts to answer two questions: (1) What enabled the Mormon church to avoid sectarianism? (2) If the Mormon church did not become a sect, is it then an ecclesiastical body or "church" in the sense in which that term has been understood in the sociology of religion since Ernst Troeltsch?[2] In answering these two questions, two others—of more general interest —suggest themselves; the first of interest to sociological theory, the second to the growing concern with interdisciplinary research: (3) Is the accepted dichotomy, church or sect, conceptually adequate to handle the empirical data in the sociology of religion? (4) Can sociological analysis alone adequately explain the emergence of one type of social structure as against another?

Presented here are the findings of a larger study of Mormon values and Mormon social institutions,[3] a study which involved

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[1] Elmer T. Clark, *The Small Sects in America* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1937). Clark gives the following dissidents besides the Reorganized Church: Bickertonites, Hedrickites, Strangites, and Cutlerites. None of these groups had over 1,500 members; the Cutlerites had about two dozen and practiced community of property.

[2] See Joachim Wach, *The Sociology of Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), pp. 195 ff.

[3] This research was done as part of the Values Study Project of the Laboratory of Social Relations of Harvard University and was supported financially and otherwise by the project. It will be published in the forthcoming monograph by the writer entitled "Mormon Values: The Significance of a Religious Outlook for Social Action."

an analysis of Mormon theology and re-ligious teaching, the development of Mor-mon social institutions—ecclesiastical, polit-ical, economic, and educational—and a community study based upon participant observation in a rural village, the charac-teristic product of Mormon efforts at set-tlement in the West.[4]

CHURCH AND SECT

Ernst Troeltsch and Max Weber define a sect as a body of believers based upon contracted or freely elected membership in contrast to the institutional ecclesiastical body or church in which membership is ascribed. "Born into" and "freely chosen" signify the vital distinction. Park and Bur-gess, Simmel and von Wiese, and, following them, Becker elaborate this definition.[5] For them a church or *ecclesia* is characterized by the following: (1) membership on the basis of birth; (2) administration of the means of grace and its sociological and theological concomitants—hierarchy and dogma; (3) inclusiveness of social structure, often coinciding with ethnic or geographical boundaries; (4) orientation to the conver-sion of all; and (5) a tendency to compro-mise with and adjust to the world. The sect, on the contrary, is characterized by (1) separatism and defiance of or with-drawal from the demands of the secular sphere, preferring isolation to compromise; (2) exclusiveness, expressed in attitude and social structure; (3) emphasis upon conver-sion prior to membership; and (4) volun-tary election or joining.

The sect is often persecuted and is always ascetic. It usually rejects hierarchy and endeavors to implement the "priesthood believers" in an egalitarian if narrow social organization. As H. Richard Niebuhr has observed, sectarianism, strictly defined, cannot outlast the founding generation[6] and, as Liston Pope has shown, often does not last it out.[7] The birth of children to the freely electing sectaries and the worldly success which so often crowns sectarian frugality and industry result in that ad-justment to the world which Weber has called "the routinization of charisma." To cover this phenomenon, von Wiese and Becker introduce a third type, as does Niebuhr—the denomination. "Denomina-tions are simply sects in an advanced stage of development and of adjustment to each other and the secular world."[8]

There have been attempts—often highly suggestive—to characterize the sectarian personality.[9] Von Wiese and Becker intro-duce a fourth type—the cult in which re-ligion is private and personal; and Wach introduces another—the independent group. This latter is a semiecclesiastical body which starts out resembling a sect and through slow transformation and organiza-tional differentiation becomes much more like a church. Wach's chief example is the Mormon church. This classification is per-ceptive, but arguments will be given below to show that it is inadequate.

Wach also points out the impossibility of applying any of the above criteria with rigor. Accepting the importance of sociolog-

[4] See Evon Z. Vogt and Thomas F. O'Dea, "A Comparative Study of the Role of Values in Social Action in Two Southwestern Communities," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII, No. 6 (De-cember, 1953), 645–54; and Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1953).

[5] Robert R. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Intro-duction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: Uni-versity of Chicago Press, 1921), pp. 50, 202–3, 611–12, 657, 870–74; Howard Becker, *Systematic Sociology: On the Basis of the "Beziehungslehre und Gebildelehr" of Leopold von Wiese: Adapted and Amplified* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1932), pp. 624–28.

[6] H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929), pp. 17 ff.

[7] Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers: A Study of Gastonia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942).

[8] Becker, *op. cit.*

[9] See John L. Gillin, "A Contribution to the Sociology of Sects," *American Journal of Sociology*, XVI (1910), 236 ff.; Robert P. Casey, "Transient Cults," *Psychiatry* IV (1941), 525 ff.; and Ellsworth Faris, "The Sect," chap. v of *The Nature of Hu-man Nature* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937).

ical criteria and of theological and philo-
sophical doctrines in differentiating sects
from other religious bodies, he concludes
that the characteristic attitude is most
pertinent—an attitude which claims to be
"renewing the original spirit of the absolute
or relative beginnings" of a religious move-
ment.[10] In what follows the criteria of von
Wiese and Becker and of Wach are applied
to Mormonism.

THE AVOIDANCE OF SECTARIANISM

The Mormon church claimed to be a
divine restoration of the Apostolic Church
after centuries of apostasy. The mark of
the new dispensation was contemporary
revelation. Through the prophet, Joseph
Smith, the Lord was believed to have called
the elect. The result was the church which
was founded in western New York, at the
time a near-frontier and the scene of a great
religious enthusiasm.[11] To its converts it
offered security—a resolution of the outer
conflict and inner turmoil of denomina-
tional confusion and one which claimed the
sanction of divine revelation. Convinced
of a covenant to build the Kingdom of God
on earth, the Latter-Day Saints attempted
to establish their settlements on the basis
of the Law of Consecration, or United Order
of Enoch, a plan announced by the prophet-
founder which reconciled Christian socialism
with private initiative and management.[12]
This law was withdrawn in 1838 after some

[10] Wach, *op. cit.*, pp. 194–96. For an excellent
discussion of the church-sect problem see *ibid.*,
pp. 195–205, and especially his later "Church,
Denomination, and Sect," chap. ix in *Types of
Religious Experience* (Chicago: University of Chi-
cago Press, 1951), pp. 187–208.

[11] Whitney B. Cross, *The Burned-over District:
The History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western
New York, 1800–1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University
Press, 1950).

[12] See Doctrine and Covenants 42:30–36; also
51:1–16; 70:3, 9; 104; 82; and 92. This is a standard
scriptural work of the Mormon church and contains
the revelations of Joseph Smith. See also Leonard
Arrington, "Early Mormon Communitarianism,"
Western Humanities Review, VII, No. 4 (autumn,
1953), 341–69; and also Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., *Back-
woods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases*

seven years of experiment marked by con-
tentions and jealousies, and tithing was
substituted for it.

The Mormon church placed great em-
phasis upon the restoration of Hebrew
ideals and upon the revival of Old Testa-
ment practices and institutions. The Saints
were, they believed, a modern Israel: called
by God, party to the covenant, and about
to be gathered unto Zion. Polygamy was
but one, although the most notorious, ex-
ample of such revivals. In restoration and
peculiarity, two important aspects of the
Mormon Gospel, the attitudes of renewal
and exclusiveness characteristic of sects
were palpably present.

While commitment to building the King-
dom was sectarian in so far as it required
withdrawal from the world and refusal to
accommodate to the routine demands of
secular life, it certainly had other possible
implications. The idea of a Christian com-
monwealth was capable of quite nonsec-
tarian interpretation. Moreover, the with-
drawal from "Babylon" did not involve a
repudiation of worldly pursuits, for in the
City of God, the New Jerusalem, business,
family life, government, and even armed
defense would be acceptable and accepted.
Nature was not seen as corrupted, and the
vitiating effect of original sin upon preter-
natural virtue was denied—a most unsec-
tarian doctrine. Work and recreation were
both accepted and sanctified. Against the
sectarian notions of renewal and exclusive-
ness must be placed the nonsectarian pos-
sibilities of building a Christian society and
the doctrine of human goodness—of total
"undepravity."

Yet other groups had set out to build
the Kingdom, and whatever nonsectarian
possibilities lie hidden in the idea of a Chris-
tian commonwealth were never made ap-
parent. How many sects built isolated little
communities where prosperity followed
upon the sectarian ascetic of work and
thrift? Such settlements often reached a

of Communitarian Socialism in America: 1663–1829
(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press,
1950).

membership of a thousand and then stopped growing. Others experienced "swarming," that is, excess numbers, usually in excess of a thousand, migrated and established a new settlement emulating the mother-community but independent of its authority. This was the common sectarian fate. How were the Mormons to avoid it and realize the nonsectarian possibilities of their vision?

The Kirtland attempt to build the Kingdom failed because of internal dissent, external opposition, and economic distress—the last the most important. The Saints then migrated to Missouri and there at two points—Jackson County and Far West—endeavored to construct the New Jerusalem. Their strange doctrines claiming contemporary converse with God, their frugality and industry and consequent prosperity, their talk of making the region a "promised land," and their northern manners accentuated by rumors of abolition sentiments aroused the animosity of their neighbors. Consequently, they were driven from the land, and, crossing the Mississippi, the only eastward move in their long wanderings, they entered Illinois, where they built another city. Nauvoo, on the east bank of the river, saw the arrival of converts in great numbers, the first fruits of the European harvest. But there, too, hostility followed the Saints, and rumors that the leaders were practicing polygamy—rumors that turned out to be true—and a more defiant attitude from the Mormon leadership increased gentile antagonism. In 1844 Joseph Smith was murdered at Carthage jail, and in the next three years the Saints were driven from Nauvoo. In 1847, after a period of disorganization and hardship, they migrated to Utah under the leadership of Brigham Young.

In the West the church gained the respite needed for its internal recovery and at the same time the relative isolation required for establishing a civilization whose institutions would be informed by Mormon conceptions and Mormon values. In the 1880's and 1890's, however, the Mormon-gentile conflict broke out anew with considerable

acuteness, the issues now being polygamy and the admission of Utah to the Union. After harsh federal legislation and prosecution of Mormon leaders, the church abandoned polygamy and accommodated itself to the demands of the larger American community into which it was reintegrated. Yet relative isolation had done its work—Utah and the surrounding region remained a Mormon culture area, although the implicit claim to it as an exclusive homeland was given up. Moreover, Mormon peculiarity and self-consciousness remained.

In this early period of Mormon history many marks of sectarianism were present: not only the attitude of renewal and exclusiveness but voluntary election as the basis of membership, withdrawal from the secular community, asceticism which placed a high value on hard work, persecution which increased in-group cohesion, and the conception of the priesthood of believers. The last doctrine, however, was not interpreted in terms of an egalitarian congregationalism. Rather it found expression in an hierarchical priesthood organization, authoritarian in structure and function. As the church grew, as its early charismatic leadership became more institutionalized in the leading offices, and as it had to stand against external threats, the early congregationalism gave way more and more to authoritarian rule.

What factors militated against the development of a typical sect in this situation? Two were already mentioned: (1) *the nonsectarian possibilities of building the Kingdom which could require so much subtle accommodation* and (2) *the doctrine of natural goodness, by way of which nineteenth-century American optimism entered Mormon religious consciousness to blend there with the chiliastic expectations of a restorationist movement.* Yet the former alone could not effect the avoidance of sectarianism, as the record of so many other groups makes so clear; nor could the latter, although, when combined with other factors effective in the concrete situation, both could affect the issue in a powerful and pervasive manner. These two

factors combined with the following eight to effect the issue:

3. *Universal missionary understanding of the notion of "gathering the elect."*—The Mormon notion of peculiarity was exclusive, but it was not necessarily sectarian in the strictest sense. It was rather committed to missionary work—to calling the elect from the world. This was of great consequence when taken together with several other factors, despite its being a rather sectarian idea of missionary work.

4. *The temporal appropriateness of the doctrine in the late 1830's.*—A generation before, the "gathering of the elect" might have been understood in terms of calling the elect from the neighboring counties. But in the second decade of the nineteenth century, American Protestantism had discovered a bigger world. The Mormons came upon the scene in time to inherit the newer and broader definition. The universal understanding of calling the elect combined with the new world-wide definition of the mission field worked against a sectarian issue.

5. *The success of missionary work.*—The ability of the Mormon Gospel to bring meaning and hope to many, in America and in Europe, especially England and Scandinavia, resulted in thousands of converts. With increased numbers, the notion of the holy city which the Saints were called to build now took on dimensions hardly compatible with sectarianism. Nauvoo had a population of 20,000 when Chicago had 5,000.

6. *The withdrawal of the Law of Consecration.*—Had the Law of Consecration worked, the Mormons might have built another successful communitarian settlement of which our history has seen so many. The failure of the Law, on the other hand, deprived them of a blueprint, rigid conformity to which could have been interpreted as the only permissible economic ethic, thereby lending a sectarian narrowness to their activities and inhibiting growth. Moreover, the Law was withdrawn by Joseph Smith in a revelation which still held up its ideals as the will of God. As a result the

flexibility of charismatic leadership was transmitted to the institutionalized church in economic matters, and its spirit vivified economic experiment for the next century, while a killing economic literalism was successfully eschewed. This is all the more striking, since in scriptural interpretation Mormons have generally been literalists.

7. *The failures and consequent necessity of starting again.*—The need to start over again four times in sixteen years also contributed to flexibility, preventing a set routine from developing which could then have been imposed on new problems, thereby limiting growth and contributing to a sectarian atmosphere and structure. Combined with the withdrawal of the Law of Consecration, this made a dogmatism of minutiae impossible.

8. *The expulsion from the Middle West.*—The Middle West, the continent's most attractive ecological area, was destined to draw large numbers of non-Mormon settlers. In such a situation it would have been quite impossible for the Mormon church to have maintained any hegemony, spiritual, political, or economic. Instead it would in all likelihood have become one of a number of denominations accommodating to each other and to the secular world and thus would be reintegrated into the general American community with which it shared so many common roots as another small and unimportant Protestant group.

9. *The choice and the existence of a large, unattractive expanse of land in the West.*—The Mormon leadership deliberately chose an unattractive region to gain the necessary respite that isolation would give and resisted the seductions of more pleasant prospects. The existence of this arid region was something over which they had no control. It was unquestionably a prerequisite for the future form of their community. The result was the opening-up of a huge area waiting to be converted from desert, supporting a scant nomadic population, to a Mormon culture area based upon irrigation farming. This also gave the necessary time

in isolation for Mormon social institutions to emerge and to "set."

10. *The authoritarian structure of the church and the central government which it made possible.*—The existence of a charismatic leader in the early stages of Mormon church history whose right to rule was believed to be based upon divine election and the consequent authoritarian and hierarchical structure of church government permitted scattered settlement in the West under central direction. Such authoritarian characteristics were strengthened by the external conditions of conflict and hardship. Centrifugal tendencies in the West were restrained when not completely inhibited. The priesthood structure and the routinization of prophetic rule might in other circumstances have been completely compatible with sectarianism, yet in the western settlement they combined with open and relatively empty and isolated land, and missionary success and consequent emigration, to make large-scale settlement possible under central government. This combination ruled out the last chance of sectarianism.

These last eight factors, then, combined to militate against a sectarian issue to the Mormon experiment and to bring into existence the Mormon church of the present day. Instead of becoming a sect, the church became the core of a large culture area. In these eight factors and their combination we have the answer to our first question.

NEITHER CHURCH NOR SECT

The Mormon church is excluded by definition from the category of church or *ecclesia*, unless it has become one in the course of its development. Similarly with regard to the category of denomination: since we have defined denominations as "routinized sects," Mormonism, having avoided sectarianism, at the same time avoided denominationalism. However, to be of genuine interest, these two statements must be true in more than a formal sense— they must be more than mere analytical inferences from definitions. The question is

then: Has the Mormon church become an ecclesiastical body in the course of its evolution?

Despite the avoidance of typical sectarian structure and isolation, the Mormon church has displayed and retained many sectarian characteristics. Most important are: (1) a sense of peculiarity, of election, and of covenant, which is reinforced by explicit theological doctrine; (2) a tendency to withdrawal from the gentile world (this is now most frequently expressed in admonition and symbolic practices, yet it found large-scale expression in the Church Welfare Plan with which the Mormon church sought to meet the great depression as a separate body capable of considerable autarchy); (3) a commitment to "warning the world" and "gathering the elect," the implications of which have been more routine and less dramatic since the accommodation which followed the defeat of the church on the polygamy issue; and (4) chiliastic expectations, still important not only among rural groups but in the writings of some leaders of the church.

While the Mormons have never identified group membership with peculiarity of dress as sectarists have frequently done, the strict interpretation of Joseph Smith's no-liquor, no-tobacco counsel at the present day serves an analagous function and has become the focus of the expression of exclusivist sentiments. Moreover, although persecution has stopped, the memory of it preserves in-group solidarity and strengthens loyalty.

Yet despite the notae of the sect, the basic fact in Mormon history since 1890 has been the accommodation of the church to the demands of the larger gentile community. The abandonment of polygamy— that camel at which so many strained but which became so identified with loyalty that all were willing to suffer in its defense —was the surrender of what had become the typical Mormon institution. Economic experimentation—the communism of the United Order, for example—became less characteristic of Mormon activities, and,

in general, the secular demands of Babylon displaced the earlier enthusiasm for the New Jerusalem. Even the successes of earlier fervor strengthened the trend to accommodation. Having become · the dominant group over a large culture area, the Mormon church experienced the conservatism of the successful, which was not likely to upset a working equilibrium. The involvement of church leadership in established political, economic, and educational institutions, the education of children, the comparatively long-established hierarchy and dogma—all display ecclesiastical features of Mormon organization. The demand for conversion and the aversion to the ecclesiastical practice of infant baptism were soon institutionally compromised in the baptism of the eight-year-old children of Mormon families.

This combination of sectarian characteristics with structure, policy, and circumstances similar to many *ecclesiae* suggests that the Mormon church is a mixture of the pure categories outlined in our typology. Joachim Wach, recognizing this problem—specifically about the Mormons and generally in such typologies—has characterized the Mormon church as an independent group with semiecclesiastical organization.[13] It is, for Wach, neither church nor sect; it is an independent group through whose organization its members have access to the necessary means of salvation.

In terms of theology and group structure there is considerable justification for Wach's classification. Yet, in larger terms, there is more to be said. The Mormon restoration was not only a Christian renewal; it was a Hebrew revival. Mormondom conceived itself as a modern Israel. This alone is not uncommon in Chrstian experience, and we are likely to take it for granted. Yet in the Mormon case, contemporary conditions of life were to give the revival of Hebrew ideals a more genuine content than would have been possible in smaller groups in less demanding circumstances. The acceptance of a model is always important in the pat-

[13] *The Sociology of Religion,* pp. 194–97.

terning of subsequent behavior, and in the Mormon case the model of the chosen people could not but effect Mormon belief and behavior: polygamy is but the most notorious example.

Guided by this model, the Saints withdrew from the modern Babylon to build the modern Zion. Owing to circumstances over which they had little control, they found themselves wandering in the wilderness. They had sought but part of the Israelitish parallel; circumstances had provided the rest. For sixteen years they were driven about, attempting four times to build their city. Their size, the extent and duration of their suffering, and the way in which defeat several times crowned the most palpable successes combined to transform the bread and water of sectarian affliction into the real presence of national potentiality. Common effort in success and in failure, common suffering from elemental and human adversaries, even common struggle with arms against common enemies, all these lent to the symbolic emulation of ancient Israel an existential reality which devoted sectaries in more (or less) fortunate circumstances could hardly surmise. Mormonism lived its Exodus and Chronicles, not once but many times. It had its Moses and its Joshua. Circumstances had given it a stage upon which its re-enactment of biblical history was neither farce nor symbolic pageant.

Throughout this intense group experience —an experience which produced a genuine folk tradition in a decade and a half—Mormon family life and Mormon economic and political activity continued. During this time the Mormons courted and married, begat children and reared them, and established ties of consanguinity and affinity—made more numerous and complex by polygamy— which reinforced and impenetrated those of membership in the church. Economic activity, both co-operative and private, and political necessities, established further bonds. Moreover, in the years of wandering the Saints spent their lives in largely Mormon surroundings. This was even more true

in the years that followed 1847, when geo-graphical reinforced social isolation.

Fellowship in the Gospel became—and remains today—supported by and im-bedded in a matrix of kinship. The circum-stance of enforced nomadism and of suc-cessive resettlement, brought about by no design of the Saints and yet in close emula-tion of their Hebraic model, was experienced in a manner that would guarantee its trans-mission as informal family history as well as the more formally taught Church history. In each attempt at settlement a group in-creasingly conscious of itself as a chosen vessel established its holy city—its spiritual and temporal homeland—only to be driven out under circumstances that strengthened in-group loyalty and increased self-con-sciousness. In Utah a homeland was finally found where "the desert would blossom as the rose," and all previous Mormon history was reinterpreted as precursory of this final fruition in "the place which God for us pre-pared." The death of Joseph on the eastern side of the Mississippi was the final act of the first stage, as was that of Moses on the borders of the land of Canaan. It was the first stage in the development of incipient nationhood. The members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints had become—to use the significant term often used most casually by the Mormons them-selves—the "Mormon people." Moreover, the Mormon people had found a homeland. The ties of religious faith were reinforced by those of blood and marriage, of common group memories often involving suffering and heroism, of common economic and cul-tural aspirations—and now by a region whose very physiognomy would become symbolic of another and perhaps greater group achievement, the successful settle-ment in the desert.

The Mormons were not completely un-aware of what they had become. It is true that their American patriotism, which was an article of faith with them, inhibited any movement for national independence, and they tended to see their own religious home-land as part of a secular manifest destiny. Yet the latter was certainly subordinate to

a religious conception of Zion in the moun-taintops. In 1850 the Mormons established the state of Deseret—much larger than present-day Utah—and applied for admis-sion to the Union. The covenant people would become an American state rather than an independent nation. In Nauvoo they had been virtually a state within a state through grant of a special charter from the Illinois legislature, and all previous attempts to build the city were character-ized by considerable autonomy. The Civil War had not yet settled certain limitations of autonomy, nor had postwar develop-ments in politics, economics, and technolo-gy made autonomy seem so far-fetched as one might imagine in today's conditions. Moreover, it must be recalled that, in mo-ments of passion in the Mormon-gentile conflict, separatism and secession were open-ly considered and that armed, if inconclu-sive, conflict with federal forces did take place.

The Mormons had gone from near-sect to near-nation. The Zionism of the nine-teenth-century Mormons stopped short of the national fulfilment of the Jewish Zion-ism of the twentieth century. Yet the Saints had in large part realized the implications of the model which had guided them in such auspicious circumstances. If their own pa-triotism combined with their defeat in the Mormon-gentile conflict to inhibit the full fruition of national sovereignty, Mormon-dom, nevertheless, became a subculture with its own peculiar conceptions and val-ues, its own self-consciousness, and its own culture area. The Mormons, in a word, had become a people, with their own subculture within the larger American culture, and their own homeland as part of the American homeland.

CONCLUSION

We have now answered the first two questions. A peculiar concatenation of ten factors—ideal, matters of conceptions and values; historical, matters of unique con-comitance or convergence in time; and structural, matters of social structure—combine to explain how the Mormon church

escaped sectarianism. In escaping the fate of an isolated sect which had been the nemesis of so many other restorationist religious groupings, it did not become either a denomination or a church in the sense of the accepted definitions, although it displayed characteristics of both. Rather, the emulation of the Old Testament Hebrews in the unsettled conditions of the nineteenth-century Middle and Far West resulted in the emergence of a Mormon people—a phenomenon not unlike the emergence of nations and empires from religious groups in the past or in our own day. The development of nationhood, such as we have seen in contemporary Jewish Zionism, or in the fulfilment of the aspirations of Indian Islam, was inhibited by American patriotic convictions on the part of the Latter-Day Saints themselves and by the integrating power of the larger American community, yet the flare-up of separatist sentiment in the heat of conflict suggests the possibilities of development had circumstances been different.

What of the third and fourth questions asked above?

The dichotomy of church and sect and their derivatives—independent group and denomination—do not exhaust the possibilities which are offered by empirical research in the sociology of religion. The development of a people with a peculiar culture and with developed self-consciousness as well as a native region identified with themselves and their group "myth" is another possibility as was realized in the history of Mormonism.[14]

[14] After I had worked through my data to the conclusion that Mormonism developed into something like an incipient nationality I found the following paragraph in Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 872–73: "Once the sect has achieved territorial isolation and territorial solidarity, so that it is the dominant power within the region that it occupies, it is able to control the civil organization, establish schools and a press, and so put the impress of a peculiar culture upon all the civil and political institutions that it controls. In this case it tends to assume the form of a state, and become a nationality. Something approaching this was achieved by the Mormons in Utah." Although Park did nothing more with the idea, its statement here leaves little to be

The final question is whether sociological analysis alone can adequately explain the emergence of one type of social structure as against another. Ten factors have been given as preventing the Mormon church from becoming a sect despite a theological and sociological tendency in the sectarian direction. Eight of these have been presented as particularly effective. It should be noted that, of these, all but the third and tenth factors are matters of historical contingency. That is, in the cases of factors 4 through 7 unique convergence of specific events must be considered in any adequate explanation. These matters could hardly have been predicted from, or be explained in terms of, a purely sociological frame of reference. It would seem that sociology in the uncontrolled field situation—and most significant problems are still in that category —must not attempt to solve its problems in terms of abstract schemata which do not take account of historical contingency and which abstract from time. From another point of view it may be said that intellectual analysis of the content of conceptions and values often gives a much richer understanding and a much safer lead concerning their implications for social action than do categorizations in terms of highly abstract schemata. Yet this difficulty seems less formidable than the historical. The inability of sociological analysis alone to predict or explain the emergence of one type of social structure as against another must be granted at least in the present example.

This concession has great significance for sociology whether in the planning of research or in the training of specialists. It proves again the importance of interdisciplinary co-operation. This may be either what Linton used to call several disciplines under one skull or collaboration between social scientists and scholars across departmental lines. In larger research it must certainly mean the latter.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

desired in clarity—a strong argument in favor of more familiarity with the masters of American sociology!

ATTITUDINAL MULTIVALENCE IN RELATION TO CULTURE AND PERSONALITY

ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE

ABSTRACT

Attitudes often include conceptions of several contradictory trait models that deal with the same type of situation. Each trait model is typical of the over-all societal culture or of one or another group subculture. Individuals shift attitudes as they shift roles (and thus group contexts) in response to changes in situation. This is attitudinal multivalence. Its most significant aspect is sentiment multivalence, consequent to the internalization of more or less contradictory morals and mores. Both anthropologists and psychiatrists report considerable data explainable in terms of this multivalence, but they do not relate attitudes to social structure through culture and the subcultures.

The weaknesses of existing culture-and-personality theory to be discussed here are twofold and appear to be closely interrelated. These questions suggest them: How do groups with immoral mores persist with little or no criticism by others or even awareness by their own members of their deviance? How can persons belong to a society and to several groups within it which are deviant in their subcultures? Are persons sometimes of "several minds" on important issues, beliefs, and practices without being conscious of their inconsistencies?

The twofold weakness in culture-and-personality theory these questions suggest is the lack of adequate attention to the nature of groups and group cultures and to the nature of attitudinal multivalence, the group and personal aspects of the same phenomena.[1]

Students of culture and personality have emphasized especially societal phenomena, on the one hand, and personal characteristics, on the other. They have done much with societal cultures and societal basic personality types, on the one hand, and with personal statuses and roles and personality structures, on the other. They have not wholly ignored groups and group memberships, but they have seriously neglected them. To illustrate, the Bleuler-Freud conception of ambivalence relates valences merely to instinct-rooted pleasurable experiences and to internalized social prohibitions (chiefly societal taboos).[2] At another extreme, Murray and Kluckhohn have contended: "All research in this field is in the last analysis directly or indirectly oriented to one central type of question: What makes an Englishman an Englishman? an American an American? a Russian a Russian?"[3] Research in culture and personality, the field to which they refer, can at least as valuably be oriented to such other questions as these: What makes a member of an ethnic minority or a farmer or a professional or an entrepreneur as similar as he is in so many different societies? What are the cultural, including subcultural or group-cultural, factors in personal inconsistencies and tensions?[4]

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[1] See the author's "Levels of Culture as Levels of Social Generalization," *American Sociological Review*, X (1945), 485–95; "Social Determinants of Public Opinions," *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, I (1947), 12–29; "A Sociological Discussion of Consistency and Inconsistency in Intergroup Relations," *Journal of Social Issues*, V (1949), 12–18; "Sociological Insights into American Culture and Personality," *ibid.*, VII (1951), 7–14; and *How To Understand Propaganda* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1952), chap. vii.

[2] E. Bleuler, *Textbook of Psychiatry* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1924), and Sigmund Freud, "Totem and Taboo," in *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, ed. A. A. Brill (New York: Modern Library, 1938), pp. 807–930, esp. chap. ii.

[3] See *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture*, ed. Clyde Kluckhohn, H. A. Murray, and D. M. Schneider (rev. ed.; New York: A. A. Knopf, 1953), p. xviii.

[4] See Walter Goldschmidt, "Ethics and the Structure of Society," *American Anthropologist*, LIII (1951), 506–24, and A. R. Lindesmith and

Actually all too little progress has been made in the redefinition of culture since Tylor so influentially said in 1871 that it "is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."[5] The assaults of intersocietal cultural contrasts upon our ethnocentrism have made healthy contributions to personal education and to social policies. They have also done much to purge racial determinism from our thinking and to point to the debt all human beings owe to common biological equipment and to variant cultural patterns as well as to individual and environmental differences.

In spite of the many classifications of cultures, traits, configurations, systems, and patterns and the many studies of cultural diffusion, acculturation, and change, the data of culture-and-personality research continue to raise many new problems in the definition of culture, as yet not too well solved. Murray and Kluckhohn push toward one type of useful redefinition when they observe:

Many acute and sensitive students of human behavior feel an understandable discontent with descriptions of human life as lived in groups when these descriptions use cultural patterns as a conceptual framework. It is perfectly true, of course, that a cultural pattern is one thing; the utilization of pattern by individuals quite another. It is studies of participation and the utilization of the concepts of status and role which bridge the gap between the ab-

stracted culture ·patterns and specific individuals.[6]

In a recent paper Mead in effect recalls contributions of William Graham Sumner's *Folkways* and Charles Horton Cooley's *Human Nature and the Social Order* when she interposes between "the abstracted culture patterns and specific individuals" what she calls "the wider pattern manifested by the members of any subgroup [which] may be expected to be systematically related to the wider cultural pattern."[7] Let us push this redefinition further.

That culture as a whole and its constituents in a society are *models for* emulation and inculcation rather than actual human behavior is no reason for rejecting the models. People reify (stereotype) interrelated models for traits as typical of a given society, and they reify other models, more or less related to the societal, as characteristic of the castes, classes, and other groups in a society. These processes of reification are typically social and traditional, not personal and rational. Both societal and group trait models are integrated as outlined below into both institutional and role configurations.

In order, as Murray and Kluckhohn put it, to "bridge the gap between the abstracted culture patterns and specific individuals," more can be gained by applying as careful analysis to culture and society as we do to personality rather than by merely jumping from what they call "abstracted culture patterns" to "specific individuals." To follow Sumner and Cooley, the trait

A. L. Strauss, "A Critique of Culture-Personality Writings," *American Sociological Review*, XV (1950), 587–600.

[5] Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (New York: Brentano's, 1924), p. 1. Cf. B. Malinowski, "Culture," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1931), IV, 621–46; A. Kardiner, with R. Linton, *The Individual and His Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), p. 5; R. H. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1940), p. 3; R. Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1945), p. 32; and M. J. Herskovits, *Man and His Works* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1948), pp. 17, 25, 625.

[6] Kluckhohn, Murray, and Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[7] Margaret Mead, "National Character," in *Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory*, ed. A. L. Kroeber (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 642–67, esp. 647–48. The contributions of Sumner and Cooley are not to be confused with those of Kurt Lewin, which also are useful in their way. See Lewin, *Principles of Topological Psychology*, trans. F. and G. M. Heider (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936), esp. Part II, and J. F. Brown, *Psychology and the Social Order* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936). Both Lewin and Brown make group behavior too spontaneous.

models which people reify and think typical of society, of constituent groups, and of persons are more usefully related to group characteristics and to the thought and behavior of the individual.[8] In this, such conceptions as status and role certainly have their places, but in society statuses and roles are not unidimensional. A given status and its role are variously defined societally and in relevant groups, and these different but related and somewhat integrated (folk-rationalized) definitions of status and role are highly pertinent to an understanding of culture, social structure, group cultures, and personalities.

It is most significant in bridging the gaps between societal trait patterns, personal behavior, and hypothetical self-attitudes that many individuals internalize conceptions of several contradictory trait models in dealing with the same type of situation or problem. The contradictory attitudes on honesty, love, religion, and many other subjects regarded as important are therefore frequently attitudes derived through participation in a range of groups and from societal surrogates (parents, teachers, clergymen). When a person is or assumes he is in rapport with a member of one of his groups, he tends to fall "automatically" into what he understands to be the behavior expected in the group. It is instructive to follow a person in his day's activities, when this is possible, and to watch his changes in group identification, role, and apparent attitudes. Little boys and girls quickly learn in our society how they can and may act in the presence of their family, of "company," and of their own age-group members. Let us call this shifting of attitudes that accompanies the shift in roles, and thus in group contexts, "attitudinal multivalence." Highly relevant to this, of course, is Thomas' theory of the "definition of the situation."[9]

[8] See W. A. Caudill, commenting on "Personality in Culture," in *An Appraisal of Anthropology Today*, ed. Sol Tax *et al.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 132–33.

[9] W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1923), pp. 41–44.

Gordon[10] offers a definition of subculture, in which some others concur,[11] that would not permit attitudinal multivalence in our sense to be related to patterns of societal and group cultures in the manner suggested in the present paper. Even though Gordon himself apparently does not follow his own conception, as we understand it, he defines subculture as "a sub-division of a national culture composed of a combination of the four factorable social situations of class status, ethnic background, rural or urban residence, and regional residence, but *forming in their combination a functioning unity which has an integrated impact on the participating individual.*" He is of the opinion that his "four major factors or life-conditions . . . determine, in combination, the sociological setting in which the child is socialized." He then notes that his subcultures contain further subdivisions, such as those of age and sex, so that there are at least two "integrated impacts" upon individuals, one upon girls and another upon boys. He also contradicts his definition further by saying: "This conceptual scheme has implications for personality theory as well, since, in addition to internalizing those aspects of behavior common to the national culture, presumably the individual internalizes the behavior patterns characteristic of the particular sub-culture in which he was socialized." If Gordon is of the opinion that there are no contradictions between culture in the United States and what he calls "sub-cultures," possibly this state-

[10] Milton M. Gordon, "A System of Social Class Analysis," *Drew University Bulletin*, XXXIX (1951), 17–18; "The Concept of the Sub-culture and Its Application," *Social Forces*, XXVI (1947–48), 40–42; and "Social Class in American Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (1949–50), 262–68. For a discussion of Gordon's application of his formulation to the closely related problem of marginality see my forthcoming paper, "A Reconsideration of Park's Theory of Marginality."

[11] Mirra Komarovsky and S. S. Sargent, "Research into Subcultural Influences Upon Personality," in S. S. Sargent and M. W. Smith (eds.), *Culture and Personality* (New York: Viking Fund, 1949), pp. 143–56, esp. p. 144.

ment does not contradict his general theory. But such a view would suggest faulty observation.

Only in a quite isolated community of a highly homogeneous sort, such as does not exist in the United States today, might it be said, as do Komarovsky and Sargent, "Thus a Negro is not a member of three separate subcultures: lower class, Southern, and rural, but is a Southern-rural-lower-class-Negro."[12] This would be four subcultures (including the Negro), and the contradictions among them, as internalized by such a Negro in our society, throw into question the notion of an "integrated impact." For just one example, what about the self-hatred commonly found in members of the disadvantaged class, caste, or ethnic group?

American society does not contain isolated subcultural islands in which there is but one ethnic, class, regional, and urban or rural orientation, with no contacts with surrogates of the larger society (clerical, educational, motion picture, radio, and television in particular) and with no contacts with persons of other subcultures. Even relatively isolated groups contain persons who have internalized cultural and subcultural contradictions and who pass them on to their children.

Societal culture is usefully thought of as consisting of trait patterns typical of a society that range from relatively simple and noncompulsive conventions to heavily sanctioned morals. The morals are characterized by precise and dogmatic crystallization in verbal and other symbols and by relative vagueness in concepts and referents. As central and integrating societal trait models, they define the roles of the man-as-he-should-be (the cultural cloaks of the person's roles) and the nature of institutions-as-they-should-be (the cultural façades of institutions and especially of associations).[13] Reference is made here, of course, to the relatively charismatic definitions associated with such roles as those of

parents, physicians, bankers, and teachers and with the institutions and associations of which they are functionaries.

Group cultures, because of the wide range of sizes and of common interests of groups, include those of such possibly vast groups as castes and classes and of relatively minute family and associational functionary groups. They range from those with characteristics near to the societal to those near to the personal.

A group culture is usefully thought of as consisting of trait models typical of the group and varying from relatively simple and noncompulsive folkways to heavily sanctioned mores. These patterns may or may not resemble societal conventions and morals. Social distance between groups, group interests and satisfactions, and folk rationalizations help to maintain disparate group cultures and immoral mores in existence, as it were, side by side.

Group mores are seldom crystallized into words or other symbols with any clarity except by marginal agitators, novelists, and social scientists: one perceives their nature in the course of being assimilated into the group. In commenting upon the internalization of a conception of a class subculture, Dollard concludes: "To be effective, such social habits must be deeply engrained and unconscious; apparently only a training which begins in childhood establishes them adequately. The mobile individual has, at first, only marginal participation in a clique in the superordinate class."[14] Group mores are heavily sanctioned and more effectively enforced by group pressures than the more formal and ritualistic morals. Through group pressures, the concepts and referents of mores become exceedingly clear and pervasive in the mind of the group member. This is true even when he does not accurately or specifically identify the group. To quote Dollard again: "Even in the best cases the mobile individu-

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 144.

[13] See R. M. MacIver and C. H. Page, *Society* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1949), pp. 15–16.

[14] John Dollard, "The Acquisition of New Social Habits," in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. Ralph Linton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 442–64, esp. p. 445.

al matches only approximately, enough to remain in the new group but not enough to wipe out all perception of difference between himself and the others."[15]

Mores, as central and integrating group trait models, define the roles of the man-as-he-has-to-be (operating traits) and the nature of associations-as-they-have-to-be (operating traits). Hence arises the contrast between professional codes of ethics, on the one hand, which are in tune with societal trait models, and, on the other, professional behavior, which is aligned at times with the societal models and at times with the professionals' group folkways and mores.[16]

No easy characterization of the differences between morals and mores can be drawn.[17] To speak of an idealistic-practical differentiation is an oversimplification.[18]

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] For illustrations of this drawn from the social science field see the author's "Implementation of Opinion Survey Standards," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* XIII (1949–50), 645–52; "Responsibilities and Privileges in Sociological Research," *Sociology and Social Research,* XXXVII (1952–53), 367–74; and "Social Pressures and the Values of Psychologists" (forthcoming).

[17] William Graham Sumner (*Folkways* [Boston: Ginn & Co., 1907]) introduced the terms "folkways" and "mores," but he failed to distinguish them from conventions and morals, and this confusion continues (see, to illustrate, Kimball Young, *Sociology* [New York: American Book Co., 1942]). Others limit "culture" to what we here call "morals" or "moral principles" (see summary of literature, largely of this sort, in A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* [Cambridge: Harvard University, Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1952]). In contrast with such a conception of "culture," some regard "civilization," in the words of R. M. MacIver, *Society* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937), p.273, as "the utilitarian order, . . . subject to the criterion of efficiency." This includes the utilitarian aspect of group patterns, together with material objects and techniques for making and using them. See R. K. Merton, "Civilization and Culture," *Sociology and Social Research,* XXI (1936), 103–13; Talcott Parsons, E. A. Shils, and James Olds, "Values, Motives, and Systems of Action," Part II of Parsons and Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), chap. i.

Morals and mores are functions of and typical of different social aggregates. They are interrelated, but over very long or fairly short periods they arise out of the dynamics and interests of such aggregates and are modified by and through them. The mores of both dominant and dominated groups influence the concepts implemented in social policies. Dominant mores do so directly, while concessions are made to dominated mores by unconscious expediency. The concessions are not, of course, individual and rational to any marked degree but broadly social and in terms of relatively unobserved and seldom-conscious social processes.

The struggles in Christian congregations and among church functionaries over "liberalism" and "fundamentalism" in theology and over the "personal gospel" and the "social gospel" are symptomatic of and associated with broader struggles in modern society over concepts and referents to which agreed-upon moral symbols are alleged to be joined. The wealth of highly sophisticated interpretations of Bible passages attests to the persistence of struggles for policy dominance through the dictation or manipulation of ideas to be associated with a set of symbols. Similar struggles surround the verbal symbols bequeathed by the Founding Fathers in the federal Constitution and especially in the Bill of Rights. The differences in interpretations represent not mere differences in points of view; they also involve differences in the power allocation of groups.

Both the person as subject and other persons function in making aspects of personal behavior take on characteristics cultural in nature even though they refer to but one person. Social expectations limit

[18] Writers who come close to the conception described in the present paper are Lincoln Steffens, *Autobiography* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1931), p. 47, and J. W. Woodard, "The Role of Fictions in Cultural Organization," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences* (Series II), VI (1944), 311–44. I am also indebted to R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (2d ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), esp. p. 30.

individual deviation of a so-called "normal" sort. They help to crystallize or stereotype an individual's personality. They permit a certain degree of idiosyncrasy, depending upon the society and the groups involved. The social phenomenon, the person, exhibits in his speech and otherwise the interpretations and compromises which the social and biological product, the self, has internalized and learned to use. Cooley appropriately enough spoke of the "looking-glass self" which takes shape in response to and in interaction with the apparent actions and thoughts of others.[19]

To complete our parallelisms, personal practices and habits give others the impressions which they reify as the man-as-he-appears-to-be, and the self's attitudes and sentiments define the largely covert man-as-he-is. Of such covert attitudes and sentiments we can learn only through an analysis of behavior. (The terms, "practices," "habits," "attitudes," and "sentiments" are used here in a generally accepted psychological manner, but they are related more specifically than in psychological writings to social contexts.) The attitudes and sentiments of an individual include his internalizations of the societal and group and personal trait models. In the multivalence of his attitudes, the multivalence of the central and variously integrating sentiments has greatest significance for the understanding both of cultural complexities of and cultural influences upon personality.

Psychiatrists and psychologists have reported considerable data explainable in terms of attitudinal or sentiment multivalence, but they typically fail to see at-

titudes and culture in relation to social structure, or cultural trait models as functions or as segments of social structure.[20] Even the ambivalences and multivalences exhibited among members of a family are subject to this type of analysis and, it is contended, quite fruitfully so.

Data concerning urban groups, because of the relative lack of community compulsions and the accompanying anonymity, indicate a sharpening of contrasts in the sentiment multivalence developed in "well-adjusted" ("normal") urban Americans, especially those in the middle classes. Observation of this tendency led Bain to write of "our schizoid culture" and Allport to discuss the urbanite's confusion and lack of ego-involvement in so many of his activities in contemporary American society.[21]

But in both small and large American population centers tensions occasionally incident to sentiment multivalence often require painful efforts at personal adaptation to the requirements of multigroup memberships. This becomes more conscious and critical when the individual is attempting to move from one relatively important group into another.

BROOKLYN COLLEGE

[19] Charles H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), pp. 184 ff.

[20] H. C. Warren (ed.), *Dictionary of Psychology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934), p. 173, significantly defines multivalence as "the normal [freer] functioning of evaluations and interests concerning any object, as contrasted with conflicts" (abbreviations expanded). Maturity, in American society, requires sentiment multivalence.

[21] Read Bain, "Our Schizoid Culture," *Sociology and Social Research*, XIX (1934–35), 266–76 (cf. A. H. Maslow and Béla Mittelmann, *Principles of Abnormal Psychology* [rev. ed.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1951], p. 515); and Gordon W. Allport, "The Psychology of Participation," *Psychological Review*, LIII (1945), 117–32.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

BIDNEY'S *THEORETICAL ANTHROPOLOGY*

To the Editor:

It has been pointed out to me that my recent review of David Bidney's *Theoretical Anthropology* did not accurately reflect my own opinion of the book as expressed on other occasions. While I find no reason to retract any of my criticisms, I do feel that my review is apt to convey an unfavorable impression which I did not intend to give. I have always been genuinely interested in Bidney's work, and I found the present volume again highly stimulating. It should not come as a surprise, therefore, if in my review I have, in a small way, taken up the challenge.

Bidney's book strikes me as particularly sane as well as penetrating and original. Moreover, I was pleased by the clarity of his presentation. Both the problems which the author poses and the answers which he suggests deserve the full attention of the profession. The book should also prove most useful for graduate courses in social theory and allied fields.

May I take the opportunity to correct an error in the eighth line from the end of my review: instead of "between dedication and explanation," it should, of course, read "between deduction and explanation."

E. K. FRANCIS

University of Notre Dame

ADDITIONAL HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIOLOGY CONFERRED IN 1953 AND DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS, 1953

The following names were submitted subsequent to the listing in our July, 1954, issue of the census of degrees granted and theses in progress in 1953.

DOCTOR'S DEGREES

Louis Persh, B.S. City College of New York, 1930; M.A. New York, 1936. "An Analysis of the Agricultural Migratory Movements on the Atlantic Seaboard and the Socioeconomic Implications for the Community and the Migrant, 1930–1950." *American*.

MASTER'S DEGREES

John Duane Angus, B.A. Notre Dame, 1952. No thesis. *Notre Dame*.

Panos Demetrios Bardis, B.A. Bethany College, 1950. "The Social Background of the American Central Executive." *Notre Dame*.

Charles Ross Bretz, A.B. Indiana, 1949. No thesis. *Notre Dame*.

Rev. Kevin Coyle, O.S.B., B.A. Mount Angel College, 1945. No thesis. *Notre Dame*.

Stephen D. Dalsheim, B.A. American, 1950. "The United States Penitentiary for the District of Columbia." *American*.

Madge H. Longley, B.S. Wisconsin, 1936. "Some Developments in Medical Care Programs in the Washington Metropolitan Area." *American*.

Michael Schuyler McKinley, A.B. Notre Dame, 1950. No thesis. *Notre Dame*.

Bernard Francis McSally, A.B. Notre Dame, 1952. No thesis. *Notre Dame*.

George Jerome Miller, Ph.B. Detroit, 1952. No thesis. *Notre Dame*.

Leslie James O'Day, A.B. Notre Dame, 1952. No thesis. *Notre Dame*.

Rev. Elias Rebeiro, St. Albert's Seminary (India), 1949. *Notre Dame*.

Steven James Tsalikis, B.S. Notre Dame, 1947. No thesis. *Notre Dame*.

Robert Humbert Vasoli, B.A. La Salle College, 1952. No thesis. *Notre Dame*.

Thomas Nelson Walsh, B.A. Notre Dame, 1950. No thesis. *Notre Dame*.

Norris Adron Wimberley, B.S.S.S. American, 1950. "Robert Ezra Park: His Contribution to Human Ecology and Race Relations." *American*.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS, 1953

Russell Barta, A.B. St. Mary of the Lake, 1942; M.S.W. Loyola, 1946. "The Sociological Concept of Secularization and Its Application to the Study of Certain Phenomena in American Catholicism." *Notre Dame*.

James H. Fox, A.B., M.A. American, 1949, 1950. "Measurement of Ecclesiastical Participation." *American*.

Robert Louis Gasser, A.B. Denver, 1938; M.A. George Washington, 1952. "Professional Larceny as a Behavior System." *American*.

Jacob B. Lishchiner, B.S. City College of New York, 1933; M.S. New York, 1936. "The Colonial Church and War." *American*.

Charles Terrance O'Reilly, Ph.B., M.S.W., Loyola, 1942, 1948. "Race Prejudice among Catholic College Students in the United States and Italy: A Comparative Study of the Role of Religion and Personality in Intergroup Relations." *Notre Dame*.

ERRATA

The thesis subject of Constantine Yeracaris, who received the Doctor's degree from Chicago in 1953 was incorrectly reported in our July, 1954, issue, page 60. The correct listing should read as follows: Constantine A. Yeracaris LL.B., Athens (Greece), 1944; A.M. Chicago, 1950. "Differential Mortality, General and Cause-Specific, Buffalo: 1940." *Chicago*.

The doctoral thesis of John Zadrozny was incorrectly reported in our July, 1954, issue, page 60. It should read "The Development of a Nationality Movement."

NEWS AND NOTES

Bard College.—Gerard DeGré, associate professor of sociology, has received a Fulbright award to go to Cairo, Egypt, beginning in September, 1954. Dr. DeGré will be attached to the American University in Cairo and will also direct the social research seminars in advanced social studies. His book, *Science as a Social Institution*, will be published by Doubleday, in the spring of 1955.

University of Bridgeport.—A monograph on the American-Slovak community of Bridgeport, Connecticut, has been issued by the Sociology Colloquium. It was edited by Dianna MacDougall and dedicated to Professor Joseph S. Roucek. This is the sixth student monograph to be issued. It contains information on the community's history, its social, religious, educational, and political institutions, and its leaders and concludes with a bibliography.

Université Libre de Bruxelles.—The Solvay Sociological Institute's twenty-fourth conference took place October 18–23, 1954. The subject was nutrition. The provisional program included the following papers of interest to sociologists: "Physiological, Social, and Psychological Importance of Nutrition," by G. Jacquemyns; "Anthropology, Sociology, and Problems of Nutrition," by M. G. Balandier; "Historical Aspects of Nutrition," by M. A. Arnould; "Geography and Nutrition," by M. P. Gourou; and "Technical Progress and the Evolution of Consumption by Social Class," by M. J. Fourastié.

University of Buffalo.—Nathaniel Cantor, chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology, assumed in September a six months' assignment as consultant to the Foreign Operations Administration. Head-

quarters will be at the Château de la Muette in Paris, France. Professor Cantor will work with the training directors of industry in England, Germany, Belgium, Holland, and Austria.

Llewellyn Gross will act as chairman of the department during Professor Cantor's leave.

University of Chicago.—Ernest Burgess, professor emeritus of sociology, has returned to his research at the Family Study Center after a trip to England and Germany. At the universities of Cologne, Frankfurt, and Hamburg he delivered addresses on problems of old age.

William F. Ogburn, professor emeritus of sociology, who returned in July from England, where he was visiting professor and research fellow at Nuffield College, Oxford, left in September for the University of Florida, where he will spend the fall term as visiting professor of sociology. With Meyer Nimkoff, he is bringing out a book, *Technology and the Changing Family*, to be issued by Houghton Mifflin in December. Professor Ogburn is editor of the special fall number of *Marriage and Family Living*, which contains the first comparative study of family life. It took the form of a symposium by social scientists from fifteen countries.

After a year's leave of absence in England at Cambridge University, Leo Goodman has returned to teaching and research in the department.

Elihu Katz, formerly of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, has joined the department.

University of Colorado.—Gordon H. Barker and Jiri Nehnevajsa have been on leave during the past academic year. Professor Barker has been in Germany teaching University of Maryland extension courses in so-

ciology, while Professor Nehnevajsa has been at the University of Washington and Harvard University on a Social Science Research Council postdoctoral fellowship in statistics.

W. H. Higman, recently promoted to associate professor, has been named chairman of the division for the academic year 1954–55.

J. H. Greenberg Monane has resigned from the staff and has been replaced by Judson Pearson, who has the rank of assistant professor.

Conference on Jewish Relations.—The Conference invites all social scientists, including students in the social sciences, to participate in the Conference on American Jewish Sociology, which is to take place at the Hotel Commodore, New York City, Saturday evening, November 27, and all day Sunday, November 28, 1954. Topics of the round-table sessions are: "The Changing Structure of the Jewish Community"; "Problems of Jewish Identification"; "The Jew and His Neighbors"; and "Support for Jewish Social Research." Participants include Salo W. Baron, Werner J. Cahnman, Isidor Chein, John P. Dean, Isaac Franck, Julian Greifer, Alfred M. Lee, L. Lehrer, Seymour M. Lipset, Norman Miller, Koppel S. Pinson, Marshall Sklare, Leo Srole, and Joshua Trachtenberg. For further details address: The Conference on Jewish Relations, 1841 Broadway, New York 23, New York.

Cornell University.—A university-wide core training course in social science research methods was initiated this year. This course is the result of two years of planning and preparation under a grant from the Social Science Research Center. More than thirty faculty members from various fields are involved in teaching and conducting laboratories. Manuals, consisting of general exposition, collected readings, bibliography, laboratory exercises, and research assignments, are being prepared for each of the major research methods.

In addition to the continuing research programs in the fields of intergroup relations, values, gerontology, and applied anthropology, the following new studies are being initiated during the present year: studies in cross-cultural socialization in India and the Philippines (Ford Foundation); study of women's role in American society (U.S. Public Health Service); India village development project (Ford Foundation); methodological problems involved in the study of non-Western areas (Rockefeller Foundation); research program in gerontology in collaboration with the Cornell University Medical College (New York Foundation); and propositional inventory on research on desegregation (Ford Foundation).

Allan R. Holmberg and Stephen Richardson will be fellows of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences during 1954–55.

Robin M. Williams, Jr., will spend the academic year at the Institute for Sociology, University of Oslo, Norway, under a Fulbright grant.

Alexander H. Leighton is on sabbatical leave for the year 1954–55.

Gordon F. Streib has been appointed director of the Study of Occupational Retirement.

William F. Whyte, of the School of Industrial and Labor Relations, will spend his sabbatical year doing research for the Creole Petroleum Company in Venezuela.

Edward A. Suchman has been appointed full professor.

Morris E. Opler will be on sabbatical leave in the spring semester.

Max Ralis has joined the staff as field director of the research project on the methodological problems involved in the study of non-Western areas. He will spend the fall term in India.

James Montgomery, of the department of housing and design, has received a grant from the Cornell Social Science Research Center for an analysis of the role of values in housing preferences.

Graduate students of the department of sociology and anthropology who have ac-

cepted appointments in other institutions include: Robert Eichhorn, Purdue University; William Evan, Princeton University; Martin Martel, University of Illinois; H. David Kirk, McGill University; and Lawrence Podell and George Theodorsen, University of Buffalo.

Milton L. Barron joined the department of sociology and anthropology at the College of the City of New York in the fall term.

Charles E. Ramsey, of the University of Minnesota, has joined the department of rural sociology as associate professor.

W. W. Reeder, of the department of rural sociology, will spend the first semester on sabbatical leave and will conduct a study of leadership in a Utah community under a grant from the Fund for Adult Education.

Edward O. Moe has assumed new administrative responsibilities in the extension service but will continue in the department of rural sociology as full professor.

Louis Ploch has accepted a position as assistant professor of rural sociology at the University of Maine.

Gordon Cummings has been appointed assistant professor in the department of rural sociology. His major responsibilities are in connection with extension work.

Educational Testing Service.—The Service is offering for 1955–56 its eighth series of research fellowships in psychometrics leading to the Ph.D. degree at Princeton University. Open to men who are acceptable to the Graduate School of the university, the two fellowships each carry a stipend of $2,500 a year and are normally renewable. Fellows will be engaged in part-time research in the general area of psychological measurement at the offices of the Educational Testing Service and will, in addition, carry a normal program of studies in the Graduate School.

The closing date for completing applications is January 13, 1955. Information is available about November 1 and may be obtained from: Director of Psychometric Fellowship Program, Educational Testing

Service, 20 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey.

University of Hawaii.—The Sociology Club has issued the 1954 edition of *Social Process in Hawaii*, Volume XVIII. The price is $1.00 per copy postpaid anywhere. *Social Process in Hawaii*, an annual publication by the Sociology Club, was first published in 1936 by a group of sociology students under the direction of Andrew W. Lind, professor of sociology.

The contents of Volume XVIII are: "Changing Race Relations in Hawaii," by Andrew W. Lind; "The Nature of Race Prejudice," by Herbert Blumer; "Race Relations within a Business Firm in Honolulu," by Evelyn Yama and Margaret Freeman; "My Race Relations Experience at Work," by Robert Bean; "The Americanization of My Mother," by Edna Oshiro; "Race Differences in Homeownership in the Makiki Area," by Norman T. Westly; "Residential Segregation in Honolulu," by Douglas S. Yamamura and Raymond Sakumoto; "A Note on Hawaii's Minorities within Minorities," by Bernhard L. Hormann; and "Some Observations regarding Haole-Japanese Marriages in Hawaii," by Kunio Nagoshi and Charles Nishimura.

International Society for the Scientific Study of Race Relations.—Those present at the Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective, held in July at the University of Hawaii, Honolulu, resolved to found an organization whose purpose should be to "promote the scientific and objective study of relations between racial and ethnic groups and to aid in the exchange and publication of information and knowledge pertaining to such study." To this end the organization will especially encourage such research in those parts of the world where little is being done at present and will assist, so far as possible, in the creation or strengthening of local research organizations; it will co-operate with other organizations of similar aim, including UNESCO. Members will be

sought among scholars, scientists, and qualified laymen in the field. A provisional executive committee was elected and charged with developing the organization: chairman, E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University, Washington 1, D.C.; vice-chairman, Quintin A. Whyte, South African Institute of Race Relations, 21 Stiemens Street, Braafontein, Johannesburg, South Africa; secretary-treasurer, William O. Brown, African Research and Studies Program, Boston University, 154 Bay State Road, Boston 15, Massachusetts; members, John A. Barnes, London School of Economics, London, England; Georges Balandier, Institut d'Études Politiques, 19 Avenue Jaures, Paris, France; Albert H. Hourani, Magdalen College, Oxford, England; and Andrew W. Lind, University of Hawaii, Honolulu 14, Hawaii.

University of Kansas.—Orry C. Walz, part-time instructor in sociology, has accepted a temporary position as associate professor of sociology at East Central State College, Ada, Oklahoma.

Through a grant from the Mrs. John S. Sheppard Foundation, Inc, the Research Committee of the department will undertake a study of drinking habits of rural and urban Kansas high-school students. The study will be part of a national project initiated by the Hofstra Research Bureau, Hofstra College, and will be co-ordinated by Matthew N. Chappell. Marston M. McCluggage will direct the Kansas study, assisted by E. Jackson Baur, Carroll D. Clark, and Charles K. Warriner. The State Commission on Alcoholism will share in the sponsorship.

Charles K. Warriner, assistant professor, has devoted half his time in the past year to exploring problems in the theory of social organization through research in a medium-sized hospital at Kansas City, Missouri. He will return to full-time teaching duties this year.

E. Jackson Baur, who has been on sabbatical leave in the past academic year pursuing a research study of the decision-making processes of boards of voluntary associations in Kansas City, Kansas, will also return to full-time duty in the department.

Carroll D. Clark, chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology, will be on sabbatical leave during 1954–55. He holds a study grant from the Fund for Adult Education and will make Cornell University his headquarters throughout the year while studying adult education programs in the East.

Marston M. McCluggage, professor of sociology and human relations, will be acting chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology during Carroll Clark's leave of absence.

E. Gordon Ericksen has been promoted from assistant to associate professor of sociology. The Macmillan Company has recently published his textbook, *Urban Behavior.*

Carlyle S. Smith has been promoted from assistant to associate professor of anthropology.

University of Missouri.—Noel P. Gist has assumed the chairmanship of the department of sociology and anthropology, replacing Toimi E. Kyllonen, who is spending this year in Finland on a Fulbright grant.

C. Terence Pihlblad has returned from a year's research on migration in Norway.

Robert W. Habenstein spent the summer in Milwaukee working on a history of the National Funeral Directors' Association.

Robert F. G. Spier has been appointed assistant professor of sociology and anthropology.

New instructors in the department include John T. Mitchell, James L. Lowe, Peter Kong-Ming New, and Robert Joseph Dwyer.

Irwin Deutscher is engaged in a two-year study of the metropolitan nurse under the auspices of Community Studies of Kansas City.

Wayne Wheeler has left the department and gone to the College of Emporia.

Pomona College.—Ray E. Baber, professor of sociology, has been granted a Fulbright research grant to study Japanese family life at Tokyo University in 1954–55.

Henry Zentner, a graduate of the University of British Columbia and of Stanford, has been appointed to the sociology department for 1954–55. Dr. Zentner is engaged at present in a research project for the province of Saskatchewan on ways to improve local rural life.

University of Puerto Rico.—The Population Council, Inc., of New York has awarded $25,000 to the Social Science Research Center to carry out the experimental phase of the research in family dynamics and fertility control among Puerto Rican families. The exploratory and subsequent quantitative verification phases have been under the direction of Reuben Hill and J. Mayone Stycos since 1951; the experimental phase is a co-operative venture with the department of preventive medicine and public health of the School of Medicine. The project staff for the coming year are Kurt Back and Howard Stanton, resident director and assistant director, respectively, for the Social Science Research Center, and Guillermo Arbona and Robert King, for the School of Medicine, with Reuben Hill, of the University of North Carolina, as project director.

J. Mayone Stycos has been awarded a postdoctoral fellowship in social demography by the Population Council, Inc., to study at the University of North Carolina. His report of the exploratory phase of the family and fertility project is being published by Columbia University Press.

Arthur J. Vidich, Jr., of Cornell University, and Beate Salz, of the University of Chicago, have accepted joint teaching and research appointments in sociology and in the Social Science Research Center for 1954–55.

Social Science Research Council.—The several types of fellowships and grants awarded in the present year will be offered in 1955, and in addition there will be two institutes in mathematics for social scientists in the summer of 1955. A more detailed announcement of the following offerings is to be issued in October, and applications for most types of awards will be due soon after the first of January. They include:

Research training fellowships, predoctoral and postdoctoral, for more advanced research training than that which is provided in the usual Ph.D. program.

Faculty research fellowships, providing half-time support for research for three-year terms, open to college and university social science teachers, normally not over thirty-five years of age.

Grants-in-aid of research, to aid scholars of established competence in meeting direct expenses of their own research projects. (Not open to candidates for degrees.)

Undergraduate research stipends, open only to college Juniors, for supervised research during the summer and the ensuing Senior year. Some appointees will be granted first-year graduate study fellowships for the next year.

Institute in Mathematics for Social Scientists, eight-week sessions to be held during the summer of 1955, open to predoctoral and postdoctoral students and younger faculty members in social sciences who wish to improve their mathematical competence. A limited number may receive stipends.

In addition to the fellowships and grants listed above, the Council will be able during the coming year to offer certain other types of assistance for study and research:

Interuniversity summer research seminars (see the Social Science Research Council, *Items*, March, 1954, pp. 4–6); summer research training institutes (see *Items*, June, 1954, pp. 17–18); "Legal and Political Philosophy," a program of predoctoral and postdoctoral fellowships for advanced study and research.

Inquiries should, if possible, be made early in the autumn, addressed to the Social Science Research Council, 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

University of Washington.—The first Northwest Institute on Serving the Needs of Our Aging Population will be held at the University of Washington on November 11, 12, and 13.

Wilma Donahue, director, Division of Gerontology, University of Michigan; Clark Tibbitts, chairman, Committee on Aging and Geriatrics, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and other experts in the fields of physical and mental health, employment and economic support, housing and living arrangements, education, recreation, and leisure-time activities, and rehabilitation and home services will lecture, participate as panel members, and lead informal discussions.

The registration fee will be $5.00 for the three-day period of Tuesday, November 11 (Armistice Day), Friday, November 12, and Saturday morning, November 13. A one-day registration fee of $3.00 is available for those who can attend only the first day, whose program will be an over-all survey. To register, write to the Office of Short Courses and Conferences, University of Washington, Seattle 5, Washington.

University of Wisconsin.—Howard Becker will again be chairman of the department during 1954–55, replacing William W. Howells, who has accepted an appointment at Harvard. Professor Becker hopes to set up some arrangement whereby a rotating chairmanship can be established.

Gabriel Lasker, of Wayne University, is to be visiting assistant professor of anthropology for 1954–55.

E. E. LeMasters, who has been a lecturer primarily on marriage and the family in 1952–54, is leaving to be the chairman of the department at Beloit College.

Frank L. Hartung, of Wayne University, will be visiting professor of sociology for the coming year.

In the summer John H. Kolb lectured at Rural University near Rio de Janeiro.

Harold F. Kaufman, of Mississippi State College, was visiting lecturer in rural sociology for the summer session at Madison.

During 1954–55 Marshall B. Clinard will be the Fulbright research professor at the University of Stockholm to study the theories, extent, and nature of crime in Sweden.

Hans Gerth will spend the next academic year in Germany on a Fulbright research award.

Morton Rubin has a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship at Princeton for research on the Middle East during 1954–55. This summer he is doing field work in Israel.

John Flint and Harrison Trice are to be acting instructors for 1954–55.

John Wahl has been made instructor in the Extension Division.

John L. Gillin was appointed a member of the Committee on Standards and Freedom of Research, Publication, and Teaching of the Society for the Study of Social Problems.

John L. Miller was director of the Conference on Alcohol Studies held in the summer.

C. W. M. Hart was a member of the Conference on the Relations of Anthropology and Education held at Stanford in the summer under the auspices of the Stanford School of Education and the American Anthropological Association.

Ralph Thomlinson is preparing census tracts for the Madison metropolitan area at the request of the Bureau of the Census.

BOOK REVIEWS

Valuable sociological monographs on the
parish are scarce on this continent. It is then
all the more remarkable that the Reverend
Father Fichter's study should be so skilfully
conceived and presented. The lucid manner in
which the basic hypotheses are stated, the work-
ing concepts elaborated, and the analysis car-
ried through are unmistakably a scholarly
achievement.

The author avoids the frequent confusion
between the various levels of reality covered by
the concept of "parish." His study is properly
centered on the specific aspect of parochial
organization: "the human relations which exist
between the clergy and the laity" (p. 14). Hav-
ing judiciously established what, in the study
of the Roman Catholic church, are the respec-
tive investigation areas of the theologian and
of the sociologist and in what manner the latter
must accept the former's statements as funda-
mental data, the author takes as a recognized
supposition that "the sociological roots of
Catholicism are in the parish" (p. 8). The parish
is both an embodiment of the instrumentalities
of the Roman Catholic church and a local struc-
ture of people expected to make use of, to par-
take in, and to benefit from them. In the ideal
pattern of the parochial system, as defined by
the canon law of the church, it is implied that
all members of a parish, as faithful, should or-
ganize their lives in absolute conformity with
the goals set by the church. This means ad-
herence to beliefs which, in their turn, are
translated into attitudes and overtly expressed,
above all, by the observance of religious prac-
tices. Beliefs and attitudes can be only inferred
from the visible practices. Unsatisfactory as
these are as indexes, they are the only observa-
ble facts offered to the research worker.

The main objective of the author, as a so-
ciologist, has then been to subject the ideal defi-
nition of the parish "to the test of real relations
among Catholics on the level of actual living
conditions" (p. 15). The method used was to
evaluate "the religious and supernatural ac-
tivities of the parishioners . . . in so far as they
could be externally observed and measured"
(p. 16). The parish observed is located in a
long-established neighborhood of a large south-
ern city. On its 6,727 actual practicing parish-
ioners the study bears exclusively. In the course
of twenty chapters, the author reports on the
frequency and the intensity with which the
parishioners make use of the spiritual facilities
offered by the church or actively participate in
religious events initiated or recommended by
parochial ministers. The behavior thus de-
scribed ranges from public honor to the Eu-
charist and Mass on Sundays, to the observance
of Lent.

Yet, the numerous practices expected from
the Catholic are not of the same order: one
might wish that the author had appraised more
critically their relative significance for the
Catholic ideal—following, for example, Pro-
fessor LeBras, who distinguishes three varieties
of religious acts: those relating to initiation
into the church, observance of compulsory
practices, spontaneous devotions. It is the
degree of fulfilment of one or the other, or a •
combination of these expected acts, that serves,
in its turn, as criterion for classifying Catholics
into typical categories. Consequently, the au-
thor could also have been more aware of the
advisability of establishing a typology of the
parishioners according to the degree of their
overt Catholicism. Too little evidence is given
of the promise stated at the outset, namely that
"from these investigations emerges a concept
of various circles, the inner core of which repre-
sents the most Catholic parishioners and the
outer circles the marginal Catholics" (p. 16).
One would have needed a clearer vision of the
intermediate varieties of Catholics between
the "most" and the "marginal" and of their
respective characteristics. Again, Professor
LeBras' highly suggestive classification of
Catholics into (a) seasonal conformists, (b) for-
mally practicing, (c) devout, could have been
used with profit.

The clearest conclusion of the study con-
firms what has already been observed in similar

studies elsewhere: the existence, at the core of parochial life, of a selected group of faithful. It will be of interest to note, in the promised further volumes, under what conditions such an inner circle is formed, how it is related to family and social class membership, and how it acts as an attractive or repelling factor upon other groups of parishioners. On the basis of the attitude survey conducted among this group and reported in the last chapter ("The Catholic Mind of the Parish"), one would hope that the author distinguishes more explicitly, within the value system of the church, between doctrinal beliefs and moral principles, and, among the latter, between those which require complete adherence and those which remain arguable matters of opinion. Finally, one is anxious to have some light thrown on a more fundamental question: To what extent is intensity of participation in a parochial system correlative with intensity of saintly Catholic life? Cannot a very close proximity to the supernatural ideals embodied by the Catholic church be attained without one's integration in any given parochial structure? Is it not often observed that the highly praised "perfect parishioner" is not necessarily the closest approximation of the authentic Catholic? Conversely, the ideal Catholic, even the saint, is not necessarily a good parishioner. In other terms, the parish does not seem to be the exclusive framework of ideal Catholic life that it is often assumed to constitute. The author is unusually well-equipped, as a student of Catholicism, to explore successfully this central problem in one or the other of the three volumes to come.

JEAN-C. FALARDEAU
Laval University

The Sociology of the Parish. Edited by C. J. NUESSE and THOMAS J. HARTE. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1951. Pp. xii+354. $4.50.

The choice of the parish more or less imposes itself on the sociologist who attempts to apply the resources of his discipline to any aspect of the Roman Catholic Church, be it the behavior of a group of the faithful, the patterns of apostolic work among the clergy, the formal or the informal organization of the church as a whole. Sooner or later, he will run into the fundamental phenomenon of parochial organization. The ultimate unit of territorial organization of the

church, the parish has been defined as a miniature replica of the church itself. One can hardly understand the latter without first observing the former.

It was almost inevitable that, the first time a group of American Catholic sociologists were gathered for a symposium, the theme submitted to their attention should be the parish. This book reports their work. Its editors and authors have abundantly drawn from the recently accumulated European literature, historical, pastoral, and psychosociological, on religious institutions and religious behavior, as well as from their own observations of Catholic life in American communities, past and present. The twelve chapters fall into four main parts: The first recapitulates the history of the parish, the second scrutinizes the essential features of parochial life in contemporary American communities, the third summarizes the main conditions and stages of successful social research on the parish, while the fourth, from a more "practical" point of view, endeavors to evaluate critically the relevance of the traditional parochial forms of apostolic ministry. To these chapters is added an appendix reporting contemporary research on the parish in three countries, Canada, Germany, and Poland.

The parish is studied here, not in a vacuum, but as a structured system, in its relationships with other social systems. Valuable methodological propositions, sketchily indicated in the Introduction and more substantially elaborated in chapter iii ("The Social Structure of the Parish") give coherence to the whole work. Yet these propositions seem too fragmentary. One almost regrets that the editors did not attempt to gather, in a final chapter, their statements and assumptions concerning a general sociological interpretation of the parish. Many questions which will have to be faced by future research workers could have thus received the beginning of an answer.

The editors rightly point out the dual nature of the social reality referred to by the concept of "parish." Insofar as it embodies a preestablished, formal set of instrumentalities operated by the church hierarchy toward the sanctification of the soul, the parish is an institution. But "parish" is also said of a territorially defined community of the faithful. Empirical studies on the parish will long remain blurred, then, if the data collected are not classified more sharply according to three levels of analysis: (1) the territorial and demographic

(ecological) order, (2) the various types of intra- and extra-parochial social groups among which are distributed the families and individuals included within the parochial boundaries, as well as their attitudes and behavior as a community of faithful, (3) the institutional activities of the parochial ministers as the delegated agents and representatives of the higher ecclesiastical authority. It should be a prerequisite, in all cases, to relate the facts of the first two orders to those of the total society.

Yet parish monographs conforming exclusively to such a scheme would not be much different from any general community study. A true sociological investigation of the parish must be focused around what constitutes the specific element of parochial life, namely, the interaction between the parish members, *as a group of faithful*, on the one hand, and the parish priest-functionaries, *as representatives of the church*, on the other. This specific element should also enter into a sociological definition of the parish. The authors remain satisfied with the definition of the parish provided by canon law without trying to build up, heuristically, a broader definition which would encompass the richness of the parish. A valid sociology of the parish should rest largely on theological premises. One must, at the outset, consider the Roman Catholic church as a whole, both as a supernatural and as a natural entity. In this perspective the parish formally appears like a sacral system, value-orienting and controlling a determined community of faithful. The chief organizational unit of the Roman Catholic church is not the parish but the diocese; on the diocesan level the collective, *public* hierarchical apostolate of the church is exercised. The parish is the place of the personal, *private* apostolate. Any apostolic action intended to meet the needs of the larger society transcends the parish. The elucidation of these notions might have enabled the authors to clarify a few basic questions concerning latent or explicit conflicts between modern forms of apostolate and the parochial ministry proper.

In point of fact, the parish seems to be a paradox with regard to the ultimate objective of the larger church. The church is by definition universally apostolic. Accordingly, her function is not only the preservation but the spreading of the faith. She must not only keep her faithful but conquer new ones or win back those who have left her. Now, the parish is essentially a closed, centripetal system. Ideally, it is intended to circumscribe the whole of a local community, all the members of which are assumed to be Catholics and relatively homogeneous socially, conditions which have been realized historically. But modern industrial civilization has converted the urban dweller into a permanent migrant. The parish, even in our urbanized rural areas, can hardly be a community of stable families. It is superimposed upon perpetually shifting nomads. This phenomenon accounts to a great extent for the contemporary decline of interest and participation in parochial life. The practicing Catholic has most often become an extra-parochial faithful. New movements, such as Catholic Action, have developed in order to reach directly, along sex, age, and professional lines, the anonymous clientele of these deparochialized individuals. They have symptomatically been organized on a regional, diocesan basis. This phenomenon is illustrated by the fact that a decreasing proportion of priests, in each diocese, are allocated to parochial ministry. More and more of them are mobilized for specialized activities with such movements as labor unions, welfare agencies, Catholic Action groups, and the like. On the other hand, the wish to contact the nonpracticing or the non-Catholic urban and rural masses obliges either the church as such or spontaneous groups of priests to organize deliberately their apostolic action outside the parochial scheme of operation. Such was the case of the priest-worker movement in France. Similarly, apostolate in foreign missions can hardly be undertaken by following the formal parochial patterns.

Thus, most forms of modern apostolate must be contemplated with reference to an organizational and operational level that is above the traditional unit of the parish. Yet the parish is still proclaimed to be essential to the life of the church. More studies are needed to ascertain the dialectic between it and the other institutionalized forms of apostolic work and its actual status in the power scale of the Roman Catholic church as a whole.

The editors and contributors of *The Sociology of the Parish* have cleared the path splendidly. Their study reveals a refreshing sense of clarity, objectivity, and straightforwardness. It should be of considerable interest to all sociologists.

JEAN-C. FALARDEAU
Laval University

Franz Boas: The Science of Man in the Making.
By MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS. New York:
Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953. Pp. 131.

Frank Boas was in his way a great man. He
was also the founder of professional anthropolo-
gy in the United States. Yet, despite the great
bulk of his published scientific reports, he left
no consolidated corpus of writings that would
show a reader with limited time a comprehen-
sive picture of his influence in the realm of ideas
or in the everyday work of scientific advance.
We have needed a concise summary, an exegesis,
and an informed interpretation of his contribu-
tions. These services Melville J. Herskovits has
performed superbly. As a distinguished anthro-
pologist in his own right and as a former student
and long-time friend of Boas, he provides more
than the services of a mere literary executor.
Although he conscientiously keeps the spotlight
on Boas' writings, Herskovits' own comments
thereon make the present book a notable work
in itself and create in the reader the desire to
search out the scattered papers of the master
and reread them.

One reason why it has been difficult for
casual readers to form an integrated conception
of Boas' work, says Herskovits, is that "Boas
was always more than the collector; though . . .
his theoretical concerns were likely to be lost
in the mass of his documentation, and the al-
most casual manner in which he presented them,
either as comments on a given body of data or,
by implication, in criticizing an accepted posi-
tion he felt was deficient" (p. 88). And in speak-
ing of Boas' notable work on primitive art
Herskovits remarks: "It is obvious in reading
him . . . that his vocabulary did not equal his
perceptions" (p. 94). And, to mention only one
other aspect of the matter: "Boas never enun-
ciated the philosophical principles that guided
his approach to the nature of man and of hu-
man culture, since speculation, as such, did not
appeal to him. . . . The most important con-
tribution to philosophical thought that Boas
made was, as might be expected, an implicit
one. It grew out of his tolerance for other ways
of life than his own" (pp. 97, 100).

Thus we see in Boas a scientist of prodigious
energy and talent who made important, pio-
neering contributions, both in ideas and in
methodology, to almost every field of anthro-
pology, but who, nevertheless, maintained
throughout his career a sort of modesty or
timidity concerning the general implications
of his work. He was for the most part content

to "let his data speak for themselves" and to
leave it to others to formulate systematically
the often half-concealed theoretical concepts
that guided his search for truth.

The only serious lack in this book is a clear-
cut image of Boas as a personality. As Her-
skovits remarks at one point, Boas was always
reticent about his personal life, and I do not
know whether anyone has sufficient knowledge
of it to produce a psychological biography of
the man. I myself never knew Boas personally.
I saw him on the speaking platform three times
and shook hands with him once, thus having
little opportunity to feel his personal force.
Judging by his great and positive personal in-
fluence on his colleagues and his students, as
well as upon men and women in other walks of
life, one surmises, however, that he must have
been what is often called "a powerful personal-
ity." The reader will find that Herskovits' ad-
mirable essay evokes a desire to learn more
about a great man as well as to learn about his
works.

JOHN GILLIN

University of North Carolina

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*Villes et campagnes: Civilisation urbaine et
civilisation rurale en France* ("City and
Country: Urban and Rural Civilization in
France"). Edited by GEORGES FRIEDMANN.
Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1953. Pp.
xxiv+480. Fr. 1,200.

In 1951 the French Center for Sociological
Research held a conference on the relation of
city and country in France. The prepared state-
ments presented and the discussion from the
floor are collected in this volume.

The volume is of interest on two counts.
First, its substance is an important record of
work being done in France. Second, it is a record
of a meeting radically different in its composi-
tion and in its procedure from those of the
American learned societies.

The substance consists of three series of re-
ports and discussions: general perspectives,
problems of contact, and comparative social
structure and social attitudes in city and coun-
try. The reports within these series are so
varied that one could not begin, in a review, to
evaluate them one by one. The reports on prob-
lems of contact are perhaps the most interest-
ing. For, in talking of migration and commut-
ing as occasions of rural-urban contact, the

various discussants got into the question of defining what is city and what is country. This led to an attempt to describe and classify various more or less urban or rural zones rather than to give a global definition of what a city is. The types talked of and the terms in which they are distinguished from each other will be of interest to urban sociologists. There is extended discussion of the *banlieu*, a term which seems to include not merely the kinds of community which we call suburbs but also the many formless and nondescript half-urbanized zones at the outskirts of larger agglomerations; some of them grow up about what were once separate towns; others grow where nothing was before.

Georges Friedmann himself brought the meetings to a conclusion with a brilliant résumé of the preceding reports, developing his own distinction between natural milieu and technical milieu. He thinks of the latter as characteristic of the time since the industrial revolution; it is an environment dominated by technology rather than by nature—the seasons, soil, flora, and fauna. He would speak not of cities—for the areas in which a style of life dominated by technical environment are now without clear boundaries—but of urbanized zones. The urban style of life everywhere it exists appears to be winning its way at the expense of rural styles. It is this process rather than territorial definition of what is city and what is not that he considers important.

French sociologists are not numerous. Most of them can—and do—gather in one not very large hall for their discussions. There is, further, not so much clear professional demarcation of sociologists as in America. The volume reports sessions participated in by historians, economists, and geographers as well as by people professionally known as sociologists; and this is a record of the work done on city and country from their several points of view. Further, it reveals the byplay between the specialists. A historian complains that the sociologists ask the historians to generalize about cities, to propose hypotheses, instead of just telling the facts about particular cities. A sociologically minded historian accuses his brethren of going at their precious documents without any defined problem. A geographer says he can work only by use of specific examples. Some people, interested in causes and planning, get impatient with the detached tone of the reports. There is an argument about the weight of economic

versus other factors in drawing people from land to city. But the slight tension between the various breeds of academic persons is but a small price to pay for the reward of having them all discuss a common body of problems at a high level. I doubt that I have ever read proceedings of a meeting so well organized as these.

Incidentally, the amount and the quality of the empirical work reported or referred to in the volume should be a matter of pride to those who have organized and carried on the work of the Center of Sociological Research in the postwar years.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Conflict and Mood: Factors Affecting Stability of Response. By PATRICIA KENDALL. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954. Pp. 182. $3.50.

The Bureau of Applied Social Research, whence this study comes, is the plant where by-products of commercial operations are turned into new products by scholarly research. The packaging of each product is usually excellent; there is very little waste, and high craftsmanship is employed throughout. Dr. Kendall's succinct and interesting report illustrates these virtues.

In a number of panel studies conducted by the Bureau, it appeared that people varied in their opinions between the successive interviews but that they did so in such random fashion as scarcely to affect the marginal distributions, that is, the total "vote" one way or another; such shifts tended to be disregarded or thought of as the result of interviewing or coding errors—they were set down to "unreliability" and let go at that. However, as such data cumulated, Dr. Kendall, who had previously explored the possibilities of "deviant case" analysis in survey research (Patricia Kendall and Katherine M. Wolf, in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank Stauton [eds.], *Communications Research, 1948–1949*, [New York: Harper & Bros., 1949], pp. 152–79), became interested in seeing whether certain kinds of questions, or certain kinds of respondents, or certain kinds of situations led to more or less of this sort of instability. At first, existing panel surveys in the Bureau files were re-examined, and it appeared that, where people were ambivalent about an issue, they were much more

likely to select one horn of the dilemma on one occasion and another on another. Thus, in a Baltimore study of ethnic prejudice people would sometimes in the first interview give hostile answers and in the follow-up tolerant ones—not, as quotations indicate, simply to cover up socially unacceptable prejudices but rather because they hold both opinions simultaneously. As one interviewee stated on the second round:

I make a big effort to be absolutely unbiased about everything. . . . I'm afraid I would have to say that they [the Jews] are over-aggressive and over-confident and somewhat loud. . . . I never saw a Jew who was a steel worker. . . . I guess a lot of this stuff sounds contradictory. (What do you mean?) It sounds as if I'm prejudiced on some of the answers and not on others. But we have some Jewish friends who are real nice people. What is this poll for? . . .

In such an ambivalent setting a variety of intervening factors could tip the response to a simple yes-no attitude survey one way on one day and another on another. One such factor, experimentally investigated by Dr. Kendall, was mood—feelings of sanguinity or annoyance or depression. This was done by asking a panel of students questions about their teachers, fellow-students, and courses and simultaneously questions about their mood, such as how irritable or listless or buoyant they felt in general and on the day of the written survey. And it was found, not too surprisingly, that when in a bad mood students were more likely to give aggressive answers as to their judgments of the school and its inhabitants; and, by cross-tabulating mood questions to attitude questions, the degree of shift and of stability could be pinned down with fair precision. Since conflict and mood both would tend to vary randomly in a panel over at least a short period of time, Dr. Kendall properly feels she has identified some of the sources of turnover when marginals remain constant.

Other sources of turnover are also explored. On questionnaires on public affairs, for instance, those who have only a perfunctory interest in the topic (characteristically, those of low education), when forced by the interviewer to give an answer, are likely to give just that, and to give another for another day— much as many people, when asked for directions, will mislead the stranger rather than admit they do not know how to get where he wants to go. Accordingly, the more times they

are forced, after first saying "Don't know," to select one or another alternative, the more unstable their selection. And where questions are ambiguous a respondent may interpret them differently on successive occasions; thus, one interviewee who had first disagreed and then agreed with the statement "Any good leader should be strict with people under him in order to gain their respect" (from *The Authoritarian Personality*), commented: "Well, it depends whether it is politics or business. If you are the boss, I would say yes, you should be strict. . . . At first I thought, well, I took it for granted you mean politics."

Another ingenious experimental study asked students a variety of questions about their preferences, structured in such a way as to create goal dilemmas—would they rather, for instance, go to a party or study the night before an examination—and then they were asked how difficult they found the dilemma. In thirty-two out of thirty-seven instances, those who reported difficulty in answering produced more unstable responses than those who did not, and in no case were the more conflict-beset respondents the more stable and consistent in their answers.

This is not the place to go into all the technical difficulties faced and surmounted by Dr. Kendall, such as her method of building an index of turnover and her experimental effort to create dilemmas that would be felt as such by most students. On the latter score she greatly underestimated the "fun-morality" that would lead students to prefer a party to their studies on all but the very threshold of a final examination. Indeed, the evidence from this experiment concerning student morality and mood is one of the fascinating by-products of Dr. Kendall's by-product, and the quotations from the Baltimore study which highlight the dialectic of the interview are another. So, too, is the appendix on the sources, in a panel study, of the errors of identification springing from getting on the second round someone other than the respondent got on the first round. (Dr. Kendall would naturally wish respondents to be fingerprinted to prevent this!) Such errors occur more often on the lower educational levels where turnover is characteristic of the area as well as of the interview itself.

This is a short, clear book, but it is not easy to read, especially for people unfamiliar with survey analysis. Its stripped-down quality means that there are none of the explanations

and digressions that may ease the task of some, while making that of others more arduous. But many who have no technical interest in the survey will find the book rewarding as a model of competence in retroactive scrutiny of data as well as in experimental design. A lot has been done with a little.

DAVID RIESMAN

University of Chicago

Executive Leadership: An Appraisal of a Manager in Action. By CHRIS ARGYRIS. New York: Harper & Bros., 1953. Pp. xv+139. $2.50.

This is still another of a growing body of studies dealing with organizational behavior. It focuses upon one executive whose behavior was observed over a period of time and with whom quasi-diagnostic sessions were held during the course of the research, the researcher acting as the diagnostician. A major section of the study deals with the reaction of the executive's subordinates (supervisors) to his style of leadership, the researcher again playing the role of teacher of human relations for the supervisors while the research was in progress. It was participant observation of a highly active character, the observer deliberately influencing the situation.

The study concludes generally: that there is something inherent in the command system of business organizations that leads to authoritarian behavior on the part of the commander. This, in turn, creates a relationship of dependency between secondary leaders and the commander: to the latter the former are oriented. None of this is either new or startling to students of organization. Such contribution as this study makes lies in providing the concrete case material to give a plausible (but not necessarily a scientific) basis for accepting the generalizations.

The author's point of view is an interesting and stimulating admixture of Carl Rogers' nondirective therapeutic outlook, combined with an interactional social psychology of a neobehavioristic sort grafted upon the sociological categories for analyzing organization behavior that Bakke has developed. All this gives the character to his action research program. The study has appeared in book form, apparently, because the author wanted to make sure that the leaders of industry would be bet-

ter leaders for the knowledge provided by the conclusions.

ROBERT DUBIN

University of Oregon

The Case Method of Teaching Human Relations and Administration. Edited by KENNETH R. ANDREWS. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953. Pp. xiv+271. $4.50.

This book is, in the words of the editor, a "miscellany on teaching human relations and administration by the case method," offered "hesitantly" and as an "interim statement of teaching practices" at the Harvard Business School. This hesitant, almost reluctant, attitude may be in keeping with the proper role of the professor using the case method, but certainly it is not appropriate to the book, for here we find a series of definitive essays representing the best thinking of a faculty which has devoted almost a decade of consistent, concentrated, and self-conscious effort to the development of the case method as an educational tool.

The book is presented in three parts. Part I defines the case method of teaching and describes the classroom process. Part II shows the application of the case method to human relations training in industry. Part III is primarily concerned with the problems involved in collecting case material but deals also with general problems of research in human relations.

The authors believe that authoritarianism in the classroom is basically an unsound pedagogic method, at least in the fields of human relations and administration. They feel that learning is best achieved through student cooperation and participation. The case method is regarded as a means by which such co-operation and participation can be obtained, first, by providing the student with materials which give him an opportunity to think purposefully and, second, by creating a classroom atmosphere in which students can communicate freely with each other and with the teacher. The objectives of the case method are: (1) developing in the student a useful way of looking at human relations material; (2) encouraging the growth of mature and responsible judgment in the individual; and (3) developing the student's ability to work with others in the solution of problems.

It is apparent that the case method of teach-

ing is aimed at changing fundamental attitudes of the student regarding human relations and the roles of the teacher and the pupil in the classroom. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a number of students in any class reacting emotionally to the case method. Some students find it difficult to accept the professor outside his traditional, authoritarian role. They find it equally difficult to deal with case material in which the information appears fragmentary and where there are not clear-cut answers. The authors take note of the uneasiness and anxiety which develop and devote considerable attention to problems of adjustment and student counseling. Of particular interest in this regard is Harriet Ronken's "What One Student Learned."

Those actively teaching in the fields of human relations and administration will find the essays dealing with specific aspects of the case method of teaching both pertinent and helpful. For example, Stephen H. Fuller's "What Is an Unsatisfactory Examination Paper?" provides many useful suggestions for evaluating a student's progress in human relations.

The case method is one of the most difficult ways of teaching because it involves emotions, feelings, attitudes, and relationships. The practitioner of this art had better be thoroughly aware of what he is doing before undertaking teaching of a sort which borders on 'group therapy. More than this, he should be thoroughly grounded in human relations lest the case method become, in Charles Gragg's terms, "merely an elaborate means for confusing and boring students." The case method is a thoroughly sophisticated technique for teaching students and as such should be utilized with care and under carefully controlled conditions.

DAVID G. MOORE

University of Chicago

The Human Person: An Approach to an Integral Theory of Personality. By MAGDA B. ARNOLD and JOHN A. GASSON, S.J. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1954. Pp. x+593. $5.75.

This book by ten Catholic psychologists represents an attempt to formulate a unified personality theory consistent with Catholic doctrine. Important premises are that psychology should be liberated from frames of reference borrowed from physics and biology, that hu:

man behavior differs from animal behavior in kind and not merely in degree of complexity, and that "deterministic" conceptions are inadequate in psychology because they do not allow for the possibility of human "self-determination." The major topics discussed include the philosophical basis of psychology, types of theory, general personality theory, learning, emotion, psychotherapy, and religion as an integrating factor in personality.

In the preliminary discussion of premises, the "personalistic" approach of the authors is distinguished from "physical naturalism," "critical idealism," and "psychological parallelism"; theories are divided into "explicatory," "classificatory," and "symbolic" types. The discussion of personality theory emphasizes the limitations of animal research, the alleged existence and importance of objectively valid norms, the authors' belief that the innermost realm of the personality is inevitably unknown to the psychologist, and the "active" character of the organism. A basic distinction is made between "spontaneity" (which is consistent with "determinism") and "self-determination," which is a characteristically human phenomenon involving the capacity of the individual to shape his own destiny and which thus involves intrinsic indeterminacies in psychological theory. The process of learning is discussed in terms of the authors' recognition of a basic difference between human and animal behavior; human learning involves the setting-up of new goals, while in animal learning the goals are "naturally" determined.

Three general claims are made for the book: that it is a primary text in the field of personality, that it represents a major theoretical integration, and that its discussion of learning and emotion constitutes an important contribution. This reviewer would find it difficult to concur. The book assumes far too much previous knowledge to be useful as a primary text; the reader who is not thoroughly familiar with current personality theory will often find it impossible to tell just what it is that the authors are commenting upon. The book consists mostly of highly opinionated comments on modern psychological trends, presentation, and purported "justification" of basic assumptions consistent with Catholic doctrine, rather unsystematic discussions of the implications of these assumptions for personality theory, and quotations from various writers for illustrative purposes.

The most regrettable feature of the book is

its treatment of the contributions of other psychologists. At some points it is hard to believe that the authors really understand what they are attacking, as, for example, when it is asserted that Dewey's "transactionism" neglects to specify the transacting parties! Painstakingly formulated systems, such as those of Tolman and Hull, are dismissed for vaguely presented philosophical reasons. Other important contributions are attacked merely with a totally unwarranted sarcasm and ridicule. This failure to do justice to theories and concepts which are mentioned many times in the text is a conspicuous characteristic of the book.

MAURICE N. RICHTER, JR.

Leonia, New Jersey

Downtown versus Suburban Shopping: Measurement of Consumer Practices and Attitudes in Columbus, Ohio. By C. T. JONASSEN. Columbus, Ohio: Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University, 1953. Pp. xv+99.

This monograph treats *individual* decisions as to whether to shop in the central business district of Columbus, Ohio, or in the suburban shopping centers. The problem is threefold: to discover motivating factors, to determine their weights, and to disclose how they affect decisions of different people to buy at particular places.

The "motivating factors" are attitudes, and attitudes, of course, may be scaled. Most of the monograph constitutes an analysis of two scales: a "shopping satisfaction scale," which measures whether given advantages are more often found downtown or in the suburban shopping center, and a "downtown shopping satisfaction scale," constructed according to a method devised by Sletto which necessitates averaging ordinal ratings—a procedure regarded coldly in some statistical circles.

To determine the "weight" of motivating factors, the advantages and disadvantages informants attach to downtown and suburban shopping are examined. The chief attraction of downtown is the larger selection of goods believed to be available there; "friction of space" —resistance to movement offered by traffic congestion and crowding—constitutes the principal disadvantage. For suburban shopping, proximity of the center to the home is seen as most advantageous, and the restricted selec-

tion of merchandise most disadvantageous. The lack of any direct attempt to link up the analysis of these *contents* of motivation with the *direction* of motivation (measured by scales) leaves much to be desired in the study and puts the author in the position, occasionally, of grasping at archaic ethics for explanations or of questioning the validity of his informants' statements (the "psychologizer" of social data is often snared in this way). An example is provided by the attempt to reconcile the ostensibly anomalous finding that, although most informants prefer downtown shopping, most claim simultaneously that they go downtown only when they cannot avoid it: "This paradoxical behavior probably arises because individuals are put in situations that create ambivalence. . . . They may also *actually* [my italics] like to go downtown, but because of a lingering Puritanism and Calvinism, they say and feel they should go downtown *only* because they *have* to. Perhaps they sense that others expect them not to idle away their time by roaming around downtown for pleasure" (p. 35). This, incidentally, reveals another flaw in the monograph—a failure to maintain clear-cut distinctions between attitudes toward a locale and attitudes toward the use of facilities.

Correlation analysis reveals tendencies for females; informants ranking high on education, income, and occupation indexes and those who have lived most of their lives in cities and metropolises see advantages in and are most satisfied with the downtown area as a place to shop. Although it is stressed that these findings must be placed in a community context, "community" is conceived in areal and distance terms. There is no attempt to relate the informant to the social structure.

This would seem to be a root deficiency of most studies of market aggregates: few questions (in this case, none) are posed concerning the consequence of certain behavior patterns or roles for the larger social organization. We learn from this study that downtown parking in Columbus, Ohio, will probably be a serious municipal problem for some time to come, because most city residents prefer to shop in the city center. Yet, we learn nothing of the consequence of this for the organization and solidarity of the city. Nor can sociologists adequately treat this problem until the social relationship rather than the individual is used as the unit of study. At least this reviewer would *not* maintain that the shopping research of

tomorrow should hopefully come up with a statement of "relationships between basic personality components and shopping attitudes" (p. 61).

GREGORY P. STONE

Michigan State College

//*Analysis of Social Problems: Supplemented by Case Materials and Selected Readings.* Edited by MORRIS G. CALDWELL and LAURENCE FOSTER. Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Co., 1954. Pp. xvi+715. $6.50.

Social problems are today an urgent concern of all the psychological and social sciences as well as the social professions and the various literary crafts, so that the subject is currently being discussed from all these standpoints. Hence any treatment of social problems tends to bring together a conglomeration of varied materials which it is very difficult to fit into any consistent theoretical framework, no matter what.

The editors of this volume consider nine principal approaches to social problems and express their own preference for the vague but currently popular functional approach as an organizing frame of reference. For this viewpoint which in practice so frequently tends toward an uncritical eclecticism, and for their own particular use of it, they make a good many appealing but unrealized claims. However, as in similar volumes, once this theoretical frame of reference is outlined in the introductory section of the volume, it is largely obscured by the wealth of concrete material dealing with the specific social problems themselves. The latter may accordingly be reinterpreted from any preferred standpoint, as the editors themselves suggest in connection with the use of their source materials.

The volume contains twenty-five chapters arranged under the following major subdivisions: "Fundamental Concepts and Basic Data"; "Problems of Racial, National, and Cultural Minorities"; "Economic and Industrial Problems"; "Personal Problems"; "Problems of the Family"; "Educational and Government Problems"; "Community Problems"; "International Problems"; and "Social Telesis". The work thus covers a wide array of problems, the editors mentioning, in particular, new material dealing with problems of socialization of personality, problems of community

organization, problems of social class, and problems of international organization. Each subdivision contains text, summary, and bibliography, questions, case materials, and selected readings.

A social problem is defined as "a situation which violates or threatens to violate an established social value." This clearly makes the subject relative to time, place, and cultural pattern; hence the volume is restricted to the study of social problems in contemporary American society. The following three identifying characteristics of a social problem are quoted from Merrill: measurability, value threat or infringement, and group remedial action. The first of these characteristics has been criticized and is questionable but is evidently meant to be interpreted broadly as referring to investigational possibility.

The volume will probably appeal especially to the considerable number of instructors who today incline toward the functional point of view and whom the editors evidently had in mind primarily. But perhaps it will also appeal to others who may appreciate the particular arrangement of the materials which the editors describe as "unique" in its attempt to coordinate text with case materials and readings.

FAY B. KARPF

Beverly Hills, California

Africa: A Study in Tropical Development. By L. DUDLEY STAMP. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1953. Pp. vii+568. $8.50.

The scholar's news sense is sometimes surer than the journalist's. While Mr. Gunther and others were still "inside Africa," collecting notes, Professor Stamp's work was selling in all the bookshops. With 234 illustrations and maps, beautifully produced, of convenient size, and up to date, Stamp has written a welcome social geography of Africa. Its only predecessor, Fitzgerald's standard geographical summary of Africa, was published in 1932. Much new research has been done since then, and Stamp, probably the best-known and most mobile British geographer, is in touch with all the important developments.

Despite the expectations roused in the subtitle, Stamp is no development enthusiast who prophesies that milk and honey will flow at the wave of the engineer's wand from the con-

tinent's formidable climate, fragile soils, and inhospitable geology. His two hundred pages of introductory, geographical background should be read by all who wish to understand this "ancient rigid earth block," some two hundred millions years old, with its widely separated plateaus awkwardly tilted so that the east and the south is bereft of waterways which communicate with the world. Dry in the summer, the luckless rivers try their uncertain way toward a featureless coast which offers little opportunity for modern ports. Even the sea surrounding Africa is mean. The continental shelf, only a league or two from the coast line, abruptly breaks off, and no native fishery can develop in the cold deep wastes.

A river like the Zambesi is a symbol. It drew Livingstone as though by a magician's spell, just as all the rivers of Africa called explorers and geographers, and journalists like Stanley, and in their wake the colonial powers. But the Zambesi, which begins hopefully by draining a large basin peters out in a dreary delta. The tiny port Chinde is not even situated on the main stream. The river is awesome where it cascades suddenly and wildly over the Victoria Falls, 365 feet high and twice the size of Niagara—but that is not a river.

Stamp has little to say on the new power and other schemes at Owen Falls, the Volta, the Kariba and the Kafue, or on the chances of attracting industry sufficient to make them economic, once the dynamos are installed. He is happiest when discussing Nigeria and South Africa, where he has done research, but is disappointing on the subject of the East African Groundnut Scheme. Conceived in the punch-drunk years of confidence when, just after the war, all seemed possible, the groundnuts might have served as a lesson to Stamp's principal text that "throughout much of Africa, especially tropical Africa, the course of man's life is still dictated in large measure by physical environment." Geography was the reason for its failure, not the strikes in Dar es Salaam, bureaucracy in London, or the lack of mechanical aptitude among the Africans.

The book is a first-class reference book. It will hold its own for many years.

LEO SILBERMAN

Balliol College
  Oxford

The Growth and the Development of the Negro in Dentistry in the United States. By CLIFTON ORRIN DUMMETT. Chicago: Stanek Press, 1952. Pp. xvi+124.

Eight people, from very different backgrounds, have contributed to this volume on the growth of the dental profession among Negroes in the United States. They discuss the origins of the profession, the development of specialization, emergence of formal associations, relations with other professionals, and statistical distributions. In such a brief volume only the high spots are touched. Much of the material is in the form of brief notes about individual dentists or specific communities; hence the volume is more a sourcebook than a history.

Sociologists will find three points of interest in it. In the first place this is a history written by people within the Negro dental world. It is therefore a relatively spontaneous statement of the way in which the world of Negro dentistry, and its place in the larger white world, appear to the eyes of Negro practitioners. In the second place, it is a spontaneous statement of the way in which an emerging profession looks on the world about it, and the ways it goes about improving its position and consolidating its gains. The study has relevance for understanding the organization of work. Finally, there is one chapter devoted to a detached study of Negro-white relations in the practice of dentistry in a southern city. Though like the other chapters it is too brief to do justice to the range of problems encountered, it is a useful addition to our knowledge of race relations in the work world.

OSWALD HALL

McGill University

Seasonal Farm Labor in Pennsylvania. By MORRISON HANDSAKER. Easton, Pa.: Lafayette College, 1953. Pp. xii+243.

In this monograph an economist describes and analyzes the market for seasonal agricultural labor in Pennsylvania. It was prepared at the request of Pennsylvania's Department of Labor and Industry, which engages in the recruitment and supervision of the labor required by rural employers. Materials were gathered from three major sources: farm operators (employing five or more seasonal workers); sea-

sonal farm workers (who were selected "at random"); and a variety of government officials, food processors, and work-crew leaders.

Voluminous data within a rather narrow economic framework are provided. With the disappearance of the "hired man" and the growth in importance of market crops, extensive demands by processors and farm operators for temporary labor during restricted seasons have developed. Processors and canners now require half as many man-days of labor as do farmers. Documentation is provided for the assertion that relatively few "factories in the field" exist.

About half the man-days on a peak day were provided by local (though seasonal) labor; southern Negroes contributed about one-fourth; employees brought from Puerto Rico furnished another fifth. A forest of material is presented on such matters as the amounts of employment during different months in several counties; the amounts of labor needed for various crops; the methods of payment; the sex, age, education, other occupational experience, and the future plans (mainly nonexistent or at least not stated) of the employees. The intricate institutional procedures that have evolved for the recruitment of these temporary and mobile employees are briefly described. Some employees simply apply at the "gate"; others are singled out by employers personally; large numbers (mainly southern Negroes) travel with "crew leaders" who may have contracted for so much labor to be delivered at an agreed-upon time and place; private employers associations provide others (mainly offshore Puerto Ricans) to local farmers on a fee percentage basis; processors occasionally secure workers for farmers under contract for their crops; state employment agencies also channel applicants.

A special chapter is devoted to housing—the extent, facilities provided, the workers' opinions thereof, legal controls, and problems associated with the enforcement of legal standards. Additional chapters concern wages, modes of transportation, the position of year-round farm labor, the day-haul of seasonal farm workers from Philadelphia, the activities of state agencies, and seasonal farm workers in specific areas.

A wealth of data is presented, few of which, however, were collected or are ordered within categories of direct significance for sociologists. This is one of a growing series of studies, largely economic, which assume a problem orientation toward seasonal and migrant labor. The sociological reader can quickly raise other questions concerning the following: the types of involvement of seasonal labor in local community institutions; status relations with employers as well as with local citizenry; family organization; child-rearing and socialization; decision-making regarding job destinations and personal aspirations; the loyalties to employer, to job, and to crop; the development of unique cultural norms among these itinerant isolates from a settled community; relations among transient persons of varied ethnic, racial, and nationality backgrounds; etc. Few of these can be illuminated by this study's data; most remain to be investigated.

LOUIS H. ORZACK

Indiana University

Facial Deformities and Plastic Surgery. By FRANCES COOKE MACGREGOR, THEODORA M. ABEL, ALBERT BRYT, EDITH LAVER, and SERENA WEISSMANN. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1953. Pp. xv+230. $5.75.

This is a study of seventy-four people who had consulted plastic surgeons because they considered themselves to be facially deformed. All of them came from the New York City area, but their age, sex, religion, ethnic background, education, and the like varied.

The purpose of the study was "to investigate the psycho-social aspects of facial deformity, especially its relation to personality structure and social adjustment, as well as the effects of plastic surgery on this adjustment." In effect the book presents the following: a brief description of the mechanics of the study (chap. i); four sample case histories (chap. ii); a glancing description of attitudes revolving around deformity, the experiences with others that "deformed" persons have, and the changes in experience with others that follow plastic surgery (chap. iii); a description of the attitudes of the patients' families toward facial deformity and the effect of the presence of a deformed person on the character of the family (chap. iv); the interpretations of a battery of projective tests given to the subjects both before and after plastic surgery (chap. v); a psychiatrist's analysis of the patients' complaints, their parents' reactions to "deformity," a genetic history of the changes in the experience of the deformed person as he passes from infancy to adulthood,

and "postoperative findings" about personality structure and adjustment (chap. vi).

The material is informative and provocative, but since an average of twenty hours was spent interviewing and testing each subject, one cannot help but feel that the authors have only strip-mined their data, neglecting the richer material below the surface. The analysis itself is competent but essentially on a superficial level of description organized by common sense. However, the tempting glitter of the raw data peeping through the analysis leads one on.

The book suggests many important research problems. For one thing, the patients persistently complain that their deformity becomes a burden in situations where anonymity is desired, as in public restaurants, or when they must meet strangers, as in moving into a new neighborhood. These are typically urban situations that do not occur frequently in folk or rural societies. Thus, the hypothesis is suggested that people in a metropolitan area are more likely to seek plastic surgery than people in a small town or a folk society. If that proves true, preventive medicine may gain by the study of the way in which the folk society encourages self-images that do not strain toward self-alteration. This is only one piece of research suggested by the material. On the whole, the conceptual tools of the sociologist and social psychologist can be sharpened by chipping away at the material in this book.

ELIOT FREIDSON

University of Illinois

The Social Sources of Denominationalism. By H. RICHARD NIEBUHR. Hamden, Conn.: Shoestring Press, 1954. Pp. ix+304. $4.00.

If the *Journal* Index is correct, the *Journal* itself made a bad slip in 1929. It did not review this book, then published by Henry Holt and Company. Now that it has been reprinted twenty-five years later, it would be rather presumptuous to essay a review of it. It has deservedly become one of the few real classics of the sociology of religion, although one (like so many classics) of modest conception and proportions. We have at least the right to celebrate the occasion by calling it to the attention of our readers. May we also suggest to them that they read it. In so doing, they may be guided by the question that one should always ask of a classic: "What in it is out of date, and what is

good as new?"—for many events have occurred in American religion since 1929. There has also been much writing on American denominations and sects. There has even been a beginning of a sociology of religion which takes American Roman Catholicism into account (this would formerly have been heretical on the part of a sociologist.) Some general work has been done on the sociology of religion, a good deal of it by people professionally in the churches and seminaries. Incidentally, there is some evidence that the theological students' conception of their job and mission has moved over toward that of counselor in the psychiatric rather than in the theological and moral sense.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Standard of Living: The Concept and Its Place in Economics. By HUGO E. PIPPING. Helsingfors: Centraltryckeriet, 1953, Pp. 280. M. 1,400.

Professor Pipping of the University of Helsingfors presents here in English a theme first developed in a book written in Swedish and published in 1935. The new work is not a translation in any sense but an expansion and reformulation in the light of his experiences during a period of study in the United States. Pipping's argument is that what he calls a "new concept," standard of living, should be substituted for wants and satisfactions as a fundamental category in economic theory and that the goal of economic activity should be described as the "improvement" of standards of living rather than maximization of satisfactions.

The first fourth of the book is devoted to a critical review of hedonism as a theory of motivation and of want satisfaction as a tool in economic analysis. It is upon this basis that the author rejects "unmeasurable, indivisible, incommensurable, timeless wants" as the foundation stone of economic thinking and proposes to substitute "the more tangible and realistic standards of living with dimensions in place and time." Except for a brief final chapter on the "Place of Standards of Living in Economics," the remainder of the book is devoted to defining the concept, standards of living, and discussing their formation, subdivisions, measurement, and change.

Pipping refuses to differentiate standard

from level or scale of living, as many, including
the reviewer, have thought desirable. As often
happens in the case of such disagreements, he
misunderstands the argument of those who urge
differentiation and does not take note of the
meaning of the word "standard." He also ob-
jects to the Bureau of Labor Statistics' "City
Worker's Family Budget" (mistakenly ascribed
to the Works Progress Administration) on the
ground that there can be no one minimum stand-
ard budget for city workers even for a family
of specified type at a particular place and time.
We "must think scientifically in social grades,"
he says, and vary the budget accordingly.

Those who are familiar with economic litera-
ture and the rather extensive literature on the
concept of the standard of living will know that
the questions raised by Pipping and the points
he develops are not new. Not that further dis-
cussion is not profitable or that all the issues
raised have been satisfactorily resolved. As a
summary and review his book is useful and pro-
vocative. Well over three hundred "authorities
quoted" are separately listed. Since four-fifths
of the items are in English and since Pipping
must have searched the writings of European
authors for releevant material, we may con-
clude that limited knowledge of foreign lan-
guages is no handicap.

Pipping is an economist and presents this
book as a "contribution to the solution of some
points of topical interest in the theory of eco-
nomics." He does not specify, however, the pre-
cise nature of the alterations in welfare eco-
nomics or economic analysis in general that
would follow from the substitution of the
standard-of-living concept for wants and sat-
isfactions or of "improvement" of standards
for maximizing satisfactions as the goal of eco-
nomic activity. Thus he does not come to
grips with the position taken by Davenport
when he argued that hedonism was for econ-
omists irrelevant doctrine and that acceptance
of hedonism affected the validity of price and
distribution theory no more than did the ac-
ceptance of Methodism.

HAZEL KYRK

University of Chicago

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*Analyzing and Predicting Juvenile Delinquency
with the MMPI (Minnesota Multiphasic Per-
sonality Inventory).* Edited by STARKE R.
HATHAWAY and ELIO D. MONACHESI. Min-

neapolis: University of Minnesota Press,
1953. Pp. vi+153. $3.50.

Eight specialists in psychiatry, psychology,
and sociology, including the editors, con-
tributed in one way or another to the seven
research papers that comprise this volume.
These papers, consisting mainly of results based
on applications of the Minnesota Multiphasic
Personality Inventory to groups of delinquents
and controls, bear on the relationship between
personality traits and delinquent conduct. The
central theme, never expressed dogmatically,
is that delinquency is symptomatic of person-
ality disturbance and that the treatment of the
personality is the most practical, and perhaps
the best, method of controlling delinquency.
The articles present in great detail the score
differences between selected groups but inten-
tionally neglect the important theoretical ques-
tion of how flaws in personality are translated
into delinquent behavior. Surprisingly, in view
of the title, the studies as a whole contain rela-
tively little material on actuarial prediction.

The principal method of these studies was
to compare delinquent prisoners with adoles-
cents drawn from the extramural community,
although not all followed this scheme. For ex-
ample, one study compared eighteen well-
adjusted inmates at a lodge for girls with seven-
teen poorly adjusted inmates; another con-
trasted adolescents who had either a police or
a court record, or both, with adolescents who
had neither. Although not strictly comparable
because of procedural differences, the findings
were uniform in certain respects: (1) adolescent
boys and girls, whether delinquent or not, tend-
ed to digress from the test norms in the direc-
tion of personality inferiority; (2) delinquents
digressed more on the average in the direction
of personality inferiority than nondelinquents;
(3) score differences between delinquent and
nondelinquent girls showed more consistency
than score differences between delinquent and
nondelinquent boys; (4) none of the ten per-
sonality scales yielded statistically reliable dif-
ferences between delinquents and controls on
every trial. Scale 4, *psychopathic deviate*, differ-
entiated at the 5 per cent level or better on
every application but one, and scales 6 and 9,
paranoia and *hypomania*, yielded statistically
reliable differences two times out of three.

These findings are interpreted narrowly by
the editors (p. 136), but any interpretation,
narrow or otherwise, must be regarded as quite

tentative until. certain methodological prob-
lems are solved.

First, the use of the MMPI with adolescents
is questionable, especially in view of the finding
that most adolescents are below average in per-
sonality. One wonders whether the MMPI
score differences between delinquents and non-
delinquents would be similar in size and direc-
tion if test norms had been based on adolescent
rather than adult populations. The editors de-
fend the application of adult norms to young
people on the ground that the "adjustment of
the norms would obscure the very real fact that
there is a significant, almost universal, quality
in young people that makes them prone to so-
cially unacceptable behavior. We want our
scales to show behavior differences that are sig-
nificant to society even if the implied person-
alities are 'normal' for the age level" (p. 25).
But to do so is, apparently, to shift ground,
since the MMPI was not applied to measure
social conformity but rather to measure de-
viant personality factors.

Second, the consistent differences yielded by
scale 4, *psychopathic deviate*, must be construed
in light of the fact that this scale was derived
from persons who were "often young and de-
linquent" (p. 17). This scale is to a certain ex-
tent, then, a "delinquency scale" in the sense
that it measures aspects of delinquency itself.
Measurements from such a scale cannot be used
to explain delinquency, since they are not in-
dependent of the object to be explained. Third,
the term "delinquency" had no constant mean-
ing throughout this series of studies. The re-
sults are therefore not additive in a strict sense.
As an aggregate they can only be given a loose
interpretation. Fourth, score differences may
have been due in part to the fact that delin-
quents and controls were not always carefully
matched on relevant variables. Differences were
observed between urban and rural subjects
(p. 50) and between high- and low-income
groups (p. 105), suggesting that these and simi-
lar factors should be held constant in compar-
ing delinquents and controls.

Two of the studies were devoted to predic-
tion. In one study, fifty MMPI score profiles
were used to predict thirty-three cases of suc-
cessful post-institutional adjustment and seven-
teen failures. No experience table was con-
structed, but rather the fifty profiles were sub-
mitted to five persons "moderately skilled in
the interpretation of MMPI data." They were
given the task of separating the profiles into

thirty-three successes and seventeen failures.
Three raters made sixteen errors apiece, and
two raters made eighteen errors apiece. If every
case had been predicted a success, seventeen
errors would have resulted. Prediction from the
MMPI codes was therefore no better than pre-
diction from the over-all success rate. In the
other study delinquency rates were computed
according to one hundred "primary codes" for
a population of approximately four thousand
boys and girls in which the over-all delinquency
rate was about 22 per cent. Only one of these
one hundred classifications required that the
prediction of nondelinquency based on the over-
all rate be changed to a prediction of delin-
quency, and this change did not reduce the pre-
diction errors based on the over-all rate. In
view of these results, the conclusion that
"MMPI categories yield practical actuarial
data" (p. 136) hardly seems justified.

A final word on the conception of delin-
quency as a symptom rather than a social hab-
it. Such a view ignores the distinction, generally
regarded by sociologists as valid and useful,
between the idiosyncratic delinquent and the
cultural delinquent. The hypothesis that de-
linquency is a social habit, acquired within a
deviant cultural setting, is at present just as
tenable as the notion that delinquency is a con-
sequence of deviant personality. Its tenability
is heightened by the finding that delinquents
and controls give very similar replies to the
MMPI questionnaire.

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Narcotics and Narcotic Addiction. By DAVID W.
MAURER and VICTOR H. VOGEL, M.D.
Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1954.
Pp. xv+303. $7.50.

Most of the material in this book will be of
interest only to those sociologists concerned
with the phenomenon of drug addiction. They
will find much information on the variety of
drugs actually in use in our society, their char-
acteristic effects, etc. Others may find relevant
material in the sections on the history of drug
use, the sociology of its use today, treatment
procedures, narcotics and youth, narcotics and
crime, and the development of underworld ar-
gots. The chapter on crime contains a subtler
analysis than is usual of the relations between
drug use and criminal activity. In general, how-

ever, one will not want to make use of information presented in this book without carefully checking it against other sources presenting different points of view, for much of the material remains the subject of a controversy not always fully explored here.

HOWARD S. BECKER

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? *Science and Human Behavior.* By B. F. SKINNER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1953. Pp. xi +461. $4.00.

In this volume Skinner opposes the arguments against the feasibility of a science of behavior. He presents a unitary scheme in which he contends that a science of behavior has very little to gain from using concepts or mental and psychic events which lack the dimensions of physical science. He is concerned with those aspects of behavior which can be observed, manipulated, and therefore controlled. As he declares, "The objection to inner states is not that they do not exist but that they are not relevant to a functional analysis." Thus a science of behavior would not include any concept which cannot be dealt with within the bounds of natural science, for, as he states, behavior cannot be assumed to have any peculiar properties which call for unique methods or special kinds of knowledge.

Skinner's scheme of analysis is rooted in behavioristic psychology. He does not see any essential gap between man and other animals and thinks that studies of one can be extrapolated to the other. He believes that human behavior is distinguished by its complexity, its variety, and its greater accomplishments but does not differ in its basic processes.

Skinner's treatment of the self is based on his general scheme of analysis, completely divorced from any previous theories, such as those of Mead, Cooley, Dewey, Sullivan, and others. According to him, the "self is simply a device for representing a functionally unified system of responses." He is not at all concerned with the problem of role-taking: consistent with his natural science approach to the problem he rules out such words as "meaning," "intent," and "understanding." To him, the self as a concept is no different from any other of the concepts of behavior that are rooted in physiology. Therefore, when he deals with problems of social behavior, he is not perturbed by the

theoretical dilemma of the relationship of the individual to the group. For him the basis is individual behavior. "We may analyze a social episode by considering one organism at a time. Among the variables to be considered are those generated by a second organism. We then consider the behavior of a second organism, assuming the first as a source of variables. By putting the analysis together, we reconstruct the episode. The account is complete if it embraces all the variables needed to account for the behavior of the individuals." Obviously, when he presents social behavior in this manner, he rejects such concepts as social forces, group morale, ideologies. This is consistent with the viewpoint that to deal with social science as distinct from natural science would represent a break in the continuity of nature. As he puts it: "We are interested here in the methods of the natural sciences as we see them at work in physics, chemistry and biology and as we have so far applied them in the field of behavior."

Skinner then proceeds within a span of one hundred pages to apply his scheme to what he calls the "controlling agencies in society" in the chapters on government and law, religion, psychotherapy, economics, and education. He makes it clear that he is not concerned with the historical and comparative aspects of these fields but with "conceptions of the behaving individual." Here the social scientist's traditional way of thinking is severely jarred.

The volume is concluded with three provocative chapters, "Culture and Control," "Designing a Culture," and the "Problem of Control." The reader may be startled at the remarkable frankness of the author when he states, "The conception of the individual which emerges from a scientific analysis is distasteful to most of those who have been strongly affected by democratic philosophies." In effect, Skinner stresses the point that science posits a conception of man's place in the universe different from those disciplines which do not apply natural scientific method to human behavior.

This is an important book, exceptionally well written, and logically consistent with the basic premise of the unitary nature of science. Many students of society and culture would take violent issue with most of the things that Skinner has to say, but even those who disagree most will find his a stimulating book.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

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CURRENT BOOKS

ALMOND, GABRIEL A. *The Appeals of Communism*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1954. Pp. xix+415. $6.00. Firsthand study of people who joined and then left the Communist party. Classification of the persons according to their kinds of belief and motivation, their perceptions of the movements, social and psychological characteristics of the cases, the process of defection. Appendixes show the nationality, times of joining and of leaving of the people in the sample, and the questionnaire guide.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS. *Civil Rights in the United States, 1953: A Balance Sheet of Group Relations*. New York: American Jewish Congress and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1954. Pp. 189. $0.60. Yearbook on events and decisions affecting civil rights, with respect to citizenship, education, armed forces, and a number of other matters.

ANDREW, THURMAN. *Property, Profits, and People*. Washington, D.C.: Progress Press, 1954. Pp. 242. $3.75. A theory of economics and history, with a proposal for its reform. Author works out implications of his theory in business, the professions, social services, etc.

ANDRZEJEWSKI, STANISLAW. *Military Organization and Society: A Comparative Investigation of the Connections between Military Organization and Social Structure*. New York: Grove Press, 1954. Pp. xiv+195. $4.50.

ARONSON, ROBERT L., and WINDMULLER, JOHN P. (eds.). *Labor, Management, and Economic Growth: Proceedings of a Conference on Human Resources and Labor Relations in Underdeveloped Countries, November 12–14, 1953*. Ithaca: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1954. Pp. v+251. Of special sociological interest are: "Formation of Entrepreneurial Groups," by WOHL; "Development of Modern Business Communities in India," by HELEN LAMB; and "Industrialization and the Labor Force," by KERR and SIEGEL.

AVEY, ALBERT E. *Handbook in the History of Philosophy*. New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1954. Pp. xvi+320. $1.50.

BACH, GEORGE R. *Intensive Group Psychotherapy*. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1954. Pp. x+446. $6.00. Clinical and therapeutic aspects, material in role-playing.

BAYLIFF, RUSSELL E., CLARK, EUGENE, EASTON, LOYD, GRIMES, BLAINE E., JENNINGS, DAVID H., and LEONARD, NORMAN H. *Problems in Social Policy*. Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Co., 1954. Pp. vii+304. $2.50. A student's manual and workbook to accompany the authors' text on *Values and Policy in American Society*.

BAYLIFF, RUSSELL E., CLARK, EUGENE, EASTON, LOYD, GRIMES, BLAINE E., JENNINGS, DAVID H., and LEONARD, NORMAN H. *Readings in Social Policy*. Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Co., 1954. Pp. xiii+529. $3.65. Readings selected for "the light they shed on the broad social ends of society, on the specific social goals and policies by which we attempt to achieve these ends," etc. Introductory reading on science, values, and ethics, followed by selections on government, economics, sociology, and international affairs. The authors are teaching at Ohio Wesleyan University, a liberal arts college with a long tradition of interdepartmental teaching in the social sciences.

BAYLIFF, RUSSELL E., CLARK, EUGENE, EASTON, LOYD, GRIMES, BLAINE E., JENNINGS, DAVID H., and LEONARD, NORMAN H. *Values and Policy in American Society*. Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Co., 1954. Pp. xv+528. $4.00.

BERGER, MORROE, ABEL, THEODORE, and PAGE, CHARLES H. (eds.). *Freedom and Control in Modern Society*. New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1954. Pp. xii+326. $6.00. Papers in honor of R. M. MacIver by students and colleagues.

BETTELHEIM, BRUNO. *Symbolic Wounds: Puberty Rites and the Envious Male*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954. Pp. 286. $4.75. Re-evaluation of anthropological and psychoanalytic interpretations of puberty rites.

BJORK, KENNETH, *et al.* (eds.). *Norwegian-American Studies and Records*. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1954. Pp. viii+252. $2.50. A series of papers on Norwegian immigrants. Of special sociological interest is "Segregation and Assimilation of Norwegian Settlement in Wisconsin," by PETER A. MUNCH.

BOCK, EDWIN A. *Fifty Years of Technical Assistance: Some Administrative Experiences of U.S. Voluntary Agencies*. Chicago: Public Administration Clearing House, 1954. Pp. x+65. $1.50.

BURKE, KENNETH. *Permanence and Change: An Anatomy of Purpose*. Los Altos, Calif.: Hermes Publications, 1954. Pp. xxiv+294. $4.75. Revision of a well-known work published in 1935; new preface and appendix.

CALHOUN, ROBERT LOWRY. *God and the Common Life*. Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1954. Pp. xxiv+303. $4.50. Reprint of work published in 1935. Essay in Protestant liberal theology, with applications to life and work in the modern world.

COOK, LLOYD AND ELAINE. *Intergroup Education.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1954. Pp. xv+392. $5.50. Survey of field for teacher-training.

CREEGAN, ROBERT F. *The Shock of Existence: A Philosophy of Freedom.* Cambridge, Mass.: Sci-Art Publishers, 1954. Pp. 140. $2.75. Essay on how to free ourselves and our times from deception by semantic shock. Author considers his philosophy a superpragmatism, affected by existentialism and psychoanalysis.

EELLS, WALTER CROSBY. *Communism in Education in Asia, Africa and the Far Pacific.* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1954. Pp. x+246. $3.00. Based on travel through the areas, interviews with people there, reading of the press. Most of the text appeared as articles in the *Educational Record.* A chapter on the causes of Communist influence and one on recommendations for democratic counteraction.

ELLIS, ALBERT. *The American Sexual Tragedy.* New York: Twayne Publishers, 1954. Pp. 288. $4.50. Reports cases and pleads for better attitude toward sex.

EMERSON, WILLIAM C. *The Seminoles: Dwellers of the Everglades.* New York: Exposition Press, 1954. Pp. 72. $3.00. A small well-written and illustrated account of the Seminoles, their present life and conditions.

EMMITT, ROBERT. *The Last War Trail: The Utes and the Settlement of Colorado.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954. Pp. ix+333. $4.50.

ESTES, WILLIAM K., *et al. Modern Learning Theory: A Critical Analysis of Five Examples.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954. Pp. xv+379. $5.00. Critiques of the theories of Clark L. Hull, Edward C. Tolman, Burrhus F. Skinner, Kurt Lewin, Edward R. Guthrie; based on work of a summer seminar of young psychologists.

FRENCH, THOMAS M., M.D. *The Integration of Behavior,* Vol. II: *The Integrative Process in Dreams.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. xi+367. $6.50.

GOULDNER, ALVIN W. *Wildcat Strike.* Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1954. Pp. 179. $3.00. A monograph.

GRÉGOIRE, ROGER. *La Fonction publique.* Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1954. Pp. 282. Fr. 1,200. Historical and organizational study.

GROSS, FELIKS, and VLAVIANOS, BASIL J. (eds.). *Struggle for Tomorrow: Modern Political Ideologies of the Jewish People.* New York: Arts, Inc., 1954. Pp. 303. $6:50. Several papers on Zionism and movements within it—on territorialism, bundism, religious political movements, assimilationism, volkism, and two special papers on communism and the Jews and anarchism and the Jews.

GRYGIER, TADEUSZ. *Oppression: A Study in Social and Criminal Psychology.* New York: Grove Press, 1954. Pp. viii+362. $6.00. A study of the effects of oppression upon the personality of its victims.

Data on persons in concentration camps, prisons, displaced persons, etc. Extensive bibliography. Summary of hypotheses in an appendix.

HALLGARTEN, GEORGE W. F. *Why Dictators?: The Causes and Forms of Tyrannical Rule since 600 B.C.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1954. Pp. xiii+379. $5.50. Describes four classes of dictatorship: classical, pseudorevolutionary, counterrevolutionary, and ultrarevolutionary, with examples drawn from various epochs and extensive bibliography.

HERTZLER, JOYCE O. *Society in Action: A Study of Basic Social Processes.* New York: Dryden Press, 1954. Pp. xii+452. $5.25. A general text with emphasis on theory and processes rather than on facts and events; extensive bibliography of both theoretical and empirical work.

HOYT, ELIZABETH E., *et al. American Income and Its Use.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. Pp. xxi+362. $4.00. Based on studies undertaken for the Federal Council of Churches, including HOYT, "The Ethics of Consumption"; REID, "Distribution of Income and Consumption"; McCONNELL and HOOKS, "The Changing Family and Its Dependents"; MUELDER, "Ethical Aspects of Income Distribution and Consumption."

HSU, FRANCIS L. K. (ed.). *Aspects of Culture and Personality: A Symposium.* New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1954. Pp. xiii+305. $4.00. Papers and discussions presented at a conference on anthropology and psychiatry. Some papers are general and theoretical; others are reports of actual studies (the Amish, the Chinese in Hawaii).

ITTELSON, WILLIAM H., and CANTRIL, HADLEY. *Perception: A Transactional Approach.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1954. Pp. ix+33. $0.85. For classroom use.

JACQUEMYNS, G. *L'Unification des vacances scolaires* ("Standardization of School Vacations in Belgium"). Bruxelles: Parc Léopold, 1953. Pp. 79. A study of actual practices and various recommendations.

JAMES, PRESTON E., and JONES, CLARENCE F. *American Geography Inventory and Prospect.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1954. Pp. xii+590. Contributors cover entire field.

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KREITLOW, BURTON W. *Rural Education: Community Backgrounds.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. Pp. xiv+411. $4.00. Textbook for rural teachers and school administrators, etc. Sociological material on rural communities, illustrated with charts, maps, and tables, and on other institutions as well as on the schools.

LAPIERE, RICHARD T. *A Theory of Social Control.*

New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1954. Pp. xi+568. $7.50. General treatment with attention to the basic theories and literature.

LaPierre, J. W. *Le Pouvoir politique* ("Political Power"). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1953. Pp. 108. A sociological essay.

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Leibenstein, Harvey. *A Theory of Economic-demographic Development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954. Pp. xi+204. $4.00. Theory directed at breaking through "the Malthusian trap."

Loetscher, Lefferts A. *The Broadening Church: A Study of Theological Issues in the Presbyterian Church since 1869*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954. Pp. 193. $4.75.

Lowie, Robert H. *Toward Understanding Germany*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. ix+396. $6.00. Presented as an ethnologist's study, based on fieldwork (1950–51), documents, history, and previous personal knowledge. A brief chapter devoted to methods of investigation, then major sections on particularism (and nationalism); stratification; the family; and Germans, naziism, and democracy.

Lundberg, George A., Schrag, Clarence C., and Larsen, Otto N. *Sociology*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. Pp. xxviii+740. $6.00. A text.

McLoughlin, Emmett. *People's Padre: An Autobiography*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1954. Pp. 288. $3.95. Report of how author left the church after conflict over Phoenix, Arizona, rehabilitation duties.

Matthews, Mark S. *Guide to Community Action: A Sourcebook for Citizen Volunteers*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. Pp. xiii+433. $4.00.

Murphy, Campbell G. *Community Organization Practice*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1954. Pp. xii+444. $4.50. Textbook for professional community social workers.

Nelson, George R., et al. (eds.). *Freedom and Welfare: Social Patterns in the Northern Countries of Europe*. Denmark: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1953. Pp. xiii+539. $6.50. Covers Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. The text describes the land, the people, industries, standards of living, laborer, labor law and relations, and the labor market; the co-operative movement; family welfare, housing, health and rehabilitation, social security and social policy. Bibliography. General survey, intended for foreign consumption, well-written and illustrated with good photographs.

Norbeck, Edward. *Takashima: A Japanese Fishing Community*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1954. Pp. xi+231. $3.00. Ethnographic description, with emphasis on westernization.

Ogle, Marbury B., Jr., Schneider, Louis, and Wiley, Jay W. *Power, Order, and the Economy: A Preface to the Social Sciences*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. Pp. xii+852. $6.00. General textbook with the emphasis on political science, economics, and sociology. The authors start with basic concepts (power, order, and economy), move on to "Aspects of the Social Universe" (population, social structures, nation and state, parties, family, corporations, money, etc.), and finally to several chapters on analysis of the structures. Illustrated with photographs. Bibliography by chapters. Index.

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Pelling, Henry. *The Origins of the Labour Party, 1880–1900*. New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1954. Pp. ix+257. 21*s*. A history.

Perry, Ralph Barton. *Realms of Value: A Critique of Human Civilization*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. xii+497. $7.50. Includes chapters on interests, social organization, institutions, and sociology.

Prabhu, Pandhari-Nath. *Hindu Social Organization: A Study in Social-psychological and Ideological Foundations*. Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1954. Pp. xvii+393. Rs. 20. New edition of a work published in 1940 under title of *Hindu Social Institutions*. Chapters on education, marriage, the family, the castes, etc. Extensive bibliography.

Price, F. A. *Liberian Odyssey "By Hammock and Surfboat": The Autobiography of F. A. Price*. New York: Pageant Press, 1954. Pp. xv+260. Account of author's experiences as missionary and, more recently, as diplomatic representative of Liberia.

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Riley, Matilda White, Riley, John W., Jr., and Toby, Jackson. *Sociological Studies in Scale Analysis: Applications, Theory, Procedures*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954. Pp. xii+433. $6.00.

Rogers, Carl R., and Dymond, Rosalind F. (eds.). *Psychotherapy and Personality Change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. x+446. $6.00. The first three chapters tell of the research program carried on at the Counseling Center directed by Carl Rogers at the University of Chicago. Remaining chapters describe special projects within the program.

SALISBURY, W. SEWARD. *The American Family.* New York: Oxford Book Co., 1953. Pp. iii+75. A pamphlet.

SCHIFFER, WALTER. *The Legal Community of Mankind: A Critical Analysis of the Modern Concept of World Organization.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1954. Pp. x+367. $5.50.

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SOROKIN, PITIRIM A. *The Ways and Power of Love: Types, Factors, and Techniques of Moral Transformation.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1954. Pp. xiv+552. $6.00.

SPENCER, ROBERT F. (ed.). *Method and Perspective in Anthropology: Papers in Honor of Wilson D. Wallis.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954. Pp. xii+323. $4.50.

SPOEHR, ALEXANDER. *Saipan: The Ethnology of a War-devastated Island.* ("Fieldiana: Anthropology," Vol. XLI.) Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum, 1954. Pp. 383. $5.00. Present social organization, basic institutions, and the attitudes of people in an area successively occupied by Spain, Germany, and Japan, then fought over by Americans and Japanese.

STEWART, KILTON. *Pygmies and Dream Giants.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1954. Pp. 295. $3.75. Semipopular book concerning the author's adventures among the Ifugao of Luzon. The declared aim of the book is to explain why these people have remained so primitive.

TAYLOR, W. S. "Notehand for Psychologists." Northampton, Mass.: W. S. Taylor, 1954. Pp. 5. $0.21. (Mimeographed.) A new system of shorthand especially adapted to psychology.

THELEN, HERBERT A. *Dynamics of Groups at Work.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. ix+379. $6.00. General text on community and other group action.

TITIEV, MISCHA. *The Science of Man: An Introduc-tion to Anthropology.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1954. Pp. xv+489. General introductory textbook, with major parts on man in the world of biology, the march of culture (the archeological record of prehistory, development from paleolithic to neolithic cutures and metallurgy, ethnography), and biocultural behavior, configurations of culture, social organization, religion, the arts, language, the individual, and culture.

UNDERWOOD, BENTON J., DUNCAN, CARL P., TAYLOR, JANET A., and COTTON, JOHN W. *Elementary Statistics.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954. Pp. ix+239. $3.25.

VAN RIESSEN, IR H. *De Maatschappij der Toekomst* ("Society of the Future"). Holland: T. Wever-Franeker, 1953. Pp. 350. A general treatment with chapters on Utopia (including 1984!), on technology and society, planning, etc.

WATSON, ROBERT I. *Psychology as a Profession.* New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1954. Pp. x+65. $0.95.

WILENSKY, HAROLD L. *Syllabus of Industrial Relations: A Guide to Reading and Research.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. xi+305. Basic headings are: "Industrial Relations as a Field of Study," "The Urban Industrial Setting," "Organization of Work in Industrial Societies," "Trade Union History, Organization, Administration and Impact," "Collective Bargaining," "Public Policy and Industrial Relations," with bibliography and problems for study and research under each. Intended for graduate students and people planning research in the field. Could also be used in advanced undergraduate work.

YOUNG, KIMBALL. *Isn't One Wife Enough?: The Story of Mormon Polygamy.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1954. Pp. xiv+476. $6.00.

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THE DRYDEN PRESS

31 W. 54th St., New York 19

SOCIAL CLASS AND MODES OF COMMUNICATION[1]

LEONARD SCHATZMAN AND ANSELM STRAUSS

ABSTRACT

Differences in modes of communication, as revealed in interviews with lower- and middle-class respondents, are more than differences in intelligibility, grammar, and vocabulary. Differences are found in number and kinds of perspective, ability to take the listener's role, use of classifying or generalizing terms, and devices of style to order and implement communication. These differences in speech can be accounted for by differences in thinking and perceiving and in the respondent's relationship to the interviewer.

Common assumptions suggest that there may be important differences in the thought and communication of social classes. Men live in an environment which is mediated through symbols. By naming, identifying, and classifying, the world's objects and events are perceived and handled. Order is imposed through conceptual organization, and this organization embodies not just anybody's rules but the grammatical, logical, and communicative canons of groups. Communication proceeds in terms of social requirements for comprehension, and so does "inner conversation" or thought. Both reasoning and speech meet requirements of criticism, judgment, appreciation, and control. Communication across group boundaries runs the danger—aside from sheer language difficulties—of being blocked by differential rules for the ordering of speech and thought.[2]

If these assumptions are correct, it fol-

lows that there should be observable differences in communication according to social class and that these differences should not be merely matters of degree of preciseness, elaboration, vocabulary, and literary style. It follows also that the modes of thought should be revealed by modes of speaking.

Our data are the interview protocols gathered from participants in a disaster. The documents, transcribed from tape, contain a wealth of local speech. Respondents had been given a relatively free hand in reporting their experiences, and the interviews averaged twenty-nine pages. These seemed admirably suited to a study of differences between social classes in modes of communication and in the organization of perception and thought. We used them also to explore the hypothesis that substantial intraclass differences in the organization of stories and accounts existed; hence low-class respond-

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[1] The writers are greatly indebted to the National Opinion Research Center in Chicago, which allowed them to use data gathered during a study of responses to disaster. The disaster occurred as the result of a tornado which swept through several small Arkansas towns and adjacent rural areas.

[2] Cf. E. Cassirer, *An Essay on Man* (New Haven, 1944); S. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key* (New York, 1948); A. R. Lindesmith and A. L. Strauss, *Social Psychology* (New York, 1949), pp. 237–52; G. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago, 1934); C. W. Mills, "Language, Logic, and Culture," *American Sociological Review*, IV (1939), 670–80.

ents might fail to satisfy the interviewer's canons of communication.

Approximately 340 interviews were available, representing random sampling of several communities ravaged by a tornado. Cases were selected by extreme position on educational and income continuums. Interviewees were designated as "lower" if education did not go beyond grammar school and if the annual family income was less than two thousand dollars. The "upper" group consisted of persons with one or more years of college education and annual incomes in excess of four thousand dollars. These extremes were purposely chosen for maximum socioeconomic contrast and because it seemed probable that nothing beyond formal or ritual communication would occur between these groups.

Cases were further limited by the following criteria: age (twenty-one to sixty-five years), race (white only), residence (native of Arkansas and more than three years in the community), proximity (either in the disaster area or close by), good co-operation in interview (as rated by interviewer), and less than eight probes per page (to avoid a rigid question-answer style with consequent structuring of interview by the interviewer's questions). The use of these criteria yielded ten upper-group cases, which were then matched randomly with ten from the lower group.[3]

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CLASSES

Differences between the lower and upper groups were striking; and, once the nature of the difference was grasped, it was astonish-

[3] Each document was scrutinized by both authors, and comprehensive notes were taken to help establish categories descriptive of the communicative style and devices of each respondent. From these notes profiles of respondents were constructed. From the notes and case profiles, there emerged the separate profiles for lower and upper groups that will be described. We had expected to code the documents to bring out the degree of overlap between groups, but it turned out that there was literally no overlap; nevertheless, each reader coded separately as he went along. Agreement upon coding scores between readers was virtually perfect.

ing how quickly a characteristic organization of communication could be detected and described from a reading of even a few paragraphs of an interview. The difference is not simply the failure or success—of lower and upper groups, respectively—in communicating clearly and in sufficient detail for the interviewer's purposes. Nor does the difference merely involve correctness or elaborateness of grammar or use of a more precise or colorful vocabulary. The difference is a considerable disparity in (a) the number and kinds of perspectives utilized in communication; (b) the ability to take the listener's role; (c) the handling of classifications; and (d) the frameworks and stylistic devices which order and implement the communication.

PERSPECTIVE OR CENTERING

By perspective or centering is meant the standpoint from which a description is made.[4] Perspectives may vary in number and scope. The flexibility with which one shifts from perspective to perspective during communication may vary also.

Lower class.—Almost without exception any description offered by a lower-class respondent is a description as seen through his *own* eyes; he offers his own perceptions and images directly to the listener. His best performance is a straight, direct narrative of events as he saw and experienced them. He often locates himself clearly in time and place and indicates by various connective devices a rough progression of events in relation to his activities. But the developmental progression is only in relation to himself. Other persons and their acts come into his narrative more or less as he encountered them. In the clearest interviews other actors are given specific spatial and temporal location, and sometimes the relationships among them or between them and himself are clearly designated.

The speaker's images vary considerably

[4] Cf. J. Piaget, *The Psychology of Intelligence* (London, 1950). See also a suggestive treatment of inadequate thinking analyzed in terms of centering in Max Wertheimer, *Productive Thinking* (New York, 1945), pp. 135–47.

in clarity but are always his own. Although he may occasionally repeat the stories of other persons, he does not tell the story as though he were the other person reconstructing events and feelings. He may describe another person's act and the motive for it, with regard to himself, but this is the extent of his role-taking—he does not assume the role of another toward still others, except occasionally in an implicit fashion: "Some people was helping other people who was hurt." This limitation is especially pronounced when the behavior of more than two or three persons is being described and related. Here the description becomes confused: At best the speaker reports some reactions, but no clear picture of interaction emerges. The interaction either is not noticed or is implicitly present in the communication ("We run over there to see about them, and they was alright"). Even with careful probing the situation is not clarified much further. The most unintelligible speakers thoroughly confound the interviewer who tries to follow images, acts, persons, and events which seem to come out of nowhere and disappear without warning.

Middle class.—The middle class can equal the best performance of the lower class in communicating and elaborating a direct description. However, description is not confined to so narrow a perspective. It may be given from any of several standpoints: for instance, another person, a class of persons, an organization, an organizational role, even the whole town. The middle-class speaker may describe the behavior of others, including classes of others, from their standpoints rather than from his, and he may include sequences of acts as others saw them. Even descriptions of the speaker's own behavior often are portrayed from other points of view.

CORRESPONDENCE OF IMAGERY BETWEEN
SPEAKER AND LISTENER

Individuals vary in their ability to see the necessity for mediating linguistically between their own imagery and that of their listeners. The speaker must know the limits

within which he may assume a correspondence of imagery. When the context of the item under discussion is in physical view of both, or is shared because of similarity of past experience, or is implicitly present by virtue of a history of former interaction, the problem of context is largely solved.[5] But when the context is neither so provided nor offered by the speaker, the listener is confronted with knotty problems of interpretation. In the accounts of the most unintelligible respondents we found dream-like sets of images with few connective, qualifying, explanatory, or other context-providing devices. Thus, the interviewer was hard pressed to make sense of the account and was forced to probe at every turn lest the speaker figuratively run away with the situation. The respondents were willing and often eager to tell their stories, but intention to communicate does not always bring about clear communication. The latter involves, among other requirements, an ability to hear one's words as others hear them.

Lower class.—Lower-class persons displayed a relative insensitivity to disparities in perspective. At best, the respondent corrected himself on the exact time at which he performed an act or became aware that his listener was not present at the scene and so located objects and events for him. On occasion he reached a state of other-consciousness: "You can't imagine if you wasn't there what it was like." However, his assumption of a correspondence in imagery is notable. There is much surnaming of persons without genuine identification, and often terms like "we" and "they" are used without clear referents. The speaker seldom anticipates responses to his communication and seems to feel little need to explain particular features of his account. He seldom qualifies an utterance, presumably because he takes for granted that his perceptions represent reality and are shared by all who were present. Since he is apt to take so much for granted,

[5] For a good discussion of this see B. Malinowski, "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Language," in *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays* (Boston, 1948), pp. 228–76.

his narrative lacks depth and richness and contains almost no qualifications and few genuine illustrations. The hearer very often is confronted with a descriptive fragment that supposedly represents a more complete story. The speaker may then add phrases like "and stuff like that" or "and everything." Such phrasing is not genuine summation but a substitute for detail and abstraction. Summary statements are virtually absent, since they signify that speakers are sensitive to the needs of listeners. Certain phrases that appear to be summaries—such as "That's all I know" and "That's the way it was"—merely indicate that the speaker's knowledge is exhausted. Other summary-like phraseologies, like "It was pitiful," appear to be asides, reflective of self-feeling or emotion rather than résumés of preceding detail.

Middle class.—The middle-class respondent also makes certain assumptions about the correspondence of the other's images with his own. Nevertheless, in contrast with the lower group, he recognizes much more fully that imagery may be diverse and that context must be provided. Hence he uses many devices to supply context and to clarify meaning. He qualifies, summarizes, and sets the stage with rich introductory material, expands themes, frequently illustrates, anticipates disbelief, meticulously locates and identifies places and persons—all with great complexity of detail. He depends less on saying "You know"; he insists upon explaining if he realizes that a point lacks plausibility or force. Hence he rarely fails to locate an image, or series of images, in time or place. Frequent use of qualification is especially noteworthy. This indicates not only multiple centering but a very great sensitivity to listeners, actual and potential—including the speaker himself.

In short, the middle-class respondent has what might be called "communication control," at least in such a semiformal situation as the interview. Figuratively, he stands between his own images and the hearer and says, "Let me introduce you to what I saw and know." It is as though he were directing

a movie, having at his command several cameras focused at different perspectives, shooting and carefully controlling the effect. By contrast, the lower-class respondent seems himself more like a single camera which unreels the scene to the audience. In the very telling of his story he is more apt to lose himself in his imagery. The middle-class person—by virtue, we would presume, of his greater sensitivity to his listener—stands more outside his experience. He does not so much tell you what he saw as fashion a story about what he saw. The story may be accurate in varying degrees, although, in so far as it is an organized account, it has both the virtues and the defects of organization. The comparative accuracies of middle- and lower-class accounts are not relevant here; the greater objectivity of the former merely reflects greater distance between narrator and event.[6]

In organizing his account, the middle-class respondent displays parallel consciousness of the other and himself. He can stop midstream, take another direction, and, in general, exert great control over the course of his communication. The lower-class respondent seems to have much less foresight, appearing to control only how much he will say to the interviewer, or whether he will say it at all, although presumably he must have some stylistic controls not readily observable by a middle-class reader.

CLASSIFICATIONS AND CLASSIFICATORY
RELATIONS

Lower class.—Respondents make reference mainly to the acts and persons of particular people, often designating them by proper or family names. This makes for fairly clear denotation and description, but only as long as the account is confined to the experiences of specific individuals. There comes a point when the interviewer wishes to obtain information about classes of persons and entire organizations as well as how they impinged upon the respondent, and

[6] Our discussion of objectivity and of mediation between self and image in communication is reminiscent of some of the literature on child, schizophrenic, and aphasic thought.

here the lower-class respondent becomes relatively or even wholly inarticulate. At worst he cannot talk about categories of people or acts because, apparently, he does not think readily in terms of classes. Questions about organizations, such as the Red Cross, are converted into concrete terms, and he talks about the Red Cross "helping people" and "people helping other people" with no more than the crudest awareness of how organizational activities interlock. At most the respondent categorizes only in a rudimentary fashion: "Some people were running; other people were looking in the houses." The interviewer receives a sketchy and impressionistic picture. Some idea is conveyed of the confusion that followed upon the tornado, but the organizing of description is very poor. The respondent may mention classes in contrasting juxtaposition (rich and poor, hurt and not-hurt), or list groups of easily perceived, contrasting actions, but he does not otherwise spell out relations between these classes. Neither does he describe a scene systematically in terms of classes that are explicitly or clearly related, a performance which would involve a shifting of viewpoint.

It is apparent that the speakers think mainly in particularistic or concrete terms. Certainly classificatory thought must exist among many or all the respondents; but, in communicating to the interviewer, class terms are rudimentary or absent and class relations implicit: relationships are not spelled out or are left vague. Genuine illustrations are almost totally lacking, either because these require classifications or because we—as middle-class observers—do not recognize that certain details are meant to imply classes.

Middle class.—Middle-class speech is richly interlarded with classificatory terms, especially when the narrator is talking about what he saw rather than about himself. Typically, when he describes what other persons are doing, he classifies actions and persons and more often than not explicitly relates class to class. Often his descriptions are artistically organized around what various

categories of persons were doing or experiencing. When an illustration is offered, it is clear that the speaker means it to stand for a general category. Relief and other civic organizations are conceived as sets or classes of co-ordinated roles and actions; some persons couch their whole account of the disaster events in organizational terms, hardly deigning to give proper names or personal accounts. In short, concrete imagery in middle-class communication is dwarfed or overshadowed by the prevalence and richness of conceptual terminology. Organization of speech around classifications comes readily, and undoubtedly the speaker is barely conscious of it. It is part and parcel of his formal and informal education. This is not to claim that middle-class persons always think with and use classificatory terms, for doubtless this is not true. Indeed, it may be that the interview exacts from them highly conceptualized descriptions. Nonetheless, we conclude that, in general, the thought and speech of middle-class persons is less concrete than that of the lower group.

ORGANIZING FRAMEWORKS AND STYLISTIC DEVICES

One of the requirements of communication is that utterances be organized. The principle of organization need not be stated explicitly by the speaker or recognized by the listener. Organizing frames can be of various sorts. Thus an ordering of the respondents' description is often set by the interviewer's question, or the speaker may set his own framework ("There is one thing you should know about this"). The frame can be established jointly by both interviewer and respondent, as when the former asks an open-ended question within whose very broad limits the respondent orders his description in ways that strike him as appropriate or interesting. The respondent, indeed, may organize his account much as though he were telling a special kind of story or drama, using the interviewer's questions as hardly more than general cues to what is required. The great number of events, inci-

dents, and images which must be conveyed to the listener may be handled haphazardly, neatly, dramatically, or sequentially; but, if they are to be communicated at all, they must be ordered somehow. Stylistic devices accompany and implement these organizing frames, and the lower and upper groups use them in somewhat different ways.

Lower class.—The interviewer's opening question, "Tell me your story of the tornado," invites the respondent to play an active role in organizing his account; and this he sometimes does. However, with the exception of one person who gave a headlong personal narrative, the respondents did not give long, well-organized, or tightly knit pictures of what happened to them during and after the tornado. This kind of general depiction either did not occur to them or did not strike them as appropriate.

The frames utilized are more segmental or limited in scope than those used by the middle class. They appear to be of several kinds and their centering is personal. One is the personal narrative, with events, acts, images, persons, and places receiving sequential ordering. Stylistic devices further this kind of organization: for instance, crude temporal connectives like "then," "and," and "so" and the reporting of images or events as they are recollected or as they appear in the narrative progression. Asides may specify relationships of kinship or the individuals' location in space. But, unless the line of narrative is compelling to the speaker, he is likely to wander off into detail about a particular incident, where the incident in turn then provides a framework for mentioning further events. Likewise, when a question from the interviewer breaks into the narrative, it may set the stage for an answer composed of a number of images or an incident. Often one incident becomes the trigger for another, and, although some logical or temporal connection between them may exist for the speaker, this can scarcely be perceived by the interviewer. Hence the respondent is likely to move out of frames quickly. The great danger of probes and requests for elaboration is that the speaker will get far away

from the life-line of his narrative—and frequently far away from the interviewer's question. As recompense the interviewer may garner useful and unexpectedly rich information from the digressions, although often he needs to probe this material further to bring it into context. General questions are especially likely to divert the speaker, since they suggest only loose frames; or he may answer in general, diffuse, or blurred terms which assume either that the listener was there too or that he will put meaningful content into the words. If a question is asked that concerns abstract classes or is "above" the respondent—a query, say, about relief organizations—then very general answers or concrete listing of images or triggering of images are especially noticeable. When the interviewer probes in an effort to get some elaboration of an occurrence or an expansion of idea, he commonly meets with little more than repetition or with a kind of "buckshot" listing of images or incidents which is supposed to fill out the desired picture. The lack of much genuine elaboration is probably related to the inability to report from multiple perspectives.

One requirement of the interview is that it yield a fairly comprehensive account of the respondent's actions and perceptions. With the lower-class respondent the interviewer, as a rule, must work very hard at building a comprehensive frame directly into the interview. This he does by forcing many subframes upon the respondent. He asks many questions about exact time sequence, placement and identification of persons, expansion of detail, and the like. Especially must he ask pointed questions about the relations of various personages appearing in the account. Left to his own devices, the respondent may give a fairly straightforward narrative or competently reconstruct incidents that seem only partially connected with each other or with his narrative. But the respondent seldom voluntarily gives both linear and cross-sectional pictures.

The devices used to implement communication are rather difficult to isolate, perhaps

because we are middle class ourselves. Among the devices most readily observable are the use of crude chronological notations (e.g., "then, . . . and then"), the juxtaposing or direct contrasting of classes (e.g., rich and poor), and the serial locating of events. But the elaborate devices that characterize middle-class interviews are strikingly absent.

Middle class.—Without exception middle-class respondents imposed over-all frames of their own upon the entire interview. Although very sensitive generally to the needs of the interviewer, they made the account their own. This is evidenced sometimes from the very outset; many respondents give a lengthy picture in answer to the interviewer's invitation, "Tell me your story." The organizing frame may yield a fluid narrative that engulfs self and others in dense detail; it may give a relatively static but rich picture of a community in distress; or, by dramatic and stage-setting devices, it may show a complicated web of relationships in dramatic motion. The entire town may be taken as the frame of reference and its story portrayed in time and space.

Besides the master-frame, the middle-class respondent utilizes many subsidiary frames. Like the lower-class person, he may take off from a question. But, in doing so—especially where the question gives latitude by its generality or abstractness—he is likely to give an answer organized around a subframe which orders his selection and arrangement of items. He may even shift from one image to another, but rarely are these left unrelated to the question which initially provoked them. He is much more likely also to elaborate than to repeat or merely to give a scattered series of percepts.

One prerequisite for the elaboration of a theme is an ability to depart from it while yet holding it in mind. Because he incorporates multiple perspectives, the respondent can add long asides, discuss the parallel acts of other persons in relation to himself, make varied comparisons for the enrichment of detail and comprehension—and then can return to the original point and

proceed from there. Often he does this after first preparing his listener for the departure and concludes the circuit with a summary statement or a transitional phrase like "well—anyhow" that marks the end of the digression.

The stylistic devices utilized by any respondent are many and varied. But each speaker uses some devices more frequently than others, since certain ones are more or less appropriate to given frames. There is no point in spelling out the whole range of devices; they are of the sort used in any clear detailed narrative and effective exposition. If the respondent is pressed to the limit of his ability in explaining a complex point or describing a complicated scene, he calls into play resources that are of immensely high order. Sometimes a seemingly simple device will turn out on closer inspection to demand a sophisticated handling of communication —for instance, the frequent and orderly asides that break into exposition or narrative and serve with great economy to add pertinent detail.

INTRACLASS DIFFERENCES

Middle class.—Although all middle-class accounts were informative, there were considerable differences of construction among them. The frames utilized by any respondent are multiple, but respondents tend to use either a frame emphasizing sequence, human drama, and personal incident or one stressing interlocking classes of civic acts. Each orientation is implemented by somewhat different stylistic techniques. There are of course different ways of narrating; thus one can dwell more upon conditions for activity than upon the acts themselves. Similarly, accounts focused upon town organization vary in such matters as the scope of description and the degree of emphasis upon temporal sequence. Both frameworks are interchangeable, and their use is a function either of the speaker's habitual orientation or of his definition of the interview situation rather than of his ability to use one or the other mode.

Lower class.—Lower-class persons can best

be distinguished in terms of ability to meet the minimum requirements of the interview. Some literally cannot tell a straight story or describe a simple incident coherently. At the other extreme we find an adequate self-focused narrative, with considerable detail tightly tied to sequential action, including retrospective observation about the narrator's facts as he develops them. Midway between these extremes are the people who can tell portions of narrative but are easily distracted: either an image suggests some other image, or the interviewer asks a question focusing interest and concentration elsewhere than upon the narrative or he calls for some expansion of detail. Then the interviewer must remind the speaker of the break in narrative. The interviewer constantly must be on the *qui vive* to keep the story going and to fill in gaps.

In the best accounts, also, competent description is handled by linking a variety of perceptions to the narrative. Images then appear to the listener to be in context and thus are fairly comprehensible. At the other extreme, images and incidents are free-floating. Probing improved the quality of this sort of interview but slightly. More frequently, the interviewer was confronted with fragments of the narrative and its related imagery. Then he had to piece together the general lineaments of the story by a barrage of probes: "Who?" "When?" "Where?" Even then the reader of these interviews will come across stray images and be hard pressed to fit them into the context. Competence in recounting narrative generally is accompanied by competence in making understandable departures from the narrative itself, and, lacking both skills, some lower-class respondents gave quite baffling and unintelligible reports. The best accounts are moderately clear, although subject to all the limitations already discussed.

DISCUSSION

Only if the situation in which the respondent spoke is carefully taken into account will we be on safe ground in interpreting class differences. Consider, first, the probable meaning of the interview for the middle-class respondents. Although the interviewer is a stranger, an outsider, he is a well-spoken, educated person. He is seeking information on behalf of some organization, hence his questioning not only has sanction but sets the stage for both a certain freedom of speech and an obligation to give fairly full information. The respondent may never before have been interviewed by a research organization, but he has often talked lengthily, fairly freely, and responsibly to organizational representatives. At the very least he has had some experience in talking to educated strangers. We may also suppose that the middle-class style of living often compels him to be very careful not to be misunderstood. So he becomes relatively sensitive to communication *per se* and to communication with others who may not exactly share his viewpoints or frames of reference.

Communication with such an audience requires alertness, no less to the meanings of one's own speech than to the possible intent of the other's. Role-taking may be inaccurate, often, but it is markedly active. Assessing and anticipating reactions to what he has said or is about to say, the individual develops flexible and ingenious ways of correcting, qualifying, making more plausible, explaining, rephrasing—in short, he assumes multiple perspectives and communicates in terms of them. A variety of perspectives implies a variety of ways of ordering or framing detail. Moreover, he is able to classify and to relate classes explicitly, which is but another way of saying that he is educated to assume multiple perspectives of rather wide scope.

It would certainly be too much to claim that middle-class persons always react so sensitively. Communication is often routinized, and much of it transpires between and among those who know each other so well or share so much in common that they need not be subtle. Nor is sensitive role-taking called forth in so-called "expressive behavior," as when hurling invective or yelling during a ball game. With the proviso that much middle-class speech is uttered

under such conditions, it seems safe enough to say that people of this stratum can, if required, handle the more complex and consciously organized discourse. In addition to skill and perspicacity, this kind of discourse requires a person who can subtly keep a listener at a distance while yet keeping him in some degree informed.

Consider now, even at risk of overstating the case, how the interview appears to the lower group. The interviewer is of higher social class than the respondent, so that the interview is a "conversation between the classes." It is entirely probable that more ·effort and ability are demanded by cross-class conversation of this sort than between middle-class respondent and middle-class interviewer.[7] It is not surprising that the interviewer is often baffled and that the respondent frequently misinterprets what is wanted. But misunderstanding and misinterpretation are only part of the story.

Cross-class communication, while not rare, probably is fairly formalized or routinized. The communicants know the ritual steps by heart, and can assume much in the way of supporting context for phrase and gesture. The lower-class person in these Arkansas towns infrequently meets a middle-class person in a situation anything like the interview. Here he must talk at great length to a stranger about personal experiences, as well as recall for his listener a tremendous number of details. Presumably he is accustomed to talking about such matters and in such detail only to listeners with whom he shares a great deal of experience and symbolism, so that he need not be very self-conscious about communicative technique. He can, as a rule, safely assume that words, phrases, and gestures are assigned approximately similar meanings by his listeners. But this is not so in the interview or, indeed, in any situation where class converses with class in nontraditional modes.·

[7] Somewhat like this is the I.Q. testing session which involves a middle-class test (and tester) and a lower-class subject. The many and subtle difficulties in this situation are analyzed by Allison Davis in *Social Class Influences upon Learning* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951).

There still remains the question of whether the descriptions of perceptions and experiences given by the lower-class respondent are merely inadequate or whether this is the way he truly saw and experienced. Does his speech accurately reflect customary "concrete" modes of thought and perception, or is it that he perceives in abstract and classificatory terms, and from multiple perspectives, but is unable to convey his perceptions?[8] Unless one assumes that, when talking in familiar vein to familiar audiences, speech and gesture incorporate multiple perspectives, which is, as we have already indicated, improbable, one concludes that speech does in some sense reflect thought. The reader is perhaps best left at this point to draw his own conclusions, although we shall press upon him certain additional evidence and interpretation arising from examination of the interviews.

In any situation calling for a description of human activities it is necessary to utilize motivational terminology, either explicitly or implicitly, in the very namings of acts.[9] In the speech of those who recognize few disparities of imagery between themselves and their listeners, explicit motivational terms are sparse. The frequent use among the lower class of the expression "of course" followed by something like "They went up to see about their folks" implies that it is almost needless to say what "they" did, much less to give the reason for the act. The motive ("to see about") is implicit and terminal, requiring neither elaboration nor explanation. Where motives are explicit ("They was needin' help, so we went on up there"), they are often gratuitous and could just as well have been omitted. All this is

[8] "The lower class is even more concrete in its outlook than the lower-middle class. For example, a question . . . where chewing gum is usually purchased will be answered by an upper-middle person: 'At a cashier's counter or in a grocery store.' By the lower-middle: 'At the National or the corner drugstore.' By the lower class: 'From Tony' " ("Marketing Chewing Gum in New England: A Research Study" [Chicago: Social Research, Inc., 1950]).

[9] Cf. K. Burke, *Grammar of Motives* (New York, 1945).

related to preceding discussions of single centering and assumed correspondence of imagery. To the speaker it was quite clear why people did what they did. There was no need to question or to elaborate on the grounds for acts. Under probing the respondent did very little better: he used motivational terms but within a quite narrow range. The terms he used ordinarily reflected kinship obligations, concern for property, humanitarian ("help") sentiments, and action from motives of curiosity ("We went down to see"). Such a phrase as "I suppose I went to her house because I wanted reassurance" would rarely occur.

Middle-class persons exhibit familiarity with a host of distinct "reasons" for performing particular acts. Their richness in thinking allows activities to be defined and described in a great variety of ways. Here, indeed, is an instrument for breaking down diffuse images ("They was runnin' all over") into classes of acts and events. The middle-class person is able to do this, for one thing, because he possesses an abstract motivational terminology. Then, too, the fine and subtle distinctions for rationalizing behavior require devices for insuring that they will be grasped by the hearer. In a real sense the need to explain behavior can be linked with the need to communicate well— to give a rational account as well as to be objective. Hence, there is a constant flow of qualifying and generalizing terms linked with motivational phraseology ("I don't know why, but it could be he felt there was no alternative . . .").

It is not surprising to find the middle class as familiar with elements of social structure as with individual behavior. Assuredly, this familiarity rests not only upon contact with institutions but upon the capacity to perceive and talk about abstract classes of acts. The lower-class person, on other hand, appears to have only rudimentary notions of organizational structure—at least of relief and emergency agencies. Ex-

tended contact with representatives of them, no doubt, would familiarize him not only with organizations but with thinking in organizational, or abstract, terms. The propensity of the lower class to state concretely the activities of relief organizations corroborates the observation of Warner that the lowest strata have little knowledge or "feel" for the social structures of their communities.[10] It also suggests the difficulty of conveying to them relatively abstract information through formal media of communication.

It may be that rural townspeople of the lower class are not typical of the national or urban low strata. This raises the question— vital to urban sociology but to which currently there is no adequate answer—of whether pockets of rural-minded folk cannot live encapsulated in the city[11] and, indeed, whether lower-class persons have much opportunity to absorb middle-class culture without themselves beginning the route upward, those remaining behind remaining less urban.[12]

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[10] W. L. Warner, *American Life: Dream and Reality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 193–94.

[11] David Riesman, "Urbanity and the Urban Personality," in *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Symposium, The Human Development Bulletin* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1953), p. 37.

[12] William Henry, of the University of Chicago, has conveyed his impression to us that urban lower-class and middle-class people perform on Thematic Apperception Tests much as our Arkansas respondents did in the interview.

We have also examined interviews about disasters in Brighton, N.Y., a middle-class suburb of Rochester, and Elizabeth, N.J., an urban community near New York City. There are no observable differences between the middle-class respondents of these areas and those of Arkansas. Four interviews with Elizabeth lower-class respondents paralleled the modes of the Arkansas lower class. A fifth exhibited considerable middle-class characteristics.

THE INFORMANT IN QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

DONALD T. CAMPBELL

ABSTRACT

The anthropological use of the informant is distinguished from the social survey in that the respondents are selected not for their representativeness but rather on the bases of informedness and ability to communicate with the social scientist. As such, the method seems to have general social science utility. In a study of the comparative morale of ten submarine crews, the rankings provided by three offship informants correlate .9 with rankings resulting from anonymous morale ballots filled out by all crew members and show satisfactory agreement with other measures of morale.

Among the several contributions of anthropology to general social science methodology, the technique of utilizing informants has received relatively little systematic attention. The present report deals with an exploratory use of informants in research focused upon the evaluation of morale as an adjunct to a study in naval leadership.[1]

There are at least two ways in which the use of the informant may be interpreted as a general social science tool. On the one hand, it may be considered as a sampling technique, in which any normal participant in the society could substitute for any other. The use of only one or a few individuals is justified where the culture is homogeneous and where there are no relevant individual differences in the knowledge or behavior in question. Were this interpretation of the technique to be generalized for rigorous application to complex Western cultures, it would take the form of opinion-survey procedures with methodological emphasis upon representativeness of the sample employed and statistical sampling techniques employing randomness as the most feasible means of achieving representativeness on all possible relevant grounds.[2]

In contrast, an alternative interpretation of the technique of the informant seems to offer something new to the other social sciences in the way of explicitly formalized methodology. As understood in the present study, the technique of the informant means that the social scientist obtains information about the group under study through a member who occupies such a role as to be well informed but who at the same time speaks the social scientist's language. It is epitomized by the use of one or a few *special* persons who are extensively interviewed and upon whose responses exceptional reliance is placed and, thus, is to be most clearly distinguished from randomly or representatively sampled interviews. The requirement that the informant speak the language of the social scientist epitomizes this difference. For the general public opinion survey there is typically no procedure for placing special credance upon the answers of those who intelligently understand the interview questions; rather there is an attempt to describe the state of information and opinion among a universe which includes those who comprehend and can verbalize adequately as well as those who lack comprehension or expressive skill. By the requirement of speaking the scientist's language we mean not only the literal sharing of a common tongue (which can, of course, be the informant's native tongue if the social scientist is so trained) but also the capacity to share, in some degree at least, the scientist's frame of reference and his interest in abstract generalized and comparative aspects of culture. As Paul, for one, has pointed out, more often than not the informant is himself an amateur or self-developed social scientist

[2] This interpretation seems implied by Margaret Mead in her paper on "National Character," in A. L. Kroeber *et al.* (eds.), *Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedia Inventory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 648.

with a genuine curiosity about cultural phenomena and the capacity to verbalize his observations.[3]

But the seeking-out of the exceptionally observant and communicatively gifted person as an informant raises a number of methodological problems. The very backgrounds which would stimulate in the potential informant an interest in observing social custom and would develop perspectives making verbalization possible are likely also to produce eccentricities of personality and asymmetries of social locus which are possible sources of bias. To quote Paul: "Those who are willing to enter into novel relationships rather than to remain within familiar grooves, to examine culture rather than express it in action, are likely, almost by definition, to diverge from the normal." While to some extent bias can be reduced by using several informants, the danger cannot be corrected by recourse to representative sampling without at the same time losing the special character of the technique. If the use of informants as a social science research tool is to be developed, it seems likely that principles for optimal selection will have to be developed. Paul has made suggestions along this line, and the present study can be considered as a small contribution in this direction.

The problem was the ranking of ten ships in a squadron of submarines in terms of their morale, for the purpose of helping evaluate the quality of leadership. A good informant for this purpose had to be one who had access to all ten ships. Such could be found in the personnel of the squadron headquarters. For each of the major types of billet aboard the submarine there were parallel numbers in the squadron headquarters. Thus there were officers and enlisted men with responsibilities for engine maintenance on each submarine and in the squadron headquarters. The same held for other functions such as communication, electronics, supply, and so on. The personnel from the squadron headquarters had opportunity to visit with their

parallel numbers from the ships when the latter came in to the headquarters office, and they frequently took short cruises with them or at least found an opportunity to eat with them when they were alongside dock. The squadron headquarters personnel had all had extensive and recent shipboard experience. Thus within the personnel of the squadron headquarters there were some at least who had the opportunity to be expert informants in the comparison of the ships.

Morale, for the purposes of this study, was considered primarily as an attribute of the enlisted personnel, that is, the 90 per cent of the crews who were not·commissioned officers. For this reason the best informants would probably come from the enlisted personnel in the squadron headquarters, if one assumes some barrier to communication between officers and enlisted personnel. In addition, the ideal informants had to be observant of the symptoms of morale and be willing and able to talk of them. This latter requirement would tend to rule out some of the enlisted personnel of the more mechanically oriented specialties, many of whom found it hard to speak with any confidence about social-psychological intangibles. For such reasons, as well as for reasons of expediency, the informants were selected from the yeoman (rated enlisted personnel performing secretarial duties) of the squadron headquarters company. Three of these men were willing to rank the ten ships in terms of which were the "happiest." A ranking based upon the average of the three individual rankings was the basis of our elementary quantification.

Similar rankings of the ships were obtained from officers of varying duty in the squadron headquarters. None of them was in the direct line of command, and none had in the normal course of his duties the administrative responsibility of making comparative evaluations of ships or their personnel.

In addition to the rankings of the ships, the informants provided anecdotal material about specific episodes and persons, guesses as to the source of poor morale, and so on. These materials are perhaps more charac-

[3] Benjamin D. Paul, "Interview Techniques and Field Relationships," in A. L. Kroeber et al. (eds.), Anthropology Today, pp. 443–44.

teristic of what would be obtained in the typical anthropological use of informants, but they are not the aspects of the data receiving emphasis here. In the quantification of material from informants, two basic procedures seem to be open. First of all, the free-response verbal material provided by them may be coded, categorized, and then counted, as in public opinion surveys. Second, the informant may agree to participate in a procedure which provides some quantification at the onset. Of the possible ways of achieving this, the method of ranking here employed is probably the most flexible; it is one which probably could be employed for informants at any degree of civilization. While the level of quantification is primitive by mathematical or physical standards, it does provide that rudiment of quantification necessary for checking the data against other sources of information. In some situations the use of rating-scale procedures, which have been elaborately evolved by psychologists, would also be possible.

The study employed several other techniques for the evaluation of the relative morale of the ten ships, the most expensive and extensive of which was a "morale ballot." This was a questionnaiare containing prepared statements to be answered "Yes" or "No" and administered anonymously to the enlisted personnel in rooms off the ship, none of the ship's commissioned officers being present. It contained thirty questions dealing with a variety of potential complaints or expressions of dissatisfaction. Representative questions are:

Will you ship over and request duty on the same ship when your present enlistment is up?

On the whole, does everyone get a square deal aboard this ship?

Is there a better bunch of fellows here than aboard most ships?

Is the commanding officer aboard this ship a better leader than most skippers?

Do the officers play favorites and give certain fellows the breaks?

Do all hands get enough information on ship's plans?

Would you like to see more recreational activities aboard this ship?

While there is considerable topical variation among the thirty items, statistical analysis showed that they shared enough variance in common to justify the computation of an over-all morale score for the ship, based upon the total of answers in the direction of high morale. Although this questionnaire is in a sense the most direct approach to morale used, it should not necessarily be regarded as a "criterion," inasmuch as it, like any other approach, is potentially subject to error. For example, it might have been that the questions employed did not cover the actual sources of discontent, although their development from earlier interviews had attempted to achieve this. It might also have been that the research setting did not provide convincing anonymity and that the degree of distortion due to distrust and caution varied significantly from ship to ship. While probably not the case, such possibilities must be kept in mind.

A Spearman rank-order correlation has been used to describe the degree of agreement between the various approaches used to rank the ships in terms of morale. With only ten observations, a high degree of correlation is required before we can be certain that the relationship is other than a chance sampling error. A rank-order correlation of .6 is required before the 5 per cent level of confidence is reached. That is, through sampling error alone the value of .6 would be reached in a series of samples of ten cases less than 5 per cent of the time if the "true" correlation in the universe of samples was zero. The value of .8 is required for significance at the 1 per cent level. The small number of cases must make the study exploratory rather than definitive from the statistical point of view.

The correlation between the ranking of the ships by the enlisted informants and the ranking of ships by morale ballot is .9, showing an impressive amount of agreement, considering the independence and dissimilarity of the two methods. The correlation between the officer informants and the morale ballot is .7. The correlation between these two groups of informants is .8. These values, all substantially high, serve collec-

tively to reinforce our confidence in each of the techniques. While it is impossible to claim that the superiority of the enlisted informants over the officer informants in degree of correlation with the morale ballot is statistically significant, it is certainly in the anticipated direction. The major advantage of the enlisted over the officer informants turns out upon more detailed inspection to involve the placement of a single ship, rated relatively high in morale by the enlisted personnel and low in morale by the squadron headquarters officers. The commanding officer of this particular ship had a cavalier and arrogant manner which made him unpopular with his junior officers and with the squadron headquarters officers (except possibly his immediate superiors) but which apparently did not create discontent among the enlisted personnel. The ship had recently been assigned to a new duty. There had also recently been a concentration of requests for transfer from the personnel of the ship. The squadron officers tended to interpret this flurry of requests for transfer as reflecting on the morale of the ship and the adequacy of its leadership. The alternative interpretation in terms of the kind of duty involved and the likelihood of the ship remaining in its home port was overlooked by them, although utilized to explain away similar increases of requests for transfer on other ships of the squadron. Probably because of the increased contact with the enlisted personnel of the ship, the enlisted headquarters informants were not misled by these superficial symptoms of discontent. While the difference gives some slight evidence of the anticipated barrier to communication between officer and enlisted strata in the naval service, the correlations also provide clear evidence of substantial communication across it. It seems probable, considering the conditions of service in the submarine study, that the barrier to communication is slight in this setting.

One other approach to the comparative morale on the ships seems worthy of attention. This is the ship's reputation for morale with other ships. At the time of taking the secret ballot, each enlisted crewman of the ten ships of the squadron was given the opportunity to name other ships in answer to the question, "Which of the ships in this squadron would you most like to serve on for peacetime duty?" The ships were ranked in terms of the number of times mentioned by the personnel of other ships. This may be described as an opinion survey on a reputational topic or as the utilization of informants in an exhaustive and nondiscriminative fashion. It should be pointed out that, while all the ships were in the same squadron and had roughly the same kind of duty, they were on separate annual schedules which kept them out of their home port for periods up to two or three months during the year. At the moment of the survey, all the ships were in the home port, but some had only recently arrived from extended tours. In addition, a great bulk of the men were married and went directly from ship to home, thus not availing themselves of the opportunity for mass recreational intermingling that might have characterized the personnel of such a squadron in a foreign port. The ranking of the ships on reputation for morale correlated .8 with the morale-ballot ranking. In this instance, at least, such exhaustive sampling of opinion proves inferior to the careful selection of a few informants. Reputation for morale with other ships correlates with the data from both enlisted informants and officer informants at the level of .7.

It seems fair to conclude from these data that the use of the informants in quantitative studies may be successfully carried out and may produce findings of validity and generality. Further methodological research seems justified on a number of grounds. From a standpoint of research cost, the expense of obtaining ship rankings and of securing data by the morale ballot might easily be in the ratio of 1 to 100. In addition, there will be many situations in which procedures for the morale ballot will be out of the question but in which informants might be effectively used.

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PROBLEMS IN PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION[1]

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ABSTRACT

Participant observation is a process of registering, interpreting, and recording. The process and the kinds of data are influenced by continuing observed-observer transactions. The role of the observer may be passive or active. In either case affective involvement with the observed develops inevitably and may range from sympathetic identification to projective distortion. The form it takes is a function primarily of the observer's experience, awareness, and personality. Anxiety and bias are sources of distortion, and their adequate handling is a major problem in refining the human instrument for gathering data.

In the analysis of the process of participant observation as experienced in a sociological study of a mental hospital ward, we shall be concerned with three interrelated themes: (1) an operational statement of the process as it is experienced from the observer's point of view; (2) a description of the component parts of the process in terms of the observer's transactions in the social field he is observing; and (3) an evaluation of the human instrument and the consequences of its use in gathering data. Our frame of reference is common to the sociology of knowledge,[2] social psychological studies of perception,[3] communication theory,[4] and interpersonal theory.[5] These systems of analysis maintain that man's perceptions, especially as they relate to his interactions with other people, are shaped and

modified by his social and psychological assumptions and value judgments. Since, in any social research, the observer is the instrument through which and by which the phenomena of the investigation are selected and filtered as well as interpreted and evaluated, the way in which he operates is crucial in transposing "reality" into data and in producing a close correspondence between the actual and the recorded event.

THE RESEARCH SITUATION

We shall discuss the process of participant observation as we have engaged in it within the setting of a small mental hospital ward.[6] In the formal role of participant observers we studied the interactions of patients and staff (as well as our own interactions with patients and staff) in an attempt to delineate the interpersonal processes and the prevailing social structure as well as to evaluate the effects of such processes on the patients.[7]

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[1] The studies on which this paper is based were supported (in part) by two research grants (MH51 and M493) made to the Washington School of Psychiatry by the National Institute of Mental Health of the National Institutes of Health, Public Health Service.

[2] Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1936).

[3] R. R. Blake and G. V. Ramsey, *Perception: An Approach to Personality* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1951); Hadley Cantril, *The "Why" of Man's Experience* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1950); Gustav Ichheiser, "Misunderstandings in Human Relations," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX, Part II (September, 1949), 1–70.

[4] J. Ruesch and G. Bateson, *Communication: The Social Matrix of Psychiatry* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1951), and J. Ruesch, "Synopsis of the Theory of Human Communication," *Psychiatry*, XVI (August, 1953), 215–43.

[5] H. S. Sullivan, *The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1953).

[6] For other discussions of the process of participant observation see, for example J. D. Lohman, "The Participant Observer in Community Studies," *American Sociological Review*, II (December, 1937), 890–97; F. R. Kluckhohn, "The Participant-Observer Technique in Small Communities," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVI (November, 1940), 331–43; S. M. Miller, "The Participant Observer and 'Over-Rapport,'" *American Sociological Review*, XVII (February, 1952), 97–99.

[7] The following publications have resulted from two projects: A. H. Stanton and M. S. Schwartz, "The Management of a Type of Institutional Participation in Mental Illness," *Psychiatry*, XII (February, 1949), 13–26; "Medical Opinion and the Social Context in the Mental Hospital," *ibid.*, August, 1949, pp. 243–49; "Observations on Dissociation as Social Participation," *ibid.*, November,

The ward ordinarily has fourteen to fifteen patients, and from two to seven personnel on a shift. During the day shift (8:00 A.M.–4:00 P.M.), when most of our observations were made, there were four to seven personnel ordinarily present. In this article the examples we shall cite and the conclusions we shall draw are derived from our experiences in this small and circumscribed social system.

Because of its unique characteristics, the situation afforded both advantages and disadvantages for participant observation. On the one hand, since this milieu permitted their expression, certain covert emotional processes which are ordinarily concealed were more readily open to view and appeared in an accentuated form. On the other hand, the overt tension prevailing on the ward and the lack of clarity in the communication of some of the patients made it difficult at times for the observer to understand the nature of the interaction, especially from the patient's point of view. We believe, however, that our findings are at least partially applicable to the participant-observer situation in other social systems—the state mental hospital, the general hospital, the factory, the school, or the community.

DEFINITION OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

For our purposes we define participant observation as a process in which the observer's presence in a social situation is maintained for the purpose of scientific investigation. The observer is in a face-to-face relationship with the observed, and, by participating with them in their natural life setting, he gathers data. Thus, the observer is part of the context being observed, and he

both modifies and is influenced by this context. The role of participant observer may be either formal or informal, concealed or revealed; the observer may spend a great deal or very little time in the research situation; the participant-observer role may be an integral part of the social structure or largely peripheral to it.

COVERT TRANSACTIONS IN THE PROCESS OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

There is a tendency to assume that there is a simple correspondence between the occurrence of an event and the recording of the event by the observer.[8] Upon inquiry into this process we have discovered that there is a significant time gap between the occurrence of an event and the recording of this event as data. We have seen the process of observation as a succession of steps in which the time gap between the event and its recording increases from one step to the next. These are (1) the split second subsequent to the event, during which it is registered; (2) an interpretation of its significance in the context within which it occurred, resulting in a more expanded awareness of the event; and (3) the transcription of the event into data in the form of mental or written notes. From this point of view, participant observation becomes, in part, a *process of registering, interpreting, and recording*. Since not all aspects of an event are observed simultaneously, the "filling-out" or bringing into awareness of the components of the event, as well as the field within which it took place, becomes unavoidably a retrospective process. An example from our study of incontinence[9] illustrates this. In observing a patient performing an act of incontinence, a

1949, pp. 339–354; M. S. Schwartz and A. H. Stanton, "A Social Psychological Study of Incontinence," *Psychiatry*, XIII (November, 1950), 399–416; C. G. Schwartz, M. S. Schwartz, and A. H. Stanton, "A Study of Need-Fulfillment on a Mental Hospital Ward," *Psychiatry*, XIV (May, 1951), 223–42; and M. S. Schwartz and G. T. Will, "Low Morale and Mutual Withdrawal on a Mental Hospital Ward," *Psychiatry*, XVI (November, 1953), 337–53.

[8] We are using the term "event" to refer to more than a single occurrence. We intend it to mean a constellation of acts bound together in a pattern, the boundaries of which are not easily located, because they can be expanded or narrowed depending upon the observer's ability to encompass them and upon his purposes in the investigation. The term is similar to Mead's concept of the "social act" (see George H. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934]).

[9] "A Social Psychological Study of Incontinence," *op. cit.*

variety of factors were selected, evaluated, organized, and finally recorded as data. Some determination and selection was made as to (1) the significant events preceding the incontinence and contributory to it, especially the kinds of transactions the patient was carrying on with others immediately preceding the incontinence; (2) the nature of the social context in which it occurred; (3) the patient's perception of the social situation in which she found herself and the meaning she gave to the incontinent act; (4) the meaning of the act to the audience and their reaction to it; (5) the patient's reaction to the audience's reaction; (6) the nature of the patient's transactions during and immediately following the incontinent act; (7) the observer's response to this event as a whole and to each of the constituent parts; (8) the effect of his response upon his observations; and (9) the effect of his response upon the act itself. It is obvious that any segment of the event moved so rapidly that its meaning and its relation to other segments was obscured, and the organization of the total pattern was difficult to identify.

What happens in the time interval between the event and its final recording is of utmost importance. In retrospective observation the investigator re-creates, or attempts to re-create, the social field in his imagiation, in all its dimensions, on a perceptual and feeling level. He takes the role of all the other people in the situation and tries to evoke in himself the feelings and thoughts and actions they experienced at the time the event occurred. He assesses the accuracy of this role-taking and then takes his own role, as he was reacting during the event, and examines the effect of his reaction on his perceptions of the situation. Finally, he tries to integrate his own perceptions of the situation with those of the participants and arrives at one or more pictures of the event which are recorded as data. What occurs is a type of reworking of the representation of the phenomenon as initially registered. A continuous shuttle process occurs in which the observer moves back and forth in his imagination (either witting-

ly or unwittingly) from his recall of the event as it was initially registered to his evaluation of the event at the time of retrospection. What are finally recorded are the end product of evaluation during this retrospective period and the further evaluation made at the time of the physical recording of the data. In effect, observation is a continuous process of evaluation. During this reworking the observer's evaluations proceed at a more leisurely pace than was possible in the urgency of the immediate situation. At this pace he can explore the event in its fuller ramifications. In this exploration some covert transactions occur which need to be specified more fully.

A certain amount of this retrospective reworking (and it is difficult to estimate how much) goes on without the observer being aware of it. Rather than finding a simple and direct connection between the occurrence of the event and its representation as data, we discovered that our observation began to expand the longer we thought about it. This expansion occurs by bringing into focal awareness those aspects of the event that were on the fringe of consciousness—certain segments of the event that are registered on the periphery of the observer's awareness. These may be brought to central awareness by permitting one's self to be open to their emergence through recollection, rumination, and free association around the event. In this self-conscious attempt to bring the fringe material into focal awareness, a dual process may occur. The observer may follow the clues that come into awareness during the retrospective evaluation, or he may try to take his own role at the time the event occurred and evoke in himself or recall what was on the periphery of his awareness at that time. In either case, aspects of the event will emerge which are clearly recognized as having been registered by the observer but previously were not seen clearly or were grasped only momentarily and then put out of awareness. Thus, the data represent a coalescence between the recalled fringe material (which originally was noted around the time of event-occurrence) and

the evoked peripheral material (which came into awareness during the retrospective reworking). This coalescence in turn merges with the other segments of the event that have already been registered and interpreted in clear awareness. In this reworking the previous data may be maintained unaltered; they may be added to or changed; significant aspects of the event may appear which were previously omitted; and connections between the segments of the event and between this event and others may appear which were previously unrecognized.

The retrospective analysis may be of value in partially rectifying restrictions in observation brought about by the observer's partial lack of readiness to observe. For any particular event his preparedness for observation may be inadequate; there may be distractions which make it difficult to observe, or his psychological constellation may be such that his ability to focus on and encompass the field may be reduced. Despite these restrictions of preparedness, segments of the event register on the observer's peripheral awareness and may be brought into focal awareness retrospectively.

We have indicated previously that it is difficult to estimate how much of this retrospective reworking goes on unconsciously. Despite the difficulties, the significant area of potential distortion and misinterpretation must be explored, even if only partially, if we are to increase the validity of our observations. We must try to get answers to questions such as the following: What is the unconscious significance of the event to the investigator, and what is the relation of this to the unconscious significance the event has for the participants? How does the investigator's unconscious motivation influence the way he initially registers the event and symbolically modifies it in the retrospective reworking?

THE RECIPROCITY BETWEEN THE OBSERVER AND THE OBSERVED

The participant observer is an integral part of the situation he is observing. He is linked with the observed in a reciprocal process of mutual modification. Together the observer and the observed constitute a context which would be different if either participant were different or were eliminated. In the course of an investigation the observer and observed become important to each other, and it is the background of their past experiences together, merging with and reflecting itself in a present situation, which determines the nature of the reciprocity. Continuing observed-observer transactions influence in many ways both the kinds of data that emerge (for the observer creates them to some degree) and the registering, interpreting, and recording of them.

THE OBSERVER'S EFFECT ON THE OBSERVED

The mere presence of the observer means that movements are made and orientations are developed toward him which would not otherwise have occurred. The "typicality" of these movements, their difference from or similarity to other activities undertaken by the observed before the observer role had been established, must be evaluated. Also, the fact that the role of observer has been established may alter the course of events, even when the observer is temporarily absent. Conspicuous during the early stages of our research was the great amount of feeling aroused in both patients and staff by the investigator's presence. The patients were curious and, at times, hostile to the investigator; they watched him closely and sometimes attacked him verbally, insisting they did not want to be guinea pigs. The ward staff was covertly, and sometimes overtly, suspicious of his intentions and role; sometimes they used him as a scapegoat; in general, they were interested but wary. However, these feelings gradually diminished, and at the end of six months the observed no longer reacted to the observer with strong negative feelings, and responded to him much as they would to a regular ward staff member.

In our research situation a process of mutual habituation gradually took place between the observer and the observed. As a result of this process we were able to deline-

ate some factors that facilitated the process of participant observation. It is important that the investigator does not maintain situations in which he is in conflict with the observed, provokes excessive anxiety in them, or demonstrates disrespectful attitudes toward them. In addition, it is essential that he recognize the importance of participating with the observed on a "simply human" level—relating with them not only in his specific formal role, but also in terms of the sentiments Cooley described as constituting the core of human nature.[10] He must share these sentiments and feelings with the observed on a sympathetic and empathic level. Thus the observer and observed are bound together through sharing the common role of human being. When the observed become convinced that the observer's attitude toward them is one of respect and interest in them as human beings as well as research subjects, they will feel less need for concealing, withholding, or distorting data. Through this type of simply human interaction, the psychological distance between observer and subject may be diminished and restraint in communication reduced, and the alteration of the situation which ensues from the impact of the observer may be minimized. However, in interacting on the simply human level, the observer must be careful not to abandon or restrict his role.

Instead of attempting to withhold or conceal data, the observed may "produce" data for the investigator, but it is difficult to determine the significance of such productions for the problem under study. We found that some patients put on a "performance" and started "acting up" (or acting out) for him. One of the patients said, "Since we're supposed to be crazy, let's act like it for him." Another patient, when she discovered the investigator was interested in the problem of incontinence, said to a nurse, "Tell him that I've just done it on the floor, and he can

[10] See C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), and *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902).

come and find out about it," a statement we interpreted as at once an attempt to help the investigator and a sarcastic response to his interest in this problem. The observed, as the result of his orientation toward the investigator, may behave in accordance with or contrary to the latter's expectations, desires, or interests. If the investigator attempts to study the meaning or motivation of these productions, he may find himself abandoning the problem originally selected for study; in our investigation we would have become interested in the reasons for the patient's relating to the investigator as she did rather than in the context of the incontinent act. But it is also true that interest in these meanings and motivations may reveal connections with the original problem that were not immediately apparent. For example, the patient's performance of the incontinent act for the investigator may be related to the nature of her integration with him. This integration may be similar to other integrations in which she becomes incontinent.

MODES OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

The kinds of data the investigator gathers will depend in part upon how he participates as an observer. Two interrelated modes of participation proceed concurrently but should be distinguished for the purpose of analysis. These are: (1) participation as role activity in the research situation and (2) affective participation in which the investigator's emotional responses are evoked in the situation. While role participation is controllable to some degree, the observer cannot prevent himself from being affected by the emotional interplay between the subjects or between himself and the observed.

Each of these modes can be seen as a continuum. The variable on the continuum of role activity is the degree to which the observer participates in the research situation, the scale extending from "passive" participation to "active" participation. We have stated previously that the observer cannot remain emotionally untouched. Thus, on the continuum of affective participation, the

variables are the nature of the investigator's emotional involvement in the interaction he is observing as well as the degree to which he becomes involved.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AS A ROLE

In discussing participant observation as a role, we assume that the function of the observer is to observe as fully, intensively, and extensively as possible and thus are concerned with the way in which different forms of participation facilitate or deter effective, valid, and meaningful observation.

The "passive" participant observer.—As an ideal type the "passive" participant observer interacts with the observed as little as possible. He conceives his sole function to be observation and attempts to carry it on in the same mode as an observer behind a one-way viewing screen. Maintaining contact with the observed outside the role of observer is viewed as an interference rather than as an opportunity for gathering additional data. The investigator assumes that the more passive he is the less will he affect the situation and the greater will be his opportunity to observe events as they develop. The "passive" role is used as a way of detaching himself emotionally from what is transpiring and of minimizing the interferences that might be occasioned by his affective reactions and evaluations. The observer remains an outsider and relatively anonymous to the observed, while they, in turn, look upon him as having a special role that is not integrated with the other roles in their situation.

In our research it appeared that certain problems could best be studied by "passive" participant observation; for example, the study of need fulfilment on the ward. Here the investigator recorded the requests of patients and the staff's responses to them and obtained a quantitative record. It became clear, however, that in addition to playing the role of observer, it was also necessary to interact with the observed on the simply human level. We found it desirable for the investigator to engage in these two modes at different times, attempting to ex-clude interaction on the simply human level while playing the role of observer. Paying some attention to the necessity of relating himself to the observed in a human way resulted in the acceptance of the observer in his passive role; moreover, it made it possible for him to withdraw at times of intense anxiety, such as collective upsets; and then, being less involved than the participants, he could observe more easily. But, because they regarded the observer as an outsider, the observed tended to refrain from bringing certain problems to his attention. In general, this role had both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, the observer was freer to study the problem which was the focus of his attention; on the other hand, not being in the confidence of the observed, he was unaware of some events that related directly to his problems of study. Because the observer tended to remain somewhat outside the stream of events, it became more difficult to evaluate his effect on the situation.

In playing the role of passive observer, certain problems have to be recognized and handled. Often, the passive participant observer will experience impulses, sometimes weak and sometimes strong, to abandon the role of observer, the restraint of which may evoke strong feeling in him. For example, he may feel anger, discomfort, or frustration because his usual naturalness and spontaneity has to be checked. Under these circumstances, some restriction in observation may occur. He may become preoccupied with his feelings and cease observing, or become evaluative of others. In this role, as contrasted with the active role, there is less opportunity to share in the life of the observed and to experience the meaning of events which are emotionally significant to them. When the observer attempts to keep himself outside the stream of events, he may come to believe that he is not experiencing *any* affect. He then tends not to recognize his affective reactions or their effect on his observations. Finally, in this role the investigator must deal with the resistance and hostility directed toward the outsider.

The "active" participant observer.—As an ideal type, the "active" participant observer maximizes his participation with the observed in order to gather data and attempts to integrate his role with other roles in the social situation. His activity is accepted, both by himself and by the observed, as part of his role. His intention is to experience the life of the observed so that he can better observe and understand it. In some situations his behavior is similar to that of the observed; in other situations he plays complementary roles. He attempts to share the life of the observed on a simply human level as well as on a planned role level and uses both these modes of participation for research purposes. That is, while participating and identifying with the observed, he looks upon his relations with them as data and also as clues for uncovering further data. As this continues, he becomes more a part of, and more comfortable in, the social field. He attempts to strike that balance between active participation in the lives of the subjects and observation of their behavior which will be most productive of valid data.

In our first type of active participant observation the investigator played the formal role of observer on the ward and was free, within broad limits, to participate with the observed as he wished. He talked with patients and staff individually, conversed informally with groups of patients, participated in games, etc., on the assumption that if he lessened the difference between himself and others, he could reduce the effect of his role on the observed and at the same time more fully understand the meaning of the patients' behavior and the nature of the integration between staff and patients. We found this role valuable in discovering covert and obscure social processes and integrations as well as in understanding the affective meaning of ward events for the staff.

In our second type of active participant observation, the observer, in the formal role of investigator, planned interventions in the social structure with the ward staff for the purpose of developing a more therapeutic "milieu." He attempted to develop an empirical basis for introducing social change into the social structure. Although he had no formal authority on the ward and no responsibility, the investigator, nevertheless, was an integral part of ward activities, participating in ways similar to those described in the first type of active participant observation. He transmitted his initial findings to the ward staff as information that might be used in furthering accepted therapeutic values. We found this role facilitated the study of social change as it proceeded on the mental hospital ward.

In active participant observation a shuttle process occurs in which the observer, participating actively at one moment, shifts imaginatively the next moment to observing what he and others have been doing and then shifts back to the interaction, thereby continuing the participation uninterruptedly. This back-and-forth shift in imagination has the character of immediate retrospective analysis and is later combined with subsequent retrospective analysis (the constituents of which have been described earlier).

The observer must be able to derive satisfaction from and see the value of active participation; otherwise, his discomfort or resentment stemming from his active role may distort his observation. In this role there is increased possibility of affective involvement with the observed so that the observer loses his perspective—especially the perspective of the outsider. As a result, the assumptions and values which characterize the observational situation may be unwittingly accepted and thus remain unnoticed and unrecorded.

Comparing the passive and active roles, we found that in the latter the observer increased his identification with the observed and was better able to become aware of the subtleties of communication and interaction. Active participant observation appears to be more conducive to self-observation. By experiencing the effects of the subjects on himself, he may be able to perceive more clearly their effects on those with whom they

ordinarily are in interaction. It also may afford the investigator greater opportunity to discover the operation of his own distortions in perception.

. Whether a relatively passive or relatively active participant observer role is selected in any research project depends upon the kinds of data desired, what is prohibited and what is permitted in the observational situation, the nature of the subjects being studied, and the observer's capabilities and preferences. We have found, however, that if the observer continues his work for long in the same situation, he develops a tendency to participate more actively.

AFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION

The ways in which the observer and the observed are joined to each other, constitute part of each other's field of influence and operation, and form a social field are strikingly demonstrated in their affective relationship. If the observer works continuously in a situation, whether as passive or as active participant, he will inevitably become involved in and with the observed's emotional life. Much of this involvement may go on outside of awareness; between observer and observed there will be a continuous process of moving away from and moving toward, sympathy and disgust, anger and affection, fear and trust based on conscious and unconscious motives, emotions, thoughts, feelings, and imagery. These affective relations are maintained in many complex ways, possess significance both in intensity and duration, and link observer and observed in mutually important integrations despite their individual wishes. For example, we found that without being aware of it at the time the observer tended to withdraw when a patient was withdrawn. Similarly, when low morale was a dominant aspect of the ward context, the investigator discovered that he, too, was functioning less effectively.

The two ends of the continuum represent types of affective involvement that will influence the nature and validity of the data. At one end of the continuum the investiga-

tor is affectively involved in such a way and to such a degree that he loses his perspective, and his feelings obliterate his ability to observe. The distortions of reality and the misinterpretations that stem from the observer's interpersonal difficulties in living virtually eliminate his ability to record valid data. At the other end of this continuum the observer's empathic relationship with the observed facilitates his understanding of their inner life and their social world and increases the validity and meaningfulness of his observations.

We have noted that it is inevitable that in observing other human beings in interaction, especially in emotionally significant areas of living, the observer's own emotional life will be stimulated. The issue is not whether he will become emotionally involved, but rather, the nature of the involvement. The involvement, whether it is closer to one end of the continuum (sympathetic identification) or to the other end (projective distortion), is very little a function of the observer's role. Rather, it is primarily a function of his experience, awareness, and personality constellation and the way these are integrated with a particular social situation. Since the investigator has control over neither his affective responses nor their effects on his observations, he must contend with his feelings as part of his data. Only by increasing his own awareness of them, their bases, and their effects on him will he be able to counteract their distorting influences.

We noted some indexes of the distorting of data as a result of affective involvement. These included strong moral or valuational reactions, such as judging staff's or patient's behavior as "good" or "bad." We found that such reactions as anger, resentment, disgust, condemnation, pity, and excessive worry or concern about a patient or her therapeutic progress were signs that the investigator was not functioning as an objective observer. In addition, whether overt or not, taking sides (e.g., siding with staff against patients or vice versa or with one staff subgroup against another) made it difficult to see the inter-

action clearly. Sometimes the observer may overtly or covertly, consciously or unconsciously, use the research situation to prove he is superior to the observed or that he can be kinder, more sympathetic, or more understanding to patients than others. All such affective responses indicate that the observer's involvement with his own emotional responses is taking precedence over his performance as scientific observer.

In certain types of situations the observer's personal problems, blind spots, and recurrent inappropriate responses toward certain kinds of people may be evoked. Then his unconscious motivations and attitudinal sets—his personally significant images, symbols, and meanings from the past—obscure his vision and act as a filter between his perception and what "actually is." Another problem is the possibility that his morale will vary with that of the persons with whom he is identified. Under these circumstances he may have less enthusiasm for the investigation and have less devotion to the task of observation, and the investigation thus becomes dependent upon the vicissitudes of the situation.

However, the distorting type of involvement need not have only negative effects. If the observer can view the involvement as a signal that something significant is happening in the interactional field—as a communication that important data are emerging—he can convert the involvement into a partial asset. Through the reorientation of his attitude toward the involvement, he can exercise a tour de force in developing some detachment from the situation and in reducing the distorting impact of the involvement as well as sensitizing himself to new aspects of the phenomena under study.

In the same way that it is more difficult to describe mental health than to identify the processes that interfere with it, it is more difficult to describe that type of affective participation—sympathetic identification—which results in more meaningful and valid data than to describe projective distortion. Sympathetic identification includes empathic communication and imaginative

participation in the life of the observed through identification and role-taking. In this type of involvement the observer is, at the same time, both detached and affectively participating; he feels no need to moralize or judge the interaction; his attitude is one of interested curiosity and matter-of-fact inquiry directed toward understanding the observed. His reactions are "appropriate," and his appraisals are realistic. In sum, the observer's emotional involvement, observation, and awareness of both himself and the observational field come together in optimum balance.

ANXIETY AS A SOURCE OF DISTORTION

The potentiality for the emergence of anxiety "in" the observer during the course of his investigation exists in two interrelated areas: those aspects of the observer's personality that are especially sensitive to anxiety and those situations that evoke anxiety easily in every observer. Whatever the source, anxiety may influence both the way in which data are obtained and the kinds of data gathered.

Anxiety which stems primarily from the observer's sensitivities may be aroused in such ways as the following: The observer may become anxious because he is an outsider and as such is not accepted by the observed. The degree of such anxiety, his capacity to sustain it, and the defenses he uses against it are important in influencing his observational ability. He may be anxious about a particular research problem because it touches on some interpersonal difficulty. For example, if he is studying the authority and power relations in a social structure, his own difficulties in accepting authority or wielding power may prevent him from seeing the situation realistically. In addition, if he cannot accept withholding by the subjects or sustain frustration, but reacts instead with anxiety, the observer is apt to impair or limit his data.

The anxieties inherent in our research were conspicuous and atypical. There were instances of extreme upset on the part of a

particular patient as well as situations of collective disturbance in which the ward as a whole was upset. In collective disturbances where ward tension was sharp and intense, the effects of anxiety on the investigator's ability to observe were especially conspicuous: here he saw only a blur when he tried to encompass the total field, and even very narrow and restricted segments of the field were indistinct. It was difficult to focus on the interaction and to maintain the focus consistently. Gross movements of the participants were observed and not the subtleties of their interaction. A defense frequently used by the investigator was his preoccupation with handling his own anxiety. The observer thus focused his attention away from the events and toward himself. This refocusing was not useful in providing data about the event under observation, nor was the observer able to learn much about the nature of his interaction with the observed.

However anxiety is aroused and whatever its source, it seriously affects the ability of the observer to play his role. In some instances his defenses against anxiety may take the form of psychological or physical withdrawal. In others his anxiety may lead him to falsify a particular situation. For example, in trying to assess kinds and degrees of stresses, strains, and tensions, he may project his own anxiety and see the situation as more disorganized and fraught with anxiety than it actually is. Restrictions in focus that anxiety occasions may lead him to select certain aspects of the situation as important and to minimize, overlook, or be completely unaware of other aspects. The impairment in observational ability brought about by anxiety permeates all phases of the observational process, registering, interpreting, and recording.

Anxiety can sometimes be converted into a partial asset as an observational tool. If it can be handled, its bases and sources understood, and its effects evaluated, its emergence can then become a significant indicator of important interpersonal activity transpiring in the social field that needs to be observed and analyzed.

BIAS AS A SOURCE OF DISTORTION

The most general bias to which all observers are subject and to which the sociologist has given much attention is the sociocultural bias—the bias of sharing the perspective and values of one's historical time and cultural milieu and of occupying various statuses and playing the attendant roles.[11] In addition, one's frame of reference, in part a product of one's professional training, influences the selections one makes from the phenomenon (e.g., whether it is viewed philosophically, biologically, institutionally, situationally, or in terms of individual psychodynamics) and determines how and what is observed. Since much work has been done in the sociology of knowledge to point out the importance of these biases and to evaluate their effects, we will not deal with them here beyond indicating that they form part of the observer's personality constellation.

The particular patterns of interpersonal dynamisms with which the observer operates will shape *what* he sees and will influence *how* he sees human interaction.[12] The observer may have some long-standing emotional blocks which prevent him from seeing certain aspects of reality clearly. To evaluate the way in which certain personality dimensions of the observer distort the data he is observing, such questions as the following, for example, must be asked: In general, what kinds of defenses does he use against anxiety? Is he usually cautious or incautious, pessimistic or optimistic, trusting or suspicious? What is his attitude toward persons in authority?

The emotional needs of the investigator with reference to the investigation itself play an important role. Such questions as the following need to be considered: How much does the investigator need to be right, especially with reference to proving his hypothesis? Will he tend to see what he wants or expects to see in his data? How much failure can the investigator sustain without becoming discouraged or unconsciously mov-

[11] See, e.g., Mannheim, *op. cit.*

[12] For a similar discussion of bias see John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1937), pp. 33–41.

ing in the direction of forcing success by distorting the data?

Other important considerations are the observer's assumptions about human behavior in general. What does he believe people are "basically," and what does he feel they "ought to be"; what perspectives does he have on human activity: long or short range, broad or narrow, subtle or gross?

Some of the questions we posed for ourselves were the following: What cultural stereotypes of mental patients does the investigator bring to the study? What are his feelings about mental illness, and what are his emotional reactions toward patients? To what extent is he repelled or attracted, sympathetic or antipathetic? Are his feelings relatively stable, or do they vary with different circumstances and with different kinds of patients? What are the investigator's attitudes toward various levels of staff, and what is the direction of his sympathy when staff and patients are in interaction? In studying incontinence, the following were some of the questions we asked: How much does the investigator share the cultural attitude of disgust? Is there a tendency on his part to avoid the situation?

Our approach to the problem of bias has been an attempt to expand as well as make more precise by formulating in concrete process terms Myrdal's suggestion for excluding bias from social research: "There is no other device for excluding biases in social sciences than to face the valuations and to introduce them as explicitly stated, specific and sufficiently concretized value premises."[13] Implicit here is the assumption that bias is a universal phenomenon; that the observer can and does know what his biases are; and that, knowing what they are, he can, by specifying them, prevent distortion of his observations. There are at least three conditions that need. to be fulfilled before this suggestion can be put into effect. The observer must (1) be motivated to look for his biases; (2) look for them actively and, having come upon a bias, explore its meaning and ramifications; and (3) look upon the

uncovering of his biases as a continuous process of discovery—as an ongoing process to which there is no end.

From this point of view, facing one valuation, or one bias, is the beginning of pursuing other related valuations and biases. Thus, discovering one's biases becomes a continuous process of active seeking out and grappling with one's limitations and blocks. Satisfaction then derives not only from uncovering a bias but equally from seeking further. This view requires a certain attitude and habit of inquiry toward one's distortions. It means that old distortions might still influence one's observations despite their previous discovery and must be focused on again and again before their effects upon one's observations will diminish. Any particular bias may appear in various disguises and take different forms in different contexts. Thus, the more perspectives from which we see the bias, the greater the possibility of minimizing its effect. Finally, no matter how arduous and seemingly successful one has been in discovering his biases, another look may still uncover something that up until then has not been seen.

CONCLUSION

We have attempted to examine some of the problems which appear to be inherent in using the human instrument for gathering and evaluating interpersonal data. Though we have limited our analysis to participant observation on a mental hospital ward, we believe that it has broader application. The operation of unconscious factors in observation, the influence of anxiety on how and what is seen, and the effect of the observer's personal interests, values, and orientation are problems which are present in any research in which interaction of human beings is being studied. One of the tasks of the social scientist is to continue to refine and sensitize the human instrument to insure greater validity of the data gathered. Some advance may be made by a more intensive and extensive study of the problems we have raised.

[13] Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944), p. 1043.

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PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND THE COLLECTION
AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

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ABSTRACT

The social role of the participant observer and the images which respondents have of him have a decisive influence on the character of the data collected. In this light the tactical situations of conformity or non-conformity and identification, or the lack of it, with groups, causes, or issues are to be re-evaluated, as are also problems connected with the formulation of prearranged categories, the imputation of motives, the study of social change, and the validation of data.

The practical and technical problems as well as many of the advantages and disadvantages of participant observation as a data-gathering technique have been well stated.[1] We propose to discuss some of the effects on data of the social position of the participant observer. The role of the participant observer and the images which respondents hold of him are central to the definition of his social position; together these two factors shape the circumstances under which he works and the type of data he will be able to collect.

In a broad sense the social position of the observer determines *what* he is likely to see. The way in which he sees and interprets his data will be largely conditioned by his theoretical preconceptions, but this is a separate problem with which we will not be concerned.[2]

[1] See especially the following: Florence R. Kluckhohn, "The Participant Observer Technique in Small Communities," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVI (November, 1940), 331–43; William F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), Preface, pp. v–x, and also his "Observational Field-Work Methods" in Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook (eds.), *Research Methods in the Social Sciences* (New York: Dryden Press, 1951), II, 393–514; Marie Jahoda *et al.*, "Data Collection: Observational Methods," *ibid.*, Vol. I, chap. v; Benjamin D. Paul, "Interview Techniques and Field Relations," in A. L. Kroeber *et al.* (eds.), *Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 430–51; and Edward C. Devereux, "Functions, Advantages and Limitations of Semi-controlled Observation" (Ithaca, N.Y.: Staff Files, "Cornell Studies in Social Growth," Department of Child Development and Family Relationships, Cornell University, 1953).

What an observer will see will depend largely on his particular position in a network of relationships. To the extent that this is the case, this discussion of relatively well-known but frequently unstated observations is not purely academic. The task assumes the necessity of less concern with methodological refinements for handling data after they are collected and more concern with establishing canons of validity and the need, too, for a better balance between the standardization of field techniques and the establishment of standards for the evaluation of field data according to their source and the collector.

BROADER RELEVANCE OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

As a technique, participant observation is central to all the social sciences. It has been singled out and treated as a rather specialized field approach with peculiar problems of its own, but this has obscured the extent to which the various social sciences depend upon it. Participant observation enables the research worker to secure his data within the mediums, symbols, and experiential worlds which have meaning to his respondents. Its intent is to prevent imposing alien meanings upon the actions of the subjects. Anthropologists dealing with cultures other than their own have consciously recog-

[2] Oscar Lewis has devoted considerable attention to this problem. See especially his *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied* (Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 1951) and "Controls and Experiments in Field Work," in Kroeber *et al.* (eds.), *Anthropology Today*, pp. 452–75.

nized and utilized the technique as a matter of necessity. Experimental psychologists who try their own instruments out on themselves as well as psychiatrists who undergo analysis are practicing a form of participant observation for much the same purpose as the anthropologist.

The sociologist who limits his work to his own society is constantly exploiting his personal background of experience as a basis of knowledge. In making up structured interviews, he draws on his knowledge of meanings gained from participation in the social order he is studying. He can be assured of a modicum of successful communication only because he is dealing in the same language and symbolic system as his respondents. Those who have worked with structured techniques in non-Western societies and languages will attest to the difficulty encountered in adjusting their meanings to the common meanings of the society investigated, a fact which highlights the extent to which the sociologist is a participant observer in almost all his work.[3]

In view of this widespread dependence upon participant observation as a source of data and as a basis for giving them meaning, a discussion of the factors which condition data obtained by this method is warranted.

Our source of immediate experience is the Springdale community of Upstate New York.[4] Experience as a participant observer in one's own culture sets the major problems

of this technique into clearer focus. The objectification and self-analysis of the role of the participant observer in one's own society has the advantage that communication is in the same language and symbolic system.

FORMATION OF RESPONDENT IMAGES OF THE PARTICIPANT OBSERVER

Whether the field worker is totally, partially, or not at all disguised, the respondent forms an image of him and uses that image as a basis of response. Without such an image the relationship between the field worker and the respondent, by definition, does not exist.

The essential thing in any field situation is the assumption of some position in a structure of relationships. The position is assumed not only by various types of participant observers but by all interviewers. The undisguised interviewer establishes his personal identity or the identity of the organization he works for and, hence, makes himself and the questions he asks plausible to his respondent. In disguised interviewing, including that of the totally disguised participant observer, a plausible role is no less important even though it may be more complex and more vaguely defined; but the first concern remains the assumption of a credible role. Likewise the totally disguised social scientist, even as genuine participant, is always located in a given network of relationships.

Every research project is in a position partly to influence image formation by the way it identifies itself. However, these self-definitions are always dependent on verbalizations, and, at best, the influence they have is minimal unless supported overtly by the research worker. Field workers are well aware that the public is likely not to accept their statements at face value; gossip and talk between potential respondents when a research program first enters the field attests to this fact. This talk places the research worker in the context of the values, standards, and expectations of the population being studied, and its effect is to estab-

lish the identity of the field worker in the eyes of the public.

There is tremendous variation from field situation to field situation in the assignment of identity to the field worker. In the usual anthropological field situation he is identified as a trader, missionary, district officer, or foreign spy—any role with which the native population has had previous contact and experience. In time these ascriptions can and do change so that the anthropologist, for example, may even gain an identity within a kinship structure:

He was assigned on the basis of residence to an appropriate Kwoma lineage and, by equation with a given generation, was called "younger brother" or "father" or "elder uncle," depending on the particular "kinsman" who addressed him. Having found a place for Whiting in the kinship, the Kwoma could orient their social behavior accordingly.[5]

In every case the field worker is fitted into a plausible role by the population he is studying and within a context meaningful to them. There seem to be no cases where field workers have not found a basis upon which subjects could react toward them. This is true even in the face of tremendous language barriers. Moreover, the necessary images and the basis for reaction which they provide are not only always found, but they are demanded by the mere fact of the research worker's intrusion into the life of his subjects. Even when a field worker is ejected, the image and meaningful context exists.

SOCIAL ROLE OF THE PARTICIPANT OBSERVER

Once he is placed in a meaningful context, the social position of the researcher is assured. His approach to the social structure is subsequently conditioned by his position.

Obviously the ascription and the assumption of a plausible role are not the equivalent of placing the participant observer in the experiential world of his subjects. Indeed, this impossibility is not his objective. For to achieve the experience of the subject, along

[5] Benjamin D. Paul in Kroeber et al. (eds.), Anthropology Today, p. 434.

with the baggage of perceptions that goes along with it, is to deny a chance for objectivity. Instead, an observer usually prefers to keep his identity vague; he avoids committing his allegiance—in short, his personality—to segments of the society. This is true even when he studies specialized segments of mass societies and organizations. In this case the observer may deliberately antagonize management, for example, in order to gain the confidence of the union or segments of it. However, within the union he has further to choose between competing factions, competing leaders, or leadership-membership cleavages. The anthropologist integrated into a kinship system or class faces the same problem. Eventually, no matter the size of the group he is studying, the observer is forced to face the problem of divided interests. He is "asked" to answer the question, "Who do you speak for?" and it is an answer to this question which, in the interests of research, he avoids.

Consequently, the observer remains marginal to the society or organization or segments of them which he studies. By his conscious action he stands between the major social divisions, not necessarily above them, but surely apart from them. Occupationally concerned with the objectification of action and events, he attempts to transcend all the local cleavages and discords. In avoiding commitments to political issues, he plays the role of political eunuch. He is socially marginal to the extent that he measures his society as a noninvolved outsider and avoids committing his loyalties and allegiances to segments of it. This is not hypocrisy but rather, as Howe has noted of Stendhal, it is living a ruse.[6] Being both a participant and an observer is "the strategy of having one's cake and eating it too": "Deceiving the society to study it and wooing the society to live in it." His position is always ambivalent, and this ambivalence shapes the character of the data he secures and the manner of securing them.

[6] Irving Howe, "Stendhal: The Politics of Survival," in William Phillips and Philip Rahv (eds.), The Avon Book of Modern Writing (New York: Avon Publishing Co., 1953), pp. 60–61.

THE PARTICIPANT OBSERVER'S DATA

All the information which the participant observer secures is conditioned by the meaningful context into which he is placed and by his own perspective as shaped by his being socially marginal. Together these circumstances greatly affect the kind of data he can get and the kind of experience he can have. The meaningful context into which he is placed by the public provides the latter with their basis for response, and his marginality specifies the order of experience possible for him.

To the extent that the observer's data are conditioned by the basis upon which subjects respond to him, the anthropologist studying another culture has one important advantage. He can justifiably maintain an attitude of naïveté and on this basis exploit his situation as a stranger to the fullest possible extent. Indeed, it is relatively easy to breach local customs and standards and still maintain a tenable research position in the society. This naïve attitude cannot be assumed in working in his own culture, for the simple reason that the respondent cannot accept it as plausible. In fact, the difficulty of securing data may be increased by the "ethnocentrism" of some respondents who assume that their own experiences are similar to those of others. Yet with the increased complexity, specialization and pluralization of roles in American society, the social science observer is likely to have had no direct contact at all with whole ranges of experience. With the exception of his professional world (and partly because of his professionalization), he is something of a stranger in his own society without being in a position to exploit his innocence. He has the disadvantage of living in a society in which his experience is limited, while, at the same time, he is regarded as a knowledgeable member of all segments of it.

If the participant observer seeks genuine experiences, unqualifiedly immersing and committing himself in the group he is studying, it may become impossible for him to objectify his own experiences for research purposes; in committing his loyalties he de-velops vested interests which will inevitably enter into his observations. Anthropologists who have "gone native" are cases in point; some of them stop publishing material entirely.[7] And all anthropologists have learned to make appropriate compensation in data interpreted by missionaries, traders, and government officials, no matter how excellent the material may be.

In practice, the solution to the dilemma of genuine versus spurious experiences is to make use of individuals who are socially marginal in the society being studied. In almost any society in this postcolonial and specialized age, the observer is likely to find persons with a penchant for seeing themselves objectively in relation to their society, such as the traveled Pacific Islander and the small-town "intellectual." But they differ from the social scientist in one important respect: a portion of their experience, no matter how much it is subsequently objectified, has been gained within the society under study. When the social scientist studies a society, he characteristically makes his first contacts with these marginal persons, and they will vary according to his interests and the identity he claims for himself. Even when the observer tries to avoid the marginal individuals, he is nevertheless sought out by them. This is not unfortunate, for these types are a bridge, perhaps the most important one, to the meanings of the society. It is they who provide him with his first insights into the workings of the society. The sociologist studying his own society is, to varying degrees according to the relation between his background of experience and his object of study, his own bridge. Without such a bridge, without at least an interpreter or one lone native who can utter a word or two in another language, the observer would have no basis for approaching his data. The social marginality of the participant observer's role with all the limitations it imposes provides a basis for communication and, hence, ultimately, for understanding.

[7] Paul, in *Anthropology Today*, p. 435, names Frank Cushing as one.

FIELD TACTICS AND DATA EVALUATION

When the participant observer sets out to collect his data, he is faced with two types of problems: the tactical problem of maneuver in the field and the evaluation of the data. The two problems are related in that the data to be evaluated are conditioned by the field tactics. The discussion of them will be limited to selected problems central to the technique of participant observation: the tactical problem of conformity or nonconformity, the observer's experience as related to the imputation of meaning and the formulation of categories, and the significance of participant observation to the study of social change.

Conformity or nonconformity to local standards and styles of living when engaging in field research is a relevant issue only in so far as the choice affects the research. Conformity is always conformity to specified standards and implies nonconformity to other possible standards. Almost all societies or groups in the contemporary world present alternative forms of behavior based on differing internal standards. Consequently it is hardly possible to conform to the standards of an entire society, and, hence, to follow a general policy of conformity is to follow no policy at all. Any policy which is designed to guide the field worker's actions must be based on a deliberate judgment as to which sources of information must be used to secure data. In the adopting of standards necessary to keep these sources open, other sources are likely to be alienated and closed off, or data from them may be distorted.

Moreover, conscious conformity to any standards, at best, is "artificial," for the participant observer does not commit himself to the point of genuine partisan action. In the interests of objectivity this is necessarily the case. In failing to make genuine commitments, he reveals his socially marginal position and the outside standards upon which he acts. In these terms the old argument posed by Radin, who said, "For any anthropologist to imagine that anything can be gained by 'going native' is a delusion and a snare," and by Goldenweiser, who said of

sharing the lives of the natives and participating in their culture, "The more successful an anthropologist is in doing this, the better foundation he has laid for his future work,"[8] is no argument at all. The decision to assume standards and values or the degree to which participation is required is best made on the basis of the data to be collected and not on the basis of *standard* field practice.

The related tactical problem of conscious identification with groups, causes, or issues can be treated similarly. Complete and total neutrality is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to assume even where research considerations seem to demand it. By virtue of his research, no matter how transitory and irrespective of the exact dimensions of his marginal position, the investigator must react to the actions of his respondents. Neutrality even to the point of total silence is a form of reaction and not only will be considered as such by all parties to the conflict but also implies a specific attitude toward the issue—being above it, outside it, more important than it, not interested in it. Whatever meanings respondents attach to neutrality will, henceforth, be used as a further basis for response. This is true even when respondents demand an opinion or approval in structured interview situations. Failure to make a commitment can create resentment, hostility, and antagonism just as easily as taking a stand. In both cases, but each in its own way, relationships will be altered and, hence, data will be affected.

The data secured by the participant observer, except in so far as he reports personal experiences, cannot be independent of his subjects' ability and willingness to report. He is obliged to impute meaning to both their verbal and their nonverbal actions. His own experiences, though genuine, are at best vicarious approximations of those of his respondents; he never completely enters their world, and, by definition, if he did, he would assume the values, premises, and standards of his subjects and thereby lose his usefulness to research except as another subject. If the action observed is purely

[8] Both quoted in Paul, *ibid.*, p. 438.

physical—the daily, routine physical movements of an individual, for example—the observer-interpreter cannot understand its meaning unless he communicates with the person involved in the action and gains insight into its meaning for the actor. Of course, studying within the meanings of his own society gives the observer a background of standardized meanings on which to draw. One knows that a man walking down the street at a certain time every morning is probably going to work. But the action of Raymond in *One Boy's Day*[9] was observed precisely because it was not known. In more complicated action in a segment of society in which the observer does not have experience, he gains it vicariously by talking with others and in that way secures almost all his data.

The respondent, on the other hand, is not necessarily able to verbalize his experiences, and, as attested to by psychoanalysis, it is quite probable that he will not understand their meaning. The greater the social distance between the observer and the observed, the less adequate the communication between them. Hence, as stated above, the observer's data are determined by the subjects' ability and willingness to report. Since he cannot duplicate their experience, he cannot draw his conclusions from his own marginal experiences. He always operates in the borderland of their experience and, hence is still faced with the problem of *imputing* meaning to their actions. Whereas his subjects base their own interpretations and evaluations on folklore, religion, myth, illusion, special and vested interests or even on the basis of local standards of social analysis, the social science observer-analyst uses the independent and extraneous standards of science.

The participant-observation technique has been offered as one of the best techniques on which to base prearranged observational and structured interview categories. The assumption is that, with his greater familiarity with the respondents' experi-

ences and their meanings, the participant observer is in the best position to draw up meaningful categories. However, with the passage of time and the assumption and ascription of new roles and statuses, his perspective on the society is constantly changing. His marginal position allows him more social movement by virtue of which his perceptions will change with time, particularly as he gains greater and greater familiarity. Categories which initially seemed meaningful later on may appear superficial or even meaningless. Moreover, as long as he remains a participant observer, his social marginality undergoes continuous redefinition. As a result any categories he formulates in advance or at any given time will seem inadequate later when his social perspective has changed.[10] Attempts to establish categories into which directly observed action can be classified threaten to reduce the action to static entities which influence later observations, a condition which the technique of participant observation is designed to avoid. Indeed, it is this last condition which makes participant observation most suitable to the study of social change.

The technique of participant observation more than any other technique places the observer closer to social change as it takes place in a passing present. Change, as measured by the succession of days and hours rather than by years or arbitrary measures, takes place slowly. The desire of, and necessity for, individuals is to act in terms of what is possible in specific immediate situations. The immediacy of social change to those who are involved in the moving present tends to obscure their perspective on it: a continuous altering of his memories and definitions of reality makes the individual involved unaware of change. The participant observer is also involved in these changes, but, by his marginal position and his conscious effort to objectify himself, he achieves a measure of noninvolvement. Hence, his perspective is

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[9] Roger G. Barker and Herbert F. Wright, *One Boy's Day* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951).

[10] These changes in circumstances refer not only to his position in the society he studies but also to the professional society with which he works and changes in research focus.

conditioned by considerations other than involvement. If the participant observer changed his perspective in phase with continuous changes in reality, he too could not see the change. For as long as changes in perspective accompany changes in reality, the change is likely not to be recognized. The participant who studies change as an observer must therefore maintain a perspective outside and independent of change. Noninvolvement helps to prevent the alteration of memory structures and permits the observer to see cumulative changes.

To refresh his memory, the participant observer can turn to his records. But, if his perspective has changed with time, he may disregard or discount early notes and impressions in favor of those taken later. Field notes from two different periods in a project may, indeed, be one of the more important means of studying change. Instead, what probably happens is that the field worker obscures change by treating his data as though everything happened at the same time. This results in a description from a single perspective, usually that held just before leaving the field, but redefined by the rereading of his notes.

CONCLUSIONS

Data collection does not take place in a vacuum. Perspectives and perceptions of social reality are shaped by the social position and interests of both the observed and the observer as they live through a passing present. The participant observer who is committed to relatively long periods of residence in the field experiences a continuous redefinition of his position. In this context

the respondent's basis of response, as conditioned by his image of the observer, changes in accordance with new images based on the changing definitions of the observer's position. These forces influence the data.

A valid evaluation of data must necessarily include a reasonably thorough comprehension of the major social dimensions of the situation in which data were collected. The social positions of the observer and the observed and the relationship between them at the time must be taken into account when the data are interpreted. To fail to take account of these conditions is to assume an equivalence of situations which does not exist and leads to distortion.

To the extent that a participant observer can participate and still retain a measure of noninvolvement, his technique provides a basis for an approach to the problem of validity. The background of information which he acquires in time makes him familiar with the psychology of his respondents and their social milieu. With this knowledge he is able to impose a broader perspective on his data and, hence, to evaluate their validity on the basis of standards extraneous to the immediate situation. To accomplish this, it is necessary that the participant observer be skeptical of himself in all data-gathering situations; he must objectify himself in relation to his respondents and the passing present. This process of self-objectification leads to his further alienation from the society he studies. Between this alienation and attempts at objective evaluation lies an approach to the problem of validity.

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LEADERSHIP IN THE SMALL GROUP

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ABSTRACT

The most useful analysis of leadership in small groups focuses upon the relationship between leaders and followers, leadership being defined in terms of the characteristic and unique interaction therein. In the past this approach has relied upon a stimulus-response frame of reference—a point of view which is both theoretically and empirically erroneous. A more adequate view conceives of leadership as consisting of two rudimentary role relationships defined by two characteristic and related communications. This has been successfully used in a small community study.

I

Conventional sociological analyses of leadership are not easily adapted to the problems of leadership encountered in studies of small informal social groups—cliques, street-corner gangs, work teams, and dyads. The conception of leadership as an established social role has little value in accounting for and understanding the activity and relationships of one informal work leader in comparison with another and is inadequate in the analysis of competing leadership or in the explication of leadership in those groups that have several "weak" leaders rather than one "strong" leader.

One approach to the solution of this problem focuses upon the relationship between leaders and followers and attempts to define leadership in terms of their characteristic and unique interaction. This orientation appears to have great potential usefulness as a tool for studying and analyzing leadership in the small group and similar social systems. William F. Whyte, the major exponent of this point of view, has found it fruitful in his studies of street-corner gangs and of work relationships. The present author has used it in the analysis of associations and groups in a small community and in the study of a hospital.

Despite its usefulness, the approach entails certain theoretical and empirical problems which have not been adequately investigated. It will not be possible to build on this point of view or extend its usefulness to other areas of study until these problems are carefully considered and their implications for theory and research noted. It is the purpose of this paper to analyze certain of the problems and to consider their relevance for further theoretical and research developments.

II

Chapple and Coon in their *Principles of Anthropology*[1] and William F. Whyte in *Street Corner Society*[2] and later studies[3] have used the concept of "origination of action" as the defining criterion for leadership. This concept had its origin in the earlier work of Chapple and Arensberg[4] which was an attempt at finding a method and a system of concepts that would allow them to approach human relations in a quantitative way.

As defined by Chapple and Coon "origin of action" is "that action which begins

[1] E. D. Chapple and C. S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1942), pp. 36–41, 59–61, 281–92, and 705.

[2] William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), pp. 257–63 and *passim;* also see Whyte, "Corner Boys: A Study of Clique Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology,* XLVI (March, 1941), 647–64.

[3] Cf. Whyte, "Small Groups and Large Organizations," *Social Psychology at the Crossroads: The University of Oklahoma Lectures in Social Psychology,* ed. by John H. Rohrer and Muzafer Sherif (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951), chap. xii, pp. 297–312.

[4] Eliot D. Chapple (with Conrad M. Arensberg), "Measuring Human Relations: An Introduction to the Study of the Interaction of Individuals," *Genetic Psychology Monographs,* XXII (1940), 3–147.

interaction; the first action in a sequence."[5] They go on to describe it thus:

The observation of the order in which people act is a simple operation, and will be found very useful in describing the relations of individuals in groups. Its importance lies in the fact that once two individuals have been conditioned to maintain an order in which one of them habitually originates action to the other, we are dealing with the rudiments of ... leadership.[6]

Although Whyte uses both the term "origination of action" and the term "initiation of action," it appears that his conception is basically the same as that indicated in the Chapple and Coon usage.[7] However, his discussions of leadership in *Street Corner Society* give the impression that he thinks of "initiation of action" as being something more than mere "origination of action." That is, he defines the term operationally as do Chapple and Coon but conceives of it as being something more than just the order of actions in interaction.

It is apparent that "origination of action" is dependent upon the conception of interaction and especially upon the procedures for defining the end-points in a unit of interaction. However, neither Whyte nor Chapple and Coon discuss this problem of the definition of the beginning and end of interaction, and it is necessary to return to Chapple's original monograph for this distinction.[8] The failure to keep this essential

[5] Chapple and Coon, *op. cit.*, p. 705 (Glossary).

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[7] In his 1941 article in the *American Journal of Sociology* Whyte uses only the term "origination of action"; in *Street Corner Society* he uses both "initiation of action" and "origination of action"; in the report of his restaurant study (*Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry* [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948]) the index includes only a reference to "origination of action" and as far as I could discover this is the only term used; while in his 1951 article in Rohrer and Sherif he uses only the term "initiation of action." Since in the 1951 article he refers to the 1941 article for a description of the operational procedures, without indicating any change in concept, one must assume that he uses both "initiation of action" and "origination of action" to refer to the same concept.

[8] Chapple (with Arensberg), *op. cit.*

definition before them and the reader has, I think, contributed to Whyte's confusion between what he conceives "origination of action" to be and his operational definition of it.

Interaction for Chapple and Arensberg and (presumably) Whyte is a stimulus-response relationship between the actions of two or more actors. Interaction occurs when one person acts in response to the action of another; this response is then a stimulus to the first person's second action (a response). Thus:

Given two individuals, we observe that one of the two manifests the first unit of action which is then followed by a unit of action manifested by the second individual. The first unit is regarded as the stimulus and the second unit the response. The distinction between the two is that the first action is not preceded by an action of the other individual in the second pair.[9]

This conception of interaction does not include communication, the interaction being defined merely by the fact of sequential actions of two actors who are in spatial conjunction. The determination as to whether the actions by each of these actors is relevant to the actions of the other is made by observing whether a change takes place in the pattern of muscular activity. In Chapple's words:

... when we state that now interaction is taking place, we base this statement upon our observation that one of our individuals changes his motor pattern and that change is followed by a change in the pattern of the other. In other words, we see that after one individual changes his previous motor pattern and adopts a new one, and the other individual still is maintaining his previous condition, if then the second individual manifests a change pattern immediately following the change in the first individual, we have what we have previously defined as interaction. ...[10]

It is apparent that if the notion of stimulus and response used here is like the stimulus-response notion used in animal psychology, then the concept of communication is not necessary to the point of view, and the inter-

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

action can occur among any animals or even between an animal and a mechanical contrivance. This is not, however, the nature of reality. Furthermore, it reduces leadership to a meaningless simplicity.

Finally, this conception limits interaction to a linear type of relationship between persons. That is, any one actor is in his actions "responding" only to the action of one other actor. This is made clear by the distinction of Chapple and Arensberg between "pair" and "set" events.

The only case in which several people may interact in one event is that case in which one person is the origin of action and several respond. [This is defined as a "set" event.] This is of the same character as our pair definition although there is more than one individual terminating action. If after the response of several people, however, individual A, the origin, interacts with B and not with C, then a new event occurs between the members of the pair A and B.[11]

Here the first and most important consideration in analysis is adequacy and the degree of relationship to the concrete reality of interaction. Though social interaction usually implies communication, yet the phenomenon of communication is not taken into consideration in this scheme. Can we show that it makes a difference?

The crux of the problem lies in this question: Is a person, who is participating in a group, interacting with others only when he is making overt, observable "responses" or is performing actions which are responded to by others? In other words, is interaction intermittent or is it a continuous process during the time in which two or more people are in contact?

Suppose that we are observing a committee meeting which, in typical fashion, consists of a few persons doing all of the talking with others not "participating" in the discussion. As we usually conceive of interaction, the nontalkers, to the extent that they are aware of what is going on, are participating as hearers in the communication process and hence are involved in the interaction. In some cases it can be clearly

shown that this participation has had an effect upon them since it changes their behavior. Furthermore, the mere fact of their presence is significant to the group and affects what occurs.

The notion that the nontalker is participating in a discussion just as much as the talker draws support from and is related to Piaget's observations of the language of children. He says that children's conversations start with the state of the "collective monologue" which is not yet conversation but is social because

it is made up of separate groups, or bundles of consecutive remarks. When a child talks in this way, others will immediately answer by talking about themselves [a different subject, hence this is not conversation], and this gives rise to a sequence of four or five remarks, which form a conversational embryo, without, however, transcending the state of the collective monologue.[12]

This is significant in that the relationship between the nonspeaker and the speaker is like the relationship between the children participating in a collective monologue, since in neither case is there an exchange of remarks upon a common subject. Still, it is clear that the children are interacting, even though the manifest content of their talk is unrelated. The difference between the collective monologue of the child and the behavior of the nonspeakers in a meeting is that adults have learned to keep monologues or other responses at a nonovert level, except when the situation demands or permits their being overtly made. Furthermore, in the situation we are describing, the "response" of the nontalker will take account of more meanings in the action (speech and gesture) of the others.

From the standpoint of Chapple and Arensberg, however, the interaction which has taken place in the group would be recorded only as a series of exchanges between the talkers or between the talkers and those who made some gross change in their muscular patterns. Thus, for the first

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[12] Jean Piaget, *The Language and Thought of the Child* (2d ed.; New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1932), pp. 53–54; but see the rest of chap. ii.

few minutes of the committee meeting we might have, according to Chapple, three events—one involving A and B, another involving A and C, and a third involving B and C. D, E, and F would not be involved in this first period. Yet during this time these latter members have probably been making adjustments in their thinking and attitudes as they listened to the conversation. D, for example, might have come to the meeting thinking that A was not only a brilliant man but a fine fellow as well; yet he finds that A, in his exchange with B, not only is an intellectual ass but a cad and a boor. D thus gets a new attitude toward A and, to the extent to which an attitude is a collapsed act, has made a change in his adjustments to A. Furthermore, if A realizes that he has behaved improperly he may be concerned about D's reaction and will hence take a new attitude toward both himself and D and make his own adjustments, although D has not spoken or made any sign showing his changed attitude. This seems an essential characteristic of interaction.

Now it is true that by no known techniques of direct observation can we get at this relationship between A and D; but, if we have been aware of the possible social significance of the actions and have included D as a member of the group, we can turn to other techniques. We will, in short, be prepared for a change in the relations between A and D. In the Chapple procedure we have not only neglected the significance of the content of the actions but have also omitted D (and E and F) from consideration.

There is still another aspect of the necessity for participation in interaction of overt, observable changes in muscular patterns of activity. This is the question: "Are people interacting when they are doing nothing; that is, when they are 'just sitting' in company with each other?" Lovers—at least adolescent ones—seem to feel that they are, even though, overtly, they only occasionally look at each other or clasp hands. Here is the significance, for our analysis, of Mead's concept of the "significant symbol" which for him is the *result* of the ability to fill out

an incomplete act on the level of the imagination.[13] That is, these "pauses" or "breaks" between actions may be replete with actions which, however, take place in the imaginations of the actors. They are shared through the common symbolic aspects of the occasional, overt actions, the significant symbols.

Other evidence supports not only the preceding analysis but also the conclusion that, even without the operation of the significant symbol, interaction is continuous rather than discrete throughout the time any two or more people are in contact. That is, a real break in the exchange and interpretation of symbols does not bring interaction to an end. Anyone who has done so-called nondirective interviewing is aware that a pause is often a significant part of the interaction and is quite as effective in bringing forth a desired kind of response as are overt actions.[14] It is effective because both the interviewer and the interviewee see it as part of their relationship and each is attempting to interpret its meaning both to himself and to the other person in the interaction.

Thus the temporary cessation of the active interchange of symbols, rather than signifying a void or a break in interaction, may be a very real continuation of the relationship. This relationship continues either through the process of the significant symbol—the imaginary filling out of acts—or through the pause as a meaningful gesture, if not a symbol itself.

Finally we come to the question whether interaction is a linear relationship between only two people at a time. In Chapple's

[13] George H. Mead, *Mind, Self and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 71–72, 181, 268–69, and 335. See also Mead, "A Behavioristic Account of the Significant Symbol," *Journal of Philosophy*, XIX (1922), 157–83.

[14] It is interesting that Chapple and Coon (*op. cit.*, p. 37), in their discussion of interaction, have quoted Mark Twain on the significance of the pause. However, they treat it as a matter of timing of actions rather than as an integral part of the interaction. That timing itself is important indicates that the pause is not a void but rather a kind of action itself.

formulation it is, for even in his "set" events, interaction is not multidimensional, but merely a group of simultaneous uni-dimensional process. Our analysis above sug-gests that interaction is multidimensional; that is, that several persons will be "re-sponding" to each other and to several others at once. Three people in relationship mean not two or three processes of interac-tion but one continuous process.

The game of contract bridge is a con-venient illustration of the multidimensional character of interaction. In the bidding the problem for each pair of partners is jointly to bid their hands to the full extent of their value so that they may obtain the contract while at the same time not overbidding and thus running the danger of a penalty. In Chapple's framework the bidding would consist of a sequence of units of interaction which would be recorded as A–B, B–C, C–D, D–A, A–B, etc. That is, A's bid is the stimulus for B's bid. B's bid is both a re-sponse to A's bid as well as the stimulus for C. This is true, at least in the case of "serious" players, since C and D are careful to make no overt actions which could be interpreted as a response to A's bid except when their turn comes. Therefore, the bidding would consist of the above sequence of interaction events.

However, as we analyze the requirements and nature of the game we find that each player, as he makes his bid, is doing several things at once: (1) C, for example, in ac-cordance with the rules of the game, is making a bid following the bid of B, his opponent on his right, and to this extent he is responding to B's bid. (2) He is also responding to B's bid since his bid takes ac-count both of the meaning of B's bid and of the limitations it places by rule upon the bid that C can make. (3) He is responding to the bid that A, his partner, made just prior to B's bid, for the bidding is designed to communicate certain things about the na-ture of the hands held. A bid by A may call for a particular kind of response by C, and C's bid is thus a response to A. (4) He is taking account of all previous bids both by his partner and by his opponents and is at-tempting to interpret the bearing of their meaning on his action. He is thus respond-ing to all the previous actions. (5) Finally, he is responding to his partner's, his op-ponents', and his own probable *future* actions, given particular bids on his part at this time. He is, in short, anticipating future actions and responding to them.

This example is a stylized and formalized version of what goes on in any interaction between persons. In a group situation what we do, or do not do, is not only a response to the immediately preceding action of a particular individual. Rather, we respond to all of the situation which is significant to us—past actions, present actions, and anticipated future actions, both our own and others'.

All of this implies, then, that to view interaction in the stimulus-response frame-work distorts the nature of reality, and that "origination of action" as conceived by Arensberg and Chapple is a fallacious con-struct. More specifically: (1) leadership can-not be analyzed in stimulus-response terms but must depend on an analysis of meaning, (2) leadership may be a segment of, as well as the whole of, a specific event, (3) a leader may be leading one or a group at the same time in one interaction incident, (4) leader-ship involves not only the leader and the follower but also all others participating in the interaction, and (5) as is frequently the case in social phenomena, an adequate con-ceptual definition cannot be built by using only that which can be immediately and directly observed by the investigator.

Several further comments may be in-structive. "Origination of action" as the first action in an interaction event is taken by Chapple and Arensberg as a significant act in leadership. Now, this assumes either that "origination of action" is the *all* of leadership—in which case it would appear to be a very insignificant, if real, phenome-non—or else it is an index to something else which is leadership. If it is an index to some-thing else, as Whyte seems to feel it is, is it the best index we have? Why not measure the something else directly rather than through a correlated phenomenon?

Homans, without criticizing the essential stimulus-response nature of the concepts, has pointed out another fact which shows this formulation fails through the omission of the meaningful content of the actions. In his analysis of Whyte's *Street Corner Society*, Homans notes that a person may originate interaction and secure a response from others, but if this response is not the one which the originator desired (and, incidentally, the one which the other members of the group thought he desired) then he is not the leader.

The leader is at the center of the web of interaction; much interaction flows toward him and away from him. But it is impossible to define the leader merely by saying that he is the person who most often originates interaction for the other members of the group. We must also know the content of his orders and the degree to which they are obeyed. A member of a group may make a suggestion to the rest, and they will greet it with scornful laughter. *He has originated interaction to which the others have responded, but the response is not the one he wished, and he is obviously not a leader.* The high social rank of the leader and the respect that is accorded him are determined by the fact that he originates interaction for the group by giving orders that are in fact obeyed.[15]

This points to the essential criteria for an interaction definition of leadership.

If his procedure and operational definition are inadequate, why did Whyte find this approach such a useful tool in his study of the restaurant industry? In this study he analyzed the relationship of waitresses to customers and of waitresses to other employees through the use of the concept of the origination of action and found it extremely useful in predicting the points of tension and in "understanding" why the tension occurred. But it may well be that it was very successful and useful because this was a special case. The significance of the special case lies in the fact that *almost every origination of action* as defined by the Chapple and Arensberg procedures (i.e.,

[15] George C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1950), p. 418.

"first action") is also, in a restaurant and similar situations, a demand, a request, or an order for the "responder" to do something for the initiator.

Thus, when the customer is "originating action" for the waitress, he is in this "first action" asking her to hurry up with his coffee, to please get him some dessert, to get him some cream, a knife, a menu. Likewise, when the waitress appears at the pantry, at the bar, or at the service counter she is, both by the mere fact of her presence as well as by the content of her subsequent action, requiring the other employees to do something for her.

Furthermore, Whyte's intuitive awareness of what was significant may have led him unconsciously to violate the literal application of the "origination of action" concept. That is, without being aware of it, he may have failed to note actions which occurred prior to those which he counted as the "origins" precisely because he was aware that the actions he counted as origins were the crucial and significant actions.

This lengthy analysis of the work of Chapple and Arensberg and of Whyte was not undertaken merely for the purpose of showing their inadequacies; rather, because it has provided us with some very useful clues as to the nature of leadership when seen as a part of interaction.

In proceeding we should not lose sight of the significance of the terminology "origination of action" and especially of Whyte's variant, "initiation of action." If we divorce these terms from the stimulus-response, behavioristic, and pseudo-objective garb with which Chapple and Arensberg have cloaked them, we find that they can have some real usefulness in leadership research. Their general meaning more nearly reflects what we commonly think of as leadership than does the specific meaning given them by these men.

Whyte's study of human relations in the restaurant, furthermore, has provided us with considerable valuable material about the kind of relationship and interaction which leadership appears to be, despite the

fact that his concepts got in the way of his analysis of what was occurring. He was, however, too good a field worker and observer to allow his concepts to obscure what he saw.

III

Leadership, as a form of relationship between persons, requires that one or several persons act in conformance with the request of another. From this simple definition we can derive the slightly more rigorous one of leadership as (*a*) a communication requesting someone to do something, an "indication," followed by (*b*) an action, performed by the person to whom the request was directed, which carries out and is consistent with the "indication." The latter element may be termed the "response," for simplicity of expression.

The clarity and concreteness of this delineation is more apparent than real, for several problems of definition arise in the use of this formulation, particularly in its application to empirical research. Three of the more important problems are indicated by these questions: (1) By what criterion is consistency of response with the indication to be determined?(2) What types of actions fulfil the second term of the leadership event; i.e., what actions constitute a "response"? (3) When is a request a request; i.e., what forms or types of requests are to be considered as "indication"?

Originally we defined consistency simply as the performance of the task requested in the indication. But now a problem arises in connection with those events where the task performance is inadequate or incomplete through no intent or failure on the part of the actor; for example, when the leader requests something not available or a task whose performance is beyond the physical capacity of the follower. It seemed in these cases that leadership is indicated by the attempt, regardless of its actual adequacy.

Interviewing participants substantiated this inference. We discovered that participants would accept a wide variation in adequacy of the task performance as an adequate "response." In fact, we found that

their judgment is based not on the degree of conformance of the task with the indication but rather on their interpretation of the *intent* of the follower.

This conclusion is substantiated by those cases where performance may be completely adequate in terms of the request but where the manner of performance violates the spirit of the leadership relationship. This is illustrated by the following excerpt from our field notes:

The members of the Service Club were seated around the room in small groups, talking and laughing. John Martin, president of the bank and secretary-treasurer of the club since its founding, speaks to Walt Cram, the president of the club:

MARTIN: "All right, Walt, it's time to get started."

OTHERS (*hearing Martin, stop talking and turn toward the front*).

CRAM (*banging the gavel in exaggerated manner*): "The boss says it is time to get started."

. . . .

After the meeting I was talking with Henry Stoner. He commented: "Hey, Charlie, remember what I was telling you the other day about John and Walt? Did you see how Walt told John off tonight?" I asked him what he meant and he referred to the [above] incident.

The use of the phrase "the boss" is here inappropriate to the leader-follower relationship and is the means by which Cram rejects the indication by Martin while still performing the task required by the situation. Stoner's comment substantiates our interpretation that this is not leadership even though the task was performed.

Thus, the response cannot be defined in terms of the objective conformance of the task with the request, but must be defined in terms of its meaning to the group. Does this mean that we must interview participants about each event in order to determine whether or not we have an incident of leadership? This appears unnecessary because the succeeding actions by others often clearly indicate their interpretation of the event, and through familiarity with the

group the field worker may be able reliably to make the same interpretations as does the group.[16]

This formulation of the criterion for consistency resolved two other practical problems concerned with the relationship between the indication and the response. First is the problem raised by indications requesting performance some time in the future. In these cases the usual response is a verbal acceptance of the assignment by the follower. This could not be accepted as a "response" in terms of our original definition, but our data showed that these responses were accepted as showing that the leader was being followed by the participants. Defining consistency in terms of the group's interpretation of intent is consistent with this data.

The second problem concerned "technical" situations, such as a doctor giving orders to a nurse, in which the specialized vocabulary and activity are beyond the comprehension of the field worker. In these cases it is impossible for the outsider to judge whether the performance is consistent with the request. These can now be treated as any other leadership event by looking for the interpretations made by the participants and particularly for the intent of the person performing the task.

Our second major question—"What types of actions fulfil the second term in our definition of leadership?"—was originally simply the question as to whether the verbal responses referred to above were acceptable as evidence of accepting leadership. The resolution of that problem showed that the question had a greater significance; specifically, its implications for the way in which the response was to be conceptually identified and classified.

In our first definition leadership was a hybrid phenomenon consisting of an interaction (the indication) and an activity (the performance). In this form the phenomenon

was conceptually unsatisfying and difficult to handle. Our analysis of the nature of the connection between the indication and the response has provided the means for a more adequate conceptualization.

We have shown the importance, in the definition of leadership, of the interpretation of intent as it is communicated by the verbal acceptance, by the manner of performance, or by other aspects of the "response." This means that the "response" is significant not as a carrying-out of the wishes of the leader, but as a communication of the willingness, the desire, of the follower to accept his leadership. In other words we must view the task performance as a communication, not as an activity.

Thus it is possible to treat both elements in the leadership phenomenon as communications and thus to consider leadership in its entirety as a form or type of interaction. It is no longer necessary to deal with two types of social action in the conceptualization of the phenomenon.

This is significant in part because it allows us to conceive of the indication and the response as rudimentary role positions, and by this means to relate our approach to the conception of leadership as a socially established role. This is done by noting that leading and following exist in the usual senses when we have a repetitive playing of the rudimentary roles by the same persons. That is, we have leaders and followers only when the same actors make the indications and the responses through a series of leadership events. How this repetition comes about is a question of charisma, of role allocation, and of processes of recruitment and selection. That is, A may frequently make the indications in leadership events because he has personal characteristics appealing to others, or because he occupies an office which gives him the right and others the duty to fulfil these roles, or because he has in some way been given the mantle of leadership.

Our third question ("When is a request a 'request'?") concerns what some sociologists feel is the basic problem of leadership: the distinction between democratic and au-

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[16] There is the further question of the degree of consensus in interpretation within the group itself. This is not treated here since it is peripheral to the central problem and becomes practically important in special cases only.

thoritarian types of leadership or that between leadership and domination or compulsion. More concretely, this is the difference between requests and commands or orders. Is this a pertinent classification for our purposes? The answer depends upon an analysis of the nature of the distinction.

As usually conceived, the differentiation between these forms is in terms of the means or the manner of securing performance. Compulsion and domination exist when conformance is secured through the threat of some extreme sanction; authoritarianism implies sanctions of a less extreme sort; while leadership implies no sanction except the withholding of some benefit or value desired by the follower. This value may be approval, association with the leader, prestige, or even the satisfaction of performing one's duty.

So stated that is a problem in motivation and involves three significant elements: (a) the objective character of the alternatives—that is, the task requested and the sanctions available to the leader; (b) the follower's perception of these alternatives and his evaluation of the worth, or value, of each; and (c) the moral evaluation made by the group of the use of these particular alternatives, and the rules and restrictions placed, as a consequence, upon their use.

Because each of these elements varies, what is leadership or compulsion will vary from situation to situation and from follower to follower. For example, firing a worker from his job may be an extreme penalty in depression periods but of little consequence in times of prosperity. The same sanctions do not necessarily carry the same relative value or strength from situation to situation or from person to person.

Within a specific group the variation from one person to another in their evaluations of the alternatives is of importance only as we wish to explain and account for the behavior of particular persons. This variation is not significant when we are concerned with the nature of leadership in general, for most members of a group will tend to agree in their evaluations.

Of greater interest is the variation from

group to group in the character of the directing system as it is defined by the alternatives used and permitted by the group. In some societies compulsion is permitted and possibly even valued; in others it is negatively valued and inhibiting procedures and attitudes are developed. In the latter situations, objection to domination becomes a negative value associated with the requested task performance, thus balancing the value of the sanction.

In any case, the distinction between leadership and domination does not concern the basic character of the directing act and its response, but rather the conditions within which it takes place.

IV

In conclusion, several corollaries of this point of view may be stated because of their implications for leadership studies in general.

By its focus on the unique interaction involved in leadership, this viewpoint stresses the leader-follower relationship—an aspect frequently neglected in leadership studies, particularly by those dealing with the leader as a person. Similarly, it treats the follower as of equal importance with the leader, rather than as a subsidiary and less important phenomenon.

Second, this point of view keeps leadership within the context of the situation in which it exists. This is in contrast to the tendency in some studies to abstract some element of leadership out of the situation as if it were an independent phenomenon.

Third, this approach makes it possible to measure leadership in the person and in the situation. That is, leaders can be distinguished from followers in terms of the relative frequency of "initiating" and "responding," and the quantity of leadership in a group through a particular time can be measured as the frequency with which this type of interaction occurs.

Finally, leadership is brought within the framework of interaction and can thus be related to more general theories of communication, interaction, and social relations.

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STATUS IN EXPERIMENTALLY PRODUCED GROUPS[1]

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ABSTRACT

In a study of intra- and intergroup relations utilizing a combination of observational and laboratory methods, two small groups were experimentally produced as a consequence of interaction among individuals. This was done under controlled conditions embodying goals that had a common appeal and that called for interdependent activities for their attainment. It is demonstrated that, when group members face an unstructured task in which they are sufficiently motivated, their estimates of each others' performance are influenced by the status each occupies in the social hierarchy. This finding shows the feasibility of assessing the effects of group interaction by means of laboratory techniques.

This paper reports an experiment carried out as part of a research program on group relations. The problem of this unit concerns judgments of performance as indexes of status relations among members of small groups which are themselves experimentally produced. The focus will be mainly upon the theoretical and methodological considerations which constitute the distinctive features in the research program.

In this series of experiments on intra- and intergroup relations the guiding concern has been to use an interdisciplinary approach—an approach to human relations accepted by an increasing number of recent writers.[2] Lack of the interdisciplinary perspective in studying human relations has resulted, on the whole, either in the formulating of problems and experimental designs which are often artificial, creating serious questions of

validity, or in depriving field studies of the benefit of rigorous techniques developed by experimentalists, thus raising equally serious questions concerning the exact nature and control of factors.

The theoretical and methodological issues involved are illustrated by two major trends in research on the small group. On the one hand, there is the impressive body of literature on small groups from the field work of sociologists. This line of development is rich in content, lifelike in context, and full of suggestive recurrences. Yet the findings need verification by appropriate experiments which make possible specification and manipulation of conditions.

On the other hand, laboratory experiments have been accumulating rapidly during the past decades. Experiments have attempted to measure the effects of *togetherness* on various psychological processes. We have learned a great deal from these studies about the effects on behavior of specific social situations. Yet this strictly experimental approach has proceeded, on the whole, without due regard to suggestions derived from the field work of sociologists for the formulation of significant problems and hypotheses that can be tested.

The aim, therefore, was a program of research which would embody advantages derived from an interdisciplinary approach for an integrated study of group relations. This approach starts with due recognition of the recurrences observed by field workers in intra- and intergroup relations of small

[2] E.g., S. S. Sargent and M. W. Smith (eds.), *Culture and Personality* (New York: Viking Fund, 1949); J. E. Hulett, Jr., and Ross Stagner (eds.), *Problems in Social Psychology* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1952); R. E. L. Faris, "Development of the Small Group Research Movement," in M. Sherif and M. O. Wilson (eds.), *Group Relations at the Crossroads* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), chap. vii.

groups, takes note of the minimum essential properties of groups, and proceeds to the formulation of problems and hypotheses to be tested experimentally on this concrete basis rather than on the basis of hunches that may have little or no relevance to vital social events. At the same time it utilizes psychological principles of validity proven over a period of time and the methods and techniques developed by the experimentalist.[3] This procedure recognizes from the first the structural properties of the setting and the irreducible differential effects produced in the interaction process in intra- and intergroup relations. It does not disregard the unique "traits" or unique contributions of the individual participating but attempts to study their unique characteristics and contributions as they are affected, modified, and even transformed by the reciprocities emerging or standardized in group interaction.

If it can be established that status relations within a group and positive or negative relations between groups can be predicted from judgments obtained from individual group members under specified conditions, we shall be taking a step in the direction of testing laboratory and field findings within one experimental design. Since the judgments are made of performance in tasks chosen for their appeal in the subject's eyes, but unstructured in specified ways, such techniques for the assessment and, finally, prediction of status relations and other products of group interaction will have advantages over existing devices: (1) Such techniques will provide precise measures in terms of perceptions and judgments along specific dimensions, as contrasted with gross behavioral observations. Such indexes are not subject to the experimenter's interpretation of the subjects' reactions, a condition which has occasioned many current controversies over various projective tests. The judgments or perceptions reported in these

experiments are in numerical form to start with and do not require interpretation or evaluation by the experimenter *prior* to statistical analysis. (2) Since the judgments and perceptions are made in an unstructured situation and do not betray to the subjects the problem being investigated, they are indirect methods of eliciting reactions. As frequently noted recently, direct questioning or other techniques which make the subject aware that he is being observed unavoidably give rise to personal qualms which influence his responses, especially if responding one way or another involves the subject's ego.

It is not suggested here that group attitudes and other group effects be studied solely through judgment or perception. At this early stage in the study of group relations, such indexes obtained experimentally can be advantageously used as a check upon findings reached by other methods, observational, sociometric, and so on.

BACKGROUND AND FORMULATION OF HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses in the present investigation, related to both the experimental production of small groups themselves and the assessment of status relations within the groups thus formed, are not postulated on a priori grounds. They are derived from a large amount of evidence, both empirical and experimental, of which only a summary statement will be given here.

The feasibility of producing small groups experimentally is suggested by sociological studies over a period of decades.[4] From these works one can abstract certain minimum characteristics of the rise and functioning of small informal groups. Among these are

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[3] Experimental work, primarily of psychologists, is summarized comprehensively up to 1937 in G. Murphy, L. B. Murphy, and T. M. Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology* (rev. ed.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1937).

[4] The studies of Thrasher, Shaw, Anderson, Zorbaugh, Landesco, Whyte, Roethlesberger, and Dixon and various studies of adolescent cliques are illustrative in this connection. Representative findings are surveyed in M. Sherif and H. Cantril, *The Psychology of Ego-Involvements* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1947), chap. x; M. Sherif, *An Outline of Social Psychology* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948), chaps. v, vi, and xiii; M. Sherif and C. W. Sherif, *Groups in Harmony and Tension* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), chap. viii.

some motive or motives shared or endured in common which are conducive to interaction and which impel members toward the attainment of common goals. As members gravitate toward one another in striving for common goals, the interaction process produces differential effects on their behavior. In time, interaction becomes stabilized in a pattern of reciprocities manifested in a group structure consisting of hierarchical statuses and roles for individual members. The established pattern of reciprocities becomes codified in terms of certain norms regulating the expectations, responsibilities, and loyalties of members occupying the respective roles and statuses. Norms are also standardized for other matters of consequence or relevance to the existence, activities, and goals of the group.

Interaction is not made an item in this list of characteristics of informal groups, because interaction is the *sine qua non* of any kind of social relationship, whether interpersonal or group. Nor are common attitudes or sentiments emphasized separately: common attitudes are derived from and formed in relation to social norms which are standardized in a group and which establish for various activities a range of tolerated behavior. If group members do not share in common certain values or norms (at least in matters concerning the identity, continued existence, and practices of the group) and each member does not hold attitudes within the range of tolerated behavior established by these norms, one cannot even speak of a group.

With these features in mind, we define a group as a social unit which consists of a number of individuals who, at a given time, stand in more or less definite interdependent status and role relationships to one another and which explicitly or implicitly possesses a set of values or norms regulating the behavior of members at least in matters of consequence to the group.

If through the introduction of specified conditions we can produce, among individuals with no previously established status or role relations, a structure of statuses and

roles, we can speak of experimental formation of a group. In this report our concern will be mainly with the rise of such a status structure. The hypothesis to be tested here is:

A definite group structure consisting of differentiated status positions and reciprocal roles will be produced when individuals (without previously established interpersonal relationships) interact with one another under conditions which present goals that have a common appeal and which require interdependent activities for their attainment.

Such groups were produced in our study of group relations in 1949;[5] but no attempt was made in that study to assess the status relations among group members through indexes of judgment. The attempt reported here was made in our second large-scale experiment on group relations carried out in the summer of 1953.

Our hypothesis concerning the assessment of status relations in groups which are themselves experimentally produced hinges upon the feasibility of assessing already existing relationships through indexes of judgment. The rationale for doing so was suggested by the principle that the so-called "cognitive" processes (judgment, perception, remembering, etc.) take place within a frame of reference in which both external stimuli and internal factors (including biogenic motives and social attitudes, status expectations, etc.) are jointly operative. Studies revealing variations in judgments as a function of group identification or reference when the checks and restraints of reality are not too compelling give our study an experimental basis. The substantial body of experiments along these lines is too familiar to be repeated here; only a few will be mentioned. For example, in a 1939 study which served as a prototype for many others, Chapman and Volkmann found variations in estimates as affected by the standing of one's own group in relation to other groups perceived

[5] For a full account of this study see M. Sherif and C. W. Sherif, *op. cit.*, esp. chap. ix.

as "higher" or "lower" on a given task.[6] Marks found displacement of judgments of skin color (within limits) in the direction of a desired area of the color continuum.[7]

A series of studies undertaken at the University of Oklahoma during the last five years constitute the more immediate background of the present experiment, which aims at assessment of status relations in experimentally produced groups. Following a demonstration of variation in judgments as a function of positive interpersonal relations,[8] Harvey and Sherif found differential estimates of own future performance and that of a partner in directions predicted on the basis of interpersonal relations (positive or negative) prevailing between the partners before the experiment.[9]

In this work, variations in judgment were chiefly a function of the relationship between subjects, the degree of structure of the experimental situations being held constant. Going a step further, James Thrasher systematically varied gradations of stimulus structure and the nature of interpersonal relationships of subjects participating as partners in the experiment (friends or strangers).[10] He found that, as the stimulus conditions became more unstructured, the correspondence between stimulus and judgment decreased and the effect of social influences increased.

The study most directly related to the present unit is Harvey's experiment on status relations in informal groups.[11] Members of already existing cliques occupying well-differentiated status positions—high, middle, low—participated in the experimental task, three members from each clique representing these positions serving together. Harvey found significant variations in estimates of future performance by one's self and by other members, in line with their respective status positions in the group.

The implication of these experiments is that, if status structure were emerging (verifying our hypothesis concerning the experimental formation of groups stated above), it may be that status relations will be reflected in the members' judgments of each others' actual performance. It is reasonable, therefore, to formulate the following hypothesis:

Variations in judgments made by an experimentally formed group of a member's performance on a task which is of common significance to the group and which provides few external anchorages (i.e., is unstructured) are significantly related to the status of that member.

The higher the status of the member whose performance is judged, the greater the tendency of the others to overestimate his performance. Conversely, the lower the status of the member, the less the tendency of other members to overestimate his performance; they may even underestimate it.

EXPERIMENTAL FORMATION OF GROUPS

The procedures and conditions designed to test our hypothesis concerning group formation were essentially similar to those in the 1949 study of group relations.[12] Very briefly, the preconditions for this test involved selecting subjects with no previously established role or status relationships and bringing them together in a situation that was natural and lifelike, that appealed to them, and that presented goals requiring cooperative interaction for their attainment. The experimental site was a summer camp

[6] D. W. Chapman and J. Volkmann, "A Social Determinant of the Level of Aspiration," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXIV (1939), 225–38.

[7] E. Marks, "Skin Color Judgments of Negro College Students," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXVIII (1943), 370–76.

[8] C. Sherif, reported in M. Sherif, *An Outline of Social Psychology*, pp. 289–92.

[9] O. J. Harvey and M. Sherif, "Level of Aspiration as a Special Case of Judgmental Activity in Which Ego-Involvements Operate as Factors," *Sociometry*, XIV (1951), 121–47.

[10] James D. Thrasher, "Interpersonal Relations and Gradations of Stimulus Structure as Factors in Judgmental Variations: An Experimental Approach," *Sociometry*, XVII (August, 1954), 228–41.

[11] O. J. Harvey, "An Experimental Approach to the Study of Status Relations in Informal Groups," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (1953), 357–67.

[12] M. Sherif and C. Sherif, *op. cit.*, chap ix.

which held possibilities for various activities attractive to boys and was isolated from towns, highways, public amusements, and other diverting influences.

The subjects were boys of about twelve years of age from settled upper-middle-class Protestant families. Through interviews and psychological tests administered by a clinical psychologist, normal boys were selected. They were of similar educational level and somewhat above the average in intelligence. They understood that they were coming to a summer camp planned for the study of camping methods and procedures.

Participant observers were used as counselors and in other staff positions. Experimental personnel was instructed to play their parts as naturally as possible and not to take notes in the boys' presence without good excuse. Further, personnel was instructed, in so far as possible without involving danger or hardship for the boys, to allow freedom to the boys themselves in taking initiative and in planning and executing activities. Activities, in turn, were those for which the boys expressed preference, as weather and other practical conditions permitted.

Upon arriving, all twenty-four boys were placed together in a large bunkhouse, and for two days the activities involved the entire camp. This was done so that the group formation to follow could not be attributed to friendship clusters which might form spontaneously on the basis of personal affinities and common interests and without manipulation of experimental conditions. Following this brief period, the boys were divided into two experimental groupings made up so as to split budding friendship clusters and to be as similar as possible in athletic ability, personality characteristics, and prior acquaintanceship. (It turned out that a number of these boys were not complete strangers to each other but had at least seen each other in school or church.)

Some boys strongly disapproved of the arbitrary division into two groups, which were subsequently located in tents at considerable distance from each other. There-fore, the first activities after the division were a hike and cook-out, which were very attractive to these boys. Other activities were so planned that the execution of tasks and attainment of goals devolved as much as possible upon the group as a whole. The two groups were kept separate as much as possible during this period. The activities included a treasure hunt for each group separately, the solution of which brought a group award of ten dollars to be spent as the group decided, work on projects initiated in the respective groups (e.g., building a dam, lean-to), campfires, religious services, overnight hikes and camping trips, and other usual camp activities—all engaged in by each group separately.

The scope of the conditions, procedures, and practical matters which have to be manipulated, surmounted, and attended to in an experiment such as this, which attempts to control as completely as possible the total situation and its crucial aspects, is very broad. Even best efforts to maintain the criteria established for each step at times failed. On one occasion rain made it necessary to postpone the overnight hike and camp-out planned to begin that day, and the boys had to spend a good part of the day in tents. By the seventh day two groups could be said to exist, the criterion being that observers could place the various members in their own status positions with relatively little disagreement, especially at the upper and lower levels, on the basis of such behavior as initiative attempted and accepted, choices in activities, etc. Thus our hypothesis concerning group formation was substantiated and the experimental formation of groups reported in the 1949 study essentially verified, including the reversal of spontaneous friendship choices as a by-product of group delineation.

Experimental groups.—Before proceeding to the experimental unit on assessment of status relations, a word concerning the two experimental groups is in order.

One group characteristically displayed greater solidarity as well as greater stability of status structure than the other at the end

of the period of formation. This group adopted the name of "Panthers" as they discussed plans for spending their treasure-hunt reward for a group flag with a panther as its emblem. The name is one of the indications of group morale; for example, expressions such as "I'm a Super-Panther" and "We're Super-Panthers" were not uncommon. Of course, the difference in degree of stability between the experimental groups was comparative. The solidarity and stability of status structure which evolved in the Panther group would be exceeded in turn by many informally organized groups functioning spontaneously in actual life.

The second group, which later in the study became known as the "Pythons," had more severe status problems from the beginning, being separated into an "upper-crust" and "a lower-rung" segment. Achievement of an interrelated group structure proceeded with difficulty, and the picture was further complicated by another uncontrollable event—the illness and finally the necessary departure from camp of the acknowledged leader. A second leader developed, a boy who had kept somewhat aloof in taking initiative until this opportunity appeared. In spite of this, the status positions assigned by three observers of this group were in high agreement.

Since the Python name came later in the larger study, the group names will not be used to designate the experimental groups. For present purposes, the experimental groups will be referred to as "Pa group" and "Py group," the Pa group being the boys who had already called themselves "Panthers."

ASSESSMENT OF STATUS THROUGH JUDGMENTS OF PERFORMANCE

In order to test our hypothesis concerning the differential effects of status relationships within the two experimentally formed groups, judgments by group members of each others' performance had to be secured on a task which had considerable appeal value common to the group, which seemed "natural" in the camp setting (e.g., a "rea-

sonable" thing to do), and which was sufficiently unstructured or ambiguous for external anchorages (or cues) not to be dominant in determining judgments.

Accordingly, the task chosen was throwing handballs at a target specifically designed to provide few external anchorages for judgments of performance while permitting the experimenter to record actual performance.

Apparatus.—The target was a five-foot circle of three-fourths-inch plywood cut into fifteen concentric circles which were attached to a plywood backboard by means of quarter-inch bolts and coil springs. Each of the fifteen concentric circles was cut into segments. When the impact of a handball depressed one of these segments, a bolt was driven against an electrically sensitized contact point. At the back of the board, a small panel containing fifteen radio bulbs was connected with the electrical circuit to correspond with the fifteen concentric circles. Thus the location of a segment of any one of the fifteen concentric circles depressed by a handball could be immediately recorded by the experimenter at the panel.

A cover of blue denim was hung over the front of the target, suspended from the top of the backboard, to hide the concentric circles from the subjects' view when they threw. Since the ball recoiled from the target immediately, no marks were left on the cloth.

Procedure.—On the morning of the day of the experiment, both groups were told that a tournament of games between them would begin in the afternoon, the first event to be a softball game. This tournament was to be the activity involving both groups (intergroup relations). The experimental task was presented to the subjects as related to this tournament, in order to make the procedures seem natural and to heighten its appeal; it was suggested that they might like to get a little practice before the game by throwing handballs at a target. The experimenter (who was known to the boys as a member of the camp staff) proposed that the practice be turned into a game with everyone taking

turns in order that all might have equal opportunity to benefit, an idea which they accepted as a good one.

The experiment was carried out in a large recreation hall equipped with concealed recording equipment. The two groups performed separately, the junior counselor of the respective group and the experimenter being the only adults present. Instructions were given orally and informally by the experimenter:

This is a game of skill to see how well you can judge the throwing ability of your friends and yourself. This is the target, covered with blue cloth. The target underneath the cloth has fifteen circles, ranging in score value from 2, the outside circle, to 30, the bull's-eye. (*The denim covering was raised.*) Now look carefully at the target and remember the way the circles run in score values, because the cloth will cover the target all the time you're throwing at it.

Let's let each of you judge your friends' skill and your own skill twenty-five times at throwing the ball at the target. We'll take turns at throwing until each of you has thrown twenty-five times. After each throw, the one who is throwing will judge the score he thinks he made. He will write this down on his score sheet and also call it aloud. The rest of you who are not throwing will write down the score you think the thrower made each time after he throws. You will not call your judgments of his score aloud. (*S's were shown where to record their judgments on the score sheets.*)

Boys, I won't be able to take time to tell you your score. I'll just remind you that 30 is the best possible score you can make and zero is the worst. Be sure to always do your best in throwing and judging.

The experimenter stood behind the target recording actual scores throughout the experiment.

Subjects.—Of the twenty-four boys, two in each group are not included in the experiment. Three were in the infirmary at the time. The fourth was rated by observers as an "isolate" in the Pa group. Since an isolate is, by definition, not a functional part of the group structure, variations in his judgments or those of other group members concerning his performance could not legitimately be

attributed to the group structure; rather any relationship between his judgments and the status of other members would have to be attributed to chance variations or possibly to personal factors. Therefore, he was eliminated from the analysis.

Results.—In order to test our hypothesis, the status rankings within each group were compared with judgments concerning the performance of the member occupying each position. Status rankings for the members of each group were obtained by averaging the independent ratings of participant observers (two for the Pa group and three for the Py group).

The status ratings made by the participant observers were in significant agreement for each group. For the Pa group a rho of .71 was obtained between the ratings of the two observers, which falls between the .02–.05 probability level when converted to t. To test the amount of agreement among the three participant observers for the Py group, the coefficient of concordance[13] was utilized, its value being .912, which is significant at less than the .001 level of confidence.[14]

A variation score was computed for each subject as a measure of the extent his performance was overestimated or underestimated by other members of his group. This variation score was obtained by finding the average difference between judgments of a subject's performance by all other members of his group and his actual performance on the twenty-five trials. It was then possible to rank the members of each group in terms of variation in judgment as well as in terms of status.

Table 1 presents the descending rank order for status and the corresponding rank order of judgment variation scores for the members of each group.

The rank-order correlations between sta-

[13] M. G. Kendall and B. Smith, "The Problem of m Rankings," *Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, IX (1938), 133–49.

[14] According to the formula given by P. O. Johnson, *Statistical Methods in Research* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949), p. 175.

tus and judgment variation scores for the two experimental groups are given in Table 2 along with P values derived from the conversion of rho to t.

As Table 2 indicates, a significant positive relationship was found between group status and judgment variation, that is, between an individual's relative standing in the group and the relative extent to which his performance was overestimated or underestimated by other members.

Since it is possible that this positive relationship between status and variations in

TABLE 1

STATUS AND JUDGMENT VARIATION SCORES (J.V.S.) IN CORRESPONDING RANK ORDER

	PA GROUP			PY GROUP	
Subject	Status Rank	J.V.S. Rank	Subject	Status Rank	J.V.S. Rank
1.......	1	3	A.......	1	1
2.......	2	1	B.......	2	2
3.......	3	6	C.......	3	7
4.......	4.5	4	D.......	4	5
5.......	4.5	2	E.......	5	6
6.......	6	7	F.......	6	3
7.......	7	9	G.......	7	10
8.......	9	5	H.......	8	4
9.......	9	8	I.......	9	8
10.......	9	10	J.......	10	9

TABLE 2

CORRELATION BETWEEN STATUS AND JUDGMENT VARIATION IN PA AND PY GROUPS

	Pa Group		Py Group
Rho.......	.737	Rho.......	.676
P..........	< .02	P..........	< .05

judgment is traceable simply to a correspondingly high relationship between variations in judgment and actual skill, the subjects' ranks for mean scores actually achieved in the task were compared with their corresponding ranks in judgment variation and status in the group.

Table 3 gives the corresponding ranks in each group for status, variation in judgment, and mean performance scores (i.e., the average of scores actually made on twenty-five trials). As shown, a higher relationship exists between status and variation in judg-

TABLE 3

CORRESPONDING RANKS IN STATUS, JUDGMENT VARIATION SCORES (J.V.S.), AND MEAN PERFORMANCE

	PA GROUP				PY GROUP		
Subject	Status Rank	J.V.S. Rank	Performance Rank	Subject	Status Rank	J.V.S. Rank	Performance Rank
1...	1	3	9	A....	1	1	4
2...	2	1	2	B....	2	2	6
3...	3	6	8	C....	3	7	8
4...	4.5	4	5	D...	4	5	7
5...	4.5	2	6	E....	5	6	2.5
6..	6	7	4	F....	6	3	1
7...	7	9	1	G...	7	10	10
8..	9	5	3	H...	8	4	5
9...	9	8	10	I....	9	8	9
10...	9	10	7	J....	10	9	2.5

TABLE 4

CORRELATION BETWEEN RANK IN PERFORMANCE SCORE (SKILL) AND IN JUDGMENT VARIATION SCORES

	Pa Group		Py Group
Rho.......	.007	Rho.......	.45
P..........	.90–1.00	P..........	.10–.20

ment than between performance and variation in judgment *for this particular task*, especially in the Pa group.

Table 4 gives the correlations between actual performance (skill) and variation in judgment for the two groups. It shows that the rank-order correlation of .007 between performance level on this task and variation in judgment for the Pa group is clearly not significant $(P = .90–1.00)$. While this rela-

tionship falls short of significance for the Py group, the P value ($P = .10-.20$) may reveal a trend which warrants further investigation.

Further light is thrown on this finding by comparing the correlations between status and variation in judgment (Table 2) and those between performance level (skill) and variation in judgment (Table 4). For the Pa group the difference between the rank-order correlation for status and judgment variation (.737) and that between performance and judgment variation (.007) is .730, which

TABLE 5*

"U" VALUES FOR DIFFERENCES BE-
TWEEN VARIATION IN JUDG-
MENT OF UPPER AND LOWER
HALVES OF THE TWO STATUS
STRUCTURES

Pa Group		Py Group	
U......	1	U......	6
P.......	.008	P.......	.11

* Since the U values obtained were too large to be evaluated with the tables offered by H. B. Mann and D. R. Whitney, "On a Test Whether One or Two Random Variables Is Stochastically Larger than the Other," *Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, XVIII (1947), 50–60, these values were reduced by a formula presented by L. E. Moses, "Non-parametric Statistics for Psychological Research," *Psychological Bulletin*, XLIX (1952), 122–43.

is significant at the .04 level of confidence. For the Py group the difference between the rank-order correlation for status and judgment variation (.676) and that for performance and judgment variation (.45) is .226, and this difference is not significant ($P = .26$).

Theoretically, these differences in significance of the relationships between status and judgment of performance, on one hand, and between actual performance and judgment, on the other, can be accounted for in terms of differential structures of the Pa and Py groups. As noted, the observers agreed that greater stability of structure and greater solidarity had evolved in the Pa than in the Py group at this time. From a theoretical point of view, it would be expected

that, as group structure becomes better defined and more stabilized, as solidarity increases, the higher the relationship between status in the group and expectations of the individual's performance.

Then, as one increasingly identifies himself with the group, the greater the correspondence between his expectations and shared expectations regulated by the prevailing status hierarchy and the group norms. Further, greater stability of group structure would be reflected in the differences between expectations of the performance of members of higher and lower status, that is, greater stability of structure and greater solidarity are accompanied by higher expectations and thus higher estimates for the performance of higher-ranking members than of lower.

To test the foregoing theoretical considerations in the Pa and Py groups, the members of each were divided into upper and lower halves as to status structure, and the differences between means of variation in judgment for these halves determined.

For this comparison, a statistic appropriate for very small samples that are not normally distributed was needed. The Mann-Whitney U-Test was used for this purpose.[15] Table 5 gives the U values and P for differences between mean variation in judgment of the upper and lower halves of the status structure for each group.

The variations in judgments of those in the upper half of the status structure in the Pa group were significantly higher than those of members in the lower half ($P = .008$). This difference for the Py group was not significant, although the U value for the difference approached significance ($P = .11$). The comparison (Table 5) corroborates other findings concerning the relationship between stability of status structure and expectations, as revealed in judgments of performance on this experimental task.

Variations in judgment in the Pa group,

[15] H. B. Mann and D. R. Whitney, "On a Test Whether One or Two Random Variables Is Stochastically Larger than the Other," *Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, XVIII (1947), 50–60.

in which stability of structure and solidarity were relatively greater, were closely related to differential status positions and were not significantly related to actual skill. Variations in judgment in the Py group, whose status structure was less stable and where there was less solidarity, were also significantly related to differential status positions, though to a lesser extent. In addition, it seems that variations in judgment in the Py group were influenced to an extent relatively greater than in the Pa group by the skill actually demonstrated.

There is evidence that expectations about an individual member tend toward stability as group structure develops before the individual's expectations of his own performance begin to coincide with the group's. It may be that the degree of coincidence between one's own expectations of one's performance and what other group members expect of him is indicative of the degree to which group structure is stabilized. In this study, a rank-order correlation of .41 was found between judgments of own performance and judgments by other group members in the Pa group, which had the more stable structure. In the less stable and less unified Py group, a rho of .03 was found between judgments of one's own performance and judgments of it by others.

Among established groups of greater stability and solidarity than these experimentally formed groups, we would expect that closer relationships would be found both between status rank and judgments of own performance by the individual member and by other group members. The study on status relations in existing informal groups by Harvey indicates this, although the data of that study, being in terms of expected *future* performance, are not directly comparable to the present research.

It can be concluded on the basis of these findings that variations in judgment of performance are significantly related to status in the group. The performance of members of high status was overestimated; the performance of members of low status was underestimated, the extent of over- or underestimation being positively related to status rankings. Thus our hypothesis was substantiated.

Variations in judgments of performance were not significantly related to actual skill in this task. This is not to be interpreted to mean that skill is irrelevant or that significant positive correlations between variation in judgment and skill would not be found in other tasks with more objective anchorages for judgment.

The finding of note is the differential relationship between variation in judgment and status rankings in the two groups as a function of differential stability of group structure and group solidarity. There is evidence that this relationship is closer in groups of greater stability and that actual skill is given *relatively* greater weight in the judgments of the group with less structural stability. Therefore, in the experimental study of group formation and status relations (including leader-follower relations), attention should be paid to the degree of stability of group structure evolved at the time, since it influences the behavior of members toward one another.

The present unit of our research program was concerned with experimental production of groups and with the development of indexes of status. The technique, already applied to assessment of status relations in existing groups, is being extended to the study of relations between groups. The final step in our research is an experiment in which groups themselves are experimentally produced and indexes devised for assessing relationships within the group and relations between groups.

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

TECHNOLOGY AND THE STANDARD OF
LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES

WILLIAM FIELDING OGBURN

ABSTRACT

The standard of living of the American people in terms of what money buys has doubled in the first half of the twentieth century as measured by three independent sets of data. The cause of this rise is shown to be very probably due mainly to improvements in technology.

In a previous article[1] it was shown that the variations in the standard of living of peoples, in five great areas of the world and in eighteen European countries, were due largely to differences in technological development, much more than to population pressure, as measured by density and more than to the private or public ownership of industry. In the previous article the variation was geographic and time was constant. In this article the relationship between standard of living and technology is studied with geography constant but time varying. The United States is the area, and the time is the first half of the twentieth century, a variation of fifty years.

I

The first task is to measure the change in the standard of living over the first fifty years of the twentieth century. This will be done from three sets of data: family expenditures during a year, annual earnings of workers, and yearly per capita national income. The data from family expenditures are examined first. In 1901 the Bureau of Labor collected 25,440 family budgets for that year.[2] The families lived in many communities of different sizes in thirty-three states. The average family expenditure for the year was $699. A wider base than one year and one study is needed for a bench mark. Fortunately, other similar studies had been made in 1889 and 1890[3] by the same bureau for some 7,000 families whose heads

worked in iron, steel, coal, coke, limestone, woolen goods, and cotton goods industries. Their average annual family expenditure was $551.

We wish to compare these expenditures with those of families living at the mid-century, which were, however, smaller in size. The families in 1950 averaged 3.37 persons per family, while those of 1889–90 averaged 5.1 persons and those of 1901, 4.9 persons. The expenditures of families of the same size should be compared. If the expenditure of a family of five in 1895,[4] a mid-year between 1890 and 1901 was $625, how much would an average family of 3.37 persons have spent at that time? The expenditure per person is not a proper comparative measure, for large families have only slightly more income (and hence expenditures) than small families. Actually, the family expenditures in 1901 for families of different sizes increased $22 per additional person. This fact means, then, that a family of 3.37 persons in 1895 would have spent about $36 less than a family of 5, or $589, which we wish to compare with the expenditures of a family in 1950.

In 1950 the Bureau of Labor collected figures for 10,813 families in ninety-one cities, chosen at random. They were almost all wage-earners and none had an income of over $10,000 a year.[5] The average expenditure for current consumption, excluding in-

[1] William F. Ogburn, "Population, Private Ownership, Technology, and the Standard of Living," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (January, 1951), 314–19.

[2] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor for 1903* (Washington, D.C., 1904).

[3] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor for 1890* (Washington, D.C., 1891); *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor for 1891* (Washington, D.C., 1892).

[4] The year 1895 is merely the mid-point between 1890 and 1901, two prosperous years, whereas 1895 was a year of depression.

[5] *Family Income Expenditures and Savings in 1950* (U.S. Department of Labor Bull. 1097 [Washington, D.C., 1953]).

surance and taxes, for wage-earners was $3,902 a year—a great deal more than the $589 which a family of that size spent in 1895. But money was worth more then, and $589 had a purchasing power for the money of 1950 of $1,728.[6] The expenditure of a family of 3.37 persons has then increased in fifty-five years from $1,728 to $3,902, an increase of .0149 per year, or a doubling in forty-seven years.

These data indicate therefore that the average workingman's family spent a little more than twice as much in 1950 than fifty years earlier. That the standard of living has doubled in forty-seven years of the first part of the twentieth century is an important finding and should be examined carefully.

The foregoing evidence on the rise in the standard of living was based upon family expenditures, which approximate the family income. It is desirable, however, to get data on incomes directly and, if possible, from a different source to see whether the changes in family expenditures correspond to those of incomes. For employees in manufacturing the Census of Manufacturing conducted by the Bureau of the Census shows, in its periodic reports, the average number of workers, apart from salaried executives and employees, and the total annual pay roll for these workers. Data were collected for 1899 and for 1904 which showed workers' earnings as measured by annual pay rolls divided by average number of workers, of $420 and $471 a year. A similar census in 1947 and a sample survey in 1950 by the Bureau of the Census showed the earnings thus measured to be $2,540 and $2,940.[7] Averaging these two terminal surveys and comparing them in 1950 dollars with the two beginning ones, they show an increase in earnings from $1,420 to $2,840 for the forty-seven years. The earnings then doubled in

forty-seven years, which meant an annual rate of increase of .0149.

(This increase in earnings of manufacturing employees is very nearly the same as the increase in incomes of families whose expenditures were previously cited. In collecting the expenditures for the families, the Bureau of Labor also learned their annual incomes. These family incomes doubled in forty-eight years.)

The income of wage-earners from manufacturing employment measured by the Bureau of the Census in its Census of Manufacturing increased at the same rate as family expenditures as measured by the Bureau of Labor from family budgets collected by agents in a house-to-house canvass.

A third measure of the standard of living is the per capita national income. This measure includes all the population of the United States and all the income of the people. It is derived from incomes of all kinds and includes dividends, rents, and interest. The source being the Department of Commerce and the National Bureau of Economic Research, it is hence ascertained by agencies other than the Bureau of Labor and the Bureau of the Census, whose data on the standard of living we have previously considered. The income at the beginning of the century (1894–1903) which we have used is the net national product per capita.[8] For the income at the mid-century 1950 we have used the per capita disposable personal income.[9] During the fifty-one and a half years the per capita income in dollars of constant purchasing power increased 120 per cent, or at an annual rate of .0154 per year, which means a doubling in forty-five years, as contrasted with the income of manufacturing wage-earners and of workers' family expenditures, which doubled in forty-seven years.

That the income per capita based on the whole population should have increased

[6] The index of the cost of living at the close of the eighteenth century used was a composite of the indexes of the Federal Reserve Bank, of Douglas, of Burgess, and of Hanson.

[7] *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789–1945* (Washington, D.C., 1946) of 179, and *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1953* (Washington, D.C., 1954) of 785.

[8] Simon Kuznets and Raymond Goldsmith, *Income and Wealth in the United States, Trends and Structure* (Cambridge, England: Bowes & Bowes, 1952), p. 55.

[9] *Economic Report of the President, January, 1954* (Washington, D.C., 1954), p. 178.

more rapidly than the incomes of the wage-earners in manufacturing of the low-income segment of the population appears strange, since it is generally thought that wealth has become less unequally distributed. Because of this doubt, it may be questioned whether the per capita income is the best measure to compare with the average income or expenditure per worker or per worker family. So rapid a rise in the per capita income may be due in part to a change in the composition of the population, since there were more children, relatively, in the population in 1900 than in 1950. More appropriate then is the income per member of the labor force, which would have increased more slowly than the per capita income, for the reason that there is a larger percentage of the adult population now than then. The income per member of the labor force[10] (which includes of course all those at work, the rich as well as the poor) increased in the fifty-one and a half years at a rate of .0134 per year, which means doubling in fifty-two years instead of in forty-five years, and is a slower rate of increase than the increase in the income per wage-earner.

These increases in income and expenditure from three quite different sources are consistent. Family incomes increased at a rate which doubled them in forty-seven years. Manufacturers' employees' earnings doubled in forty-seven years, and national product per member of the labor force doubled in fifty-two years. These similarities give us confidence that our measurement is reliable and accurate.

Even so, the measurement would be untrue if it were from the trough of a depression to the peak of a boom, or vice versa; though, the longer the period, the less would be such an error. To guard against this error, we have more than one measurement at the beginning of the century. For the family expenditure the years chosen were 1889–90 and 1901, both relatively good years. For the wages in manufacturing, the years 1899

[10] The numbers in the labor force for 1894–1903 are from Kuznets and Goldsmith, *op. cit.*, p. 30, and for 1950 from the *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1953.*

and 1904 were taken, the former a good year and the latter not a very bad one. For the national income the period chosen was 1894–1903 and did include the bad years of 1894, 1895, and 1896, but most of the period was nearer a peak than a trough.

The dates at the mid-century were all very prosperous years indeed, probably slightly more so compared to the average than the periods chosen for the beginning of the century. But the course of a line for the fifty years from the good years at the beginning of the century to the very prosperous years at the mid-century may be very little different from the course of a trend line put through the middle of the business cycles of the whole period.

This increase in income is an increase in money income of the same purchasing power. But not all the goods and services a family consumes are purchased with money. Farmers often raise part of what they consume, though they spend money for fertilizers, labor, and land. Then, too, families at one time may process more food at home and at another time buy food processed elsewhere. Also, families may exchange services without the expenditure of money: a man may help a neighbor and thus dispense with the employment of help, or one may stay with the young children of another in reciprocation, and thus no money is spent.

It is thus very probable that today a good deal of money is spent for goods and services that were, a century or a century and a half ago, obtained by barter, reciprocal gifts, or exchange of services. The difference is, however, thought to be much less between 1900 and 1950 among city dwellers than it was between 1800, before there were many cities, and 1950. Therefore, the increase in the standard of living measured in terms of goods and services may be somewhat less from 1900 to 1950 than was the increase in the standard of living as measured by income in money of constant purchasing power.

We must conclude therefore that in the United States the standard of living as measured in money has doubled within the first half of the twentieth century and that

the standard of living as measured in quantity of goods and services has probably doubled in slightly more than fifty years.

II

What has caused this doubling of the standard of living of the population of the United States in the first half of the twentieth century?

The answer is found in production. Even the standard of living of a wild animal is determined by its production, that is, the killing or gathering of food, which is the production of place utilities. An individual wage-earner may not get what he produces, according to the theory of Karl Marx and of labor unions; but a whole people whose exports equal imports gets what it produces and only that. Indeed, the money income of a people equals the money expenditure plus savings. That this is so is shown by the fact that the national product which is computed by adding the values of goods and services produced is equal to the income received which is computed from adding wages, salaries, dividends, rents, interest, and money from other sources.

The problem then resolves itself into finding out what has caused this doubling of per capita production in the United States in the first half of the twentieth century. We have seen that the per capita national product (net) in dollars of constant purchasing power increased 115 per cent and that the national product per member of the labor force increased 95 per cent in fifty years. But we worked fewer hours per week at the mid-century than at its beginning, probably nearly one-quarter (23.3 per cent) fewer hours.[11] Hence the national product per man-hour of work has increased by 159 per

[11] The only measures of the hours per week worked are in manufacturing and in a few selected businesses. Kuznets and Goldsmith (*op. cit.*) have estimated for the whole economy a "standard number of hours per week" of 62 for 1894–1903 and 48 for the period 1939–48. By assuming a trend in the whole economy the same as a trend in manufacturing, a comparable estimate of 47 has been made for 1950. The hours actually worked per week in the manufacturing industries in 1950 were 40.5 (*Economic Report of the President, January, 1954*).

cent in fifty years. A person at work produced in 1950 in 23 minutes as much national product as he produced in 60 minutes in 1900.

The effect of increasing the national product per hour of work to more than two and one-half times as much is shown by the following computation. In 1950 the disposable personal income per capita in the United States was $1,357.[12] But, if the labor force in 1950 had worked the same number of hours but at the rate of productivity of 1900 (net national product per man-hour), the disposable personal income per capita would have been only $524. We have much more money to spend because of this great increase, over the half-century, in productivity. We seek the cause of this increased productivity.

III

In trying to find out the causes of this increased productivity, we recognize that the production is complex and consists of many factors; many researchers will devote their lives to measuring and explaining economic growth. However, we think it is possible, on the basis of work already done, to delineate certain broad outstanding factors. For instance, the theory of evolution of species was explained in terms of three factors: variation, natural selection, and heredity. Yet, in the hundred years since, the amount of research undertaken further to account for the change of species has been almost incalculable in amount.

A casual glance at a small sample of the writing on the subject reveals the following list of factors in production:

1. Kinds of capital equipment
2. The quantity of capital goods
3. The manner and use of nonhuman resources
4. Scientific discovery
5. Inventions
6. Machines

7. The amount of natural resources
8. The quality of natural resources
9. The amount of nonhuman resources

[12] *Economic Report of the President, January, 1954*, p. 178.

10. The skill of labor
11. The training of personnel
12. The intelligence of the workers
13. Education
14. Technological schools

15. Working conditions
16. Effective administration
17. Plant organization
18. Management

19. The capitalist system
20. The integration of the economic order
21. The politicoeconomic system
22. Private enterprise

23. Rate of saving
24. Capital formation

The groupings of the preceding lists suggest that they may be classified into the following six categories: technology, natural resources, education, management, the economic system, and capital. These six types are not very precise, and there is some overlapping, but their brevity permits a more facile discussion.

Technology is seen at once to be an important factor in increasing production. A mechanical cotton-picking machine, which picks the same amount of cotton as twenty-three hand pickers, obviously increases greatly the production of a single farm laborer engaged in cotton-picking. If factories become nearly automatic, with only a few workers to push buttons, then the productivity per worker would indeed be great. There have been during the first half of the twentieth century many new machines, productive inventions and scientific discoveries, and technological developments, here called "technological changes." That these led to technological unemployment is evidence of an increase in productivity per worker.

The second class of factors, natural resources, is important in explaining the variation in production in different countries, as, for instance, between Belgium and Greece. But our problem is not to explain the variation in production in different areas but to explain the variation over a period of years in one area, the United States. The vast natural resources of the United States

help to explain the remarkable production of this nation, but it does not help in explaining the change in production from 1900 to 1950, for the reason that the supply of coal, oil, iron, hydroelectric power sources, soil, and many metals has been approximately adequate for the production, just as the supply of oxygen in the air has been adequate. There are some inadequacies in natural resources, of course, as in nickel, tin, rubber, etc., but these existed in 1900 as well as in 1950.

As to the third group of factors, called education: Training is necessary for production. The quality of education has changed since 1900, and the quantity has increased very greatly, since many more attend high schools and colleges, and there has been a marked development in technological schools. Undoubtedly better and more education, skills, and training have been important in increasing production. We may ask, however, what factors have brought about this improvement in education of those who produce goods and services. Technological development has been a very important factor. For instance, automobiles have demanded different skills from those used with horses and horse-drawn vehicles. Much of this education for producing, servicing, and repairing automobiles has been learned directly in the shops. Some technological developments have destroyed old skills as they have developed new ones, as, for instance, rolling cold steel. Typewriting is often learned in schools, but it would not be taught if there were not typewriters.

The effectiveness of the skill of workers is related to the age composition of the labor force, which now has more older people, fewer under twenty years of age, and more women. It is questionable, however, whether the changes in age and sex composition have had enough effect on the skills of the labor force to affect much the changes in production.

The top personnel in industry not always but often are trained in specialized studies such as engineering, chemistry, economics, law, accounting, and statistics. Some of this training would not exist were it not for sci-

ence and technology, as, for instance, chemistry and engineering. Also some new developments in production could not be achieved without special education. Thus the production of atomic energy would be impossible without personnel highly trained in nuclear physics. New inventions formerly were generally the outgrowth of experience in manufacture, agriculture, or transportation. Now the important inventions are the product of special training in such subjects as physics, metallurgy, electricity, chemistry, etc., to be had in countries highly developed in technology and generally not in countries poorly industrialized. That training in philosophy, the classics, or in the liberal arts generally aids in the production of material goods has not been proved, though such an opinion is often held. It thus appears that, though better education is a direct cause of increased production, the cause of this better education is in part technological development.

The next set of causes to be examined is management. The businessman thinks of management as the determiner of production, for does he not buy the machinery, employ the labor, and market the product? The role of the manager is seen very clearly as important when one plant is compared with another. Under one manager a manufacturing establishment may fail, while in the same business another manager of an establishment may make a large profit and expand the business. But our concern is not in explaining the variation in different plants but in explaining the growth in production in all plants over time. Over time, management has changed and perhaps improved. But the question is: Has not this change been necessitated by technological changes affecting size of plant, co-ordination, integration, marketing, inventions, mass production, control of supply, etc? Certainly technological changes have made possible these developments, and in a competitive economy, if one manager does not make use of such organizational devices as are efficient, another will. Managers also make social inventions in organization. There is the Taylor system which eliminates waste motion by division of labor and motion studies.

There is the assembly line and the chain store. Indeed, all improvements in industry are channeled through business leaders. But, if a particular inventor-manager had never lived, would not someone else have made the managerial invention? If Henry Ford had never lived, the mass production of cheap automobiles would have developed under some other leader. There were Henry Fords in England, France, and Germany. Changing social conditions do create business leaders, if not one particular one then another. And for industry a most important element in these changing social conditions is change in technology.

Our great increase in productivity is also commonly attributed to our economic system of private capitalism and free enterprise. But our economic system is essentially the same now in the United States as it was in 1900. A change cannot be explained by a constant. There have been of course changes from 1900 to 1950, but these have been in the main in the opposite direction, that is, to restrict private capitalism and to interfere with free enterprise. Other changes are due to management and education previously shown to be due partly to technological development. The economic system might be a factor in explaining the difference between production in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. but not in accounting for the growth of production by the United States from 1900 to 1950.

The final set of explanations centers around the importance of capital in increasing production. Certainly capital is necessary for a country to industrialize and for it to expand its productive facilities. Whether this capital be investments from another country, or whether it come directly from savings or from government borrowing, capital formation results from production. So this use of capital to explain increases in production is an explanation in terms of production. However, there are intervening agents such as incentives, taxation policies, financial practices, and governmental action. But back of these intervening agents lies increased production, which is what we are trying to explain.

This brief review of factors in production has revealed that (1) the factors in production are not the same as the factors in increasing production; (2) factors which explain why one country or one industry is more productive than another are not the same as the factors which explain the increased production in one country; (3) causes are linked as in a chain, and any one cause is an effect of a preceding cause; hence an immediate or direct cause may not be a basic cause; (4) at any one level there is more than one cause; hence causation is complex; and (5) the most important causes of an increase in production in the United States from 1900 to 1950 are technological changes (including scientific discoveries), improvements in management, and better education; but underlying the latter two (i.e., these improvements in management and better education) are technological improvements; hence, technological improvements appear to be an outstanding cause of the increase in production during this period.

The foregoing conclusions were reached on the basis of analysis, an examination of concepts, and a theory of causation. The actual evidence available does not fit the question very precisely. However, the evidence is not in any way contradictory to the conclusions reached and does support it.

There are data on reproducible capital in the form of equipment in agriculture and in nonfarm businesses. Such data appear to conform perhaps roughly to the trend in technological development. The value of this equipment in 1900 is estimated at 11,300 million of 1929 dollars, and in 1948 its corresponding value was 48,100 million. This means an increase per member of the labor force of .0152 per year, or a doubling in forty-six years.[13] If the total reproducible capital had been used instead of equipment, its rate of growth would have been less, for the capital in structures did not increase as rapidly as did the capital in equipment. If the total reproducible tangible wealth had

been used, the rate of growth would have been greater. It is recalled that the net national product per member of the labor force doubled in fifty-two years. These data do not answer our question very neatly because the value of technological equipment in money does not measure its efficiency in production.

Another very rough indication of the use of technological equipment is the amount of mechanical energy used. The mechanical energy for all purposes in the United States supplied per member of the labor force increased by 116 per cent from 1900 to 1950,[14] which was a doubling in forty-five years. There is evidence therefore of a development in technology in the United States in the first half of the present century that could presumably support the doubling of the national product per member of the labor force.

IV

A conclusion of this study is that the standard of living of the people of the United States doubled in the first half of the twentieth century.

This increase of income is due to an increase in production.

The increase in production was shown by analysis to be the result of many changes throughout the social order, but in particular the following three factors were important: increase in technological equipment, better education, and improved management. But the better education affecting production and the improved management were caused in large part by improved technology. So the outstanding cause of the doubling of the standard of living of the people of the United States is the growth of technological equipment. The actual rate of growth of the monetary value of this equipment and the rate of growth of mechanical energy supplied were commensurate with the growth in the standard of living.

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[13] Kuznets and Goldsmith, op. cit., p. 307.

[14] Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1953, p. 515.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE ACCURACY OF CITY DIRECTORIES

October 21, 1954

To the Editor:

The article by Sidney Goldstein, "City Directories as Sources of Migration Data" (*American Journal of Sociology*, LX [September, 1954], 169–76), describes tests which demonstrate that the directories of Norristown, Pennsylvania, "are a complete and highly accurate source of demographic data" (p. 174). But a test of directory coverage made in the fall of 1951 by Community Studies, Inc., of Kansas City, revealed deficiencies and biases.

In Kansas City the list of addresses by streets in the pink section of the directory rather than the alphabetical list of persons in the white section was checked for completeness. The address section is commonly used for drawing probability samples. The city directory was found to be only 70 per cent complete for the blocks which were studied. The directory listed 4,092 addresses in the same blocks in which 5,800 dwelling units were counted by other methods.

Marked variations in coverage were found in different neighborhoods. Tests were made in three kinds of districts using different sources to test the directory lists. Several members of the Community Studies staff, including persons who held professional and clerical positions, were asked to list the dwelling units in the blocks in which they lived. Their homes were in middle-income neighborhoods, consisting, for the most part, of single-family residences. In these blocks the directory list was nearly complete. The staff members listed a total of 575 dwelling units, as compared with 550 addresses in the directory, for a percentage of 96. Most of the underlisting occurred in blocks containing apartment buildings and consisted of omissions of addresses on the upper floors.

Armourdale, a working-class neighborhood in Kansas City, Kansas, was checked by comparing the dwelling units enumerated by the 1950 United States census of housing with the directory list which was compiled before this area was devastated by the flood of July, 1951. The census counted 1,950 dwelling units, and the directory listed 1,570, or 81 per cent.

In the summer of 1951 a housing survey of blighted areas near the central business district was conducted by Community Studies for the City Plan Commission of Kansas City, Missouri. The field workers found 3,275 dwelling units, as compared with only 1,972 listed in the directory (or 60 per cent coverage).

In 1952, when the housing report for Kansas City was published, a comparison was made between the census enumeration, the survey by Community Studies, and the directory. Six blocks in the blighted area around the central business district were analyzed. The total number of dwelling units reported in the census was 485, Community Studies reported 638, and the directory listed 402 addresses. The directory list amounted to 83 per cent of the census and 63 per cent of the survey.

The discrepancy between the census and the survey is not easily explained. The instructions given to the survey field workers were taken from the manual used by census enumerators. The lapse of about fifteen months between the two counts seems insufficient to account for the difference of 153 dwelling units. However, these blocks contained many hotels and apartment hotels in which the distinction between a dwelling unit and a hotel room was difficult to apply.

These tests showed that the lists of addresses in the directories for the Kansas City area in 1951 were incomplete and that the coverage varied in different parts of the city. It was observed that coverage was least complete in blocks containing multi-unit structures and in blocks inhabited by persons in the lower economic levels. These differences may be attributed to enumerator bias. The R. L. Polk Company, which publishes the Kansas City directories as well as those for Norristown, pays its field workers on a piece-rate basis. It may be that they are able to earn more and feel more secure by staying near the street and avoiding upper floors, long hallways, and inner courts.

The incomplete address list in the directories for Kansas City suggests that a researcher should check the coverage of any directories he intends to use for research purposes. The variations in coverage in different kinds of neighborhoods indicate that the omissions are not random and that studies based on directory address lists are subject to many biases.

E. JACKSON BAUR

University of Kansas

NEWS AND NOTES

University of Alabama.—Paul B. Foreman became chairman of the department in September. On leave from Oklahoma A. and M. College in 1953–54, he conducted a study of the reactions of soldiers and veterans to the Army Reserve system for the Operations Research Office, Johns Hopkins University.

Raymond L. Gold, who has completed his doctoral program at the University of Chicago, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology.

Analysis of Social Problems, a text reader edited by Morris G. Caldwell and Lawrence Foster, has been recently published. A study of human factors in aircraft-maintenance work groups by Langston T. Hawley, B. J. Rosenberg, and Raymond L. Gold has been transmitted to the Human Resources Research Institute, USAF. A review of role relationships among nurses in three Alabama hospitals by Thomas R. Ford and Diane Stevenson has been transmitted to the Alabama State Nurses' Association. *The Talladega Story: A Study in Community Process,* by Solon Kimball and Marion Pearsall, is being published by the University of Alabama Press.

Bard College.—Gerard DeGre is on leave of absence for this academic year to lecture under a Fulbright grant at Ibrahim University in Cairo, Egypt.

Lillian Cohen, who has been engaged in social research for public and private organizations, is filling Dr. DeGre's position for the year.

Ruth Gillard, associate professor of sociology, has been appointed dean of students but will continue to teach in the department.

Dorothy Dulles Bourne, associate professor of sociology, is continuing to represent the division of social studies on the staff, teaching "Studies in Human Experience." Members from the four major divisions of the College teach this freshman course together.

University of California (Berkeley).—Arthur M. Ross, professor of industrial relations, has been appointed director of the Institute of Industrial Relations, Northern Division.

University of California (Los Angeles).—Leonard Broom, who has returned from a year spent in the South and in the Hawaiian Islands, is resuming the chairmanship of the department of anthropology and sociology and will assume duties as editor of the *American Sociological Review* in 1955.

Svend Riemer is engaged in research on aspects of city and neighborhood planning.

Eshref Shevky has been appointed professor of sociology. He will offer courses dealing with the Middle East.

W. S. Robinson is engaged in research on mathematical aspects of ecological correlations.

Ralph H. Turner has been appointed advisory editor of the *American Journal of Sociology.*

Donald R. Cressey is engaged in research on predicting who will attempt to escape from prison and on prisoners' conceptions of the causes of crime.

Melville Dalton will be on a split appointment between the Institute of Industrial Relations and the department of anthropology and sociology during the spring.

Ruth Riemer has returned from a year's leave of absence in Europe, where she studied the work of leading European demographers.

Harold Garfinkel, formerly of Ohio State University and of Princeton, has been appointed assistant professor.

John Forster, who holds a Master's degree from the University of Hawaii, has been appointed research assistant in sociology.

Clovis Shepherd, formerly of the University of Texas, has been appointed research assistant in the Institute of Industrial Relations.

Applications for teaching assistantships for 1955–56 will be received by the chairman of the department until March 1. Assistantships carry a stipend of $1,500 and remission of out-of-state tuition.

University of Chicago.—Three $4,000 postdoctoral fellowships in statistics are offered for 1955–56. The purpose of these fellowships, which are open to holders of the Doctor's degree or its equivalent in research accomplishment, is to acquaint established research

workers in the biological, physical, and social sciences whose primary interests are in substantive fields rather than in statistics itself with the role of modern statistical analysis in the planning of experiments and other investigative programs and in the analysis of empirical data. The closing date for applications is February 15, 1955; instructions for applying may be obtained from the Committee on Statistics, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

The Population Research Training Center has received a grant from the National Science Foundation to finance an evaluation of demography as a science and of the significant areas of research in the subject. The project will be directed by Philip M. Hauser, with the collaboration of Otis Dudley Duncan, Donald Bogue, and Evelyn Kitagawa.

In mid-December Philip Hauser will leave for a three-month stay in Burma to be a consultant to the government of Burma. He will return to the department for the Spring and Summer quarters.

Donald Bogue and Philip Hauser will collaborate in offering special courses in demography and urbanism in the Summer Quarter.

Everett C. Hughes, chairman of the department, who was out of residence in the fall, has returned to the campus.

City College of New York.—John Collier, former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, has retired from the department with the title of professor emeritus.

Laura Thompson has been appointed professor in the department.

Harry M. Shulman has taken a leave of absence in order to serve as first deputy commissioner of correction of the city of New York.

Milton L. Barron has joined the department and will teach courses in criminology and juvenile delinquency.

Alfred P. Parsell, Jr., has been appointed to the committee of the graduate program in New York area studies and will do demographic research and teach a graduate course on the people of the city of New York. His book, *Community and Its Study,* will be published shortly.

Warren Brown has been reappointed to the Mayor's Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs of the City of New York and serves also as

a member of the Westchester County Planning Commission for the study and care of the aged and chronically ill.

J. R. Champion has returned from Mexico, where he has been doing anthropological research on the Tarahumara Indians.

Richard Brotman is serving part time as a visiting lecturer at Barnard College, Columbia University.

Committee for the Scientific Study of Religion.—The spring meeting is to be held in New York on Saturday, April 16, 1955. The general theme is "Psychiatry and Religion." Social scientists with research reports of not over 15 minutes on the general subject of religion should send three copies of 300-word abstracts to the secretary, Walter Houston Clark, Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford 5, Connecticut, before March 1.

Conference on Jewish Relations, Inc.—Werner J. Cahnman has received a research grant from the Cultural Division of the Commission on Material Claims against Germany. His topic of study is the birth of Jewish nationalism in Austria.

Eastern Sociological Society.—The annual meeting will be held in the Henry Hudson Hotel, New York City, on April 2 and 3, 1955. Papers concerned with research, methodology, theory, or statistics may be submitted. Completed papers, or a preliminary draft of them, should be submitted by January 15 to Paul F. Cressey, Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts.

For reservations to the banquet and reception write to Adolph S. Tomars, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, The City College, 139th Street and Convent Avenue, New York 31, New York.

The Society's Committee on Freedom and Responsibility in Research and Teaching is carrying out a poll of opinion and fact among sociologists in the eastern region respecting (*a*) the character and intensity of the present climate of opinion; (*b*) the sources and types of pressures operating on college teachers and research; and (*c*) their impact on the activities of professional sociologists both on and off the campus. The results of this study will be distributed as soon as completed.

Harold W. Pfautz, of the department of

sociology of Brown University, is the chairman of the committee. Other members are Ray H. Abrams, Elizabeth B. Lee, and S. N. Miller.

Fisk University.—The department of social science has recently moved into a new and modern three-story building, Robert E. Park Hall. The building contains several classrooms, faculty offices, a statistical laboratory, a one-way vision laboratory, library, and student and faculty lounges. Park Hall houses the departments of psychology, education, and race relations as well as social science.

J. Masuoka spent June and July attending the World Conference on Race Relations held at the University of Hawaii.

Preston Valien has been appointed an advisory editor of the *American Journal of Sociology.*

Inez Adams toured the South during August and September, studying the reactions of the people of the region to the Supreme Court's decision on segregation.

The research staff of the department is working with Bonita Valien on an inventory of schools and communities concerning attitudes, opinions, and practices related to the Supreme Court decision on segregation. Mrs. Valien is on the staff of the Southern Education Reporting Service.

David Granick has returned from a year's leave of absence, during which he conducted research on Soviet economics at the University of North Carolina.

Kali Prasad, head of the department of psychology and philosophy of the University of Lucknow, India, will be visiting professor of social psychology during the second semester of this school year.

Florida State University.—Francis R. Allen is editing a volume on *Technology and Social Change* to be published in 1955.

T. Stanton Dietrich has been assigned part time to the Council for the Study of Higher Education in Florida.

John L. Haer has been awarded a Social Science Research Council grant-in-aid for a study of community and neighborhood attitudes in a semitransient area of Tallahassee.

Lewis Killian has prepared a report on the findings on attitudes toward segregation in Florida which were included in the brief filed by Attorney-General Richard W. Ervin for consideration by the Supreme Court.

William F. Ogburn has returned for a second year as visiting professor. *Technology and the Changing Family,* by himself and M. F. Nimkoff, is to appear in January.

Robert McGinnis has received a grant from the University Research Council for a study with M. F. Nimkoff of community satisfaction and family structure in Tallahassee. Professor McGinnis has also assumed responsibility for the direction of the Sociology Research Laboratory, which has new and expanded quarters and facilities.

George H. Finck has been appointed director of the Mental Hygiene Clinic at Tampa, Florida.

John R. Miller, Jr., has accepted a position at Greensboro, North Carolina.

Donald G. Merriman has joined the staff of the division of marriage and family living as assistant professor.

Joseph Golden has accepted a position at the Atlanta School of Social Work. He will have major responsibility for the direction of student research.

Ira H. Holland has been appointed at Indiana Central College as dean and registrar.

The United States Public Health Service has made a grant to the School of Social Welfare for the development of a training program in psychiatric social work. Virginia Williamson has been added to the staff to facilitate the development of the program.

Dorothy D. Hayes, formerly of the University of Iowa, has joined the social work staff.

Ford Foundation.—The Ford Foundation has opened its Foreign Study and Research Fellowship competition for the academic year 1955–56. The awards, which will be made in April and May, 1955, are for study and research dealing with three areas: Africa, Asia and the Near East, and Soviet Russia and Eastern Europe. The fellowships cover from one to three years of postgraduate work either in the United States or abroad. Eligible are students just beginning their graduate work as well as advanced scholars. A limited number of awards will be to nonacademic persons of recognized competence.

Applicants should not ordinarily be over forty years of age, and age limits of thirty and thirty-five apply to certain of the Soviet

and East European Area fellowships. Details and application forms may be obtained from The Ford Foundation, Foreign Study and Research Fellowship Program, 477 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York. The deadline for filing applications is January 7, 1955.

Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry.— A publication is announced entitled *Integration and Conflict in Family Behavior* (GAP Report, No. 27). This is the first of a series being prepared by the Committee on the Family on the relation between the family and the mental health of the individual. Copies of the report may be obtained by writing to the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 3617 West Sixth Avenue, Topeka, Kansas, and inclosing fifty cents.

*Hunter College, New York.—*Beginning in the spring of 1955, Hunter College will offer a graduate program leading toward the Master of Arts degree in sociology.

The following members of the department have been promoted: Rosalind Tough to full professor, Leo Deets to associate professor, and Bernard Lander to assistant professor. The latter is the author of the recent book, *Understanding of Delinquency.*

Dorothy Blitsten, instructor in the department, has recently published *Social Theories of Harry Stack Sullivan.*

Theodore Abel has been re-elected chairman of the department. He is co-editor with Berger and Page of a volume in honor of Robert M. MacIver entitled *Freedom and Control in Modern Society.*

*University of Illinois.—*Oscar Lewis has been promoted to professor of anthropology. He has recently returned from a two-year leave of absence with the Ford Foundation, spent in India and in New York.

Margaret K. Chandler has returned from a year's leave of absence spent at Yale University. She has been promoted to associate professor of sociology.

Robert James, assistant professor of sociology, has been granted a leave of absence to carry on a restudy of the community of Shawneetown, Illinois.

Alvin W. Gouldner, formerly of Antioch College, has been appointed associate professor of sociology.

Bernard Farber has been appointed research associate in sociology. He is directing a research project on the effect of a mentally retarded child on family integration.

Daniel Glaser, formerly sociologist-actuary at Illinois State Penitentiary at Joliet, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology.

Howard S. Becker has been reappointed and Martin U. Martel of Cornell University has been appointed as Ford postdoctoral fellows in sociology.

Eleanor Godfrey has resigned her Ford postdoctoral fellowship in sociology and has been appointed assistant professor of home economics and research associate in psychology.

Joan Dodge and Armond Fields have been appointed research assistants in sociology.

Robert Murphy has been reappointed and Eric Wolf has been appointed to be research associates in anthropology.

The University now offers five courses in rural sociology for undergraduates through the departments of agricultural economics and of sociology and anthropology and an equal number of courses carrying graduate credit. Ward Bauder and C. L. Folse conduct the teaching and research program.

*International Sociological Association.—*The Third World Congress of Sociology will be organized by the International Sociological Association, under the auspices of UNESCO, in the city of Amsterdam (Netherlands) from August 22 to 29, 1956. The theme of the Congress will be "Problems of Social Change in the Twentieth Century." Sections will be devoted to the effect of change on economics, the family, education, and the class structure.

Sociologists in all countries are cordially invited to take part in this congress. For details of registration and other information address the International Sociological Association, Skepper House, 13 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C. 1.

*Iowa State College.—*Teaching research fellowships will be available for 1955–56 in the following areas: leadership and group dynamics, population mobility and the labor force, social welfare, crime, delinquency, farmers' organizations and co-operatives, family life,

social stratification, industrial sociology, and sociological theory.

Paul J. Jehlik and Ray E. Wakeley have completed the preparation of a regional manuscript, "Population Change and Migration in the North Central States, 1940–50," to be published early in 1955.

Frank M. DiPaul and Janet Payer have been appointed to the staff as instructors in sociology.

Everett M. Rogers has been appointed to the staff as research assistant.

William F. Kenkel, who was formerly associated with the Ohio State University, has joined the sociology staff in a research capacity. At present he is conducting studies on the influence of social status on the lives of family members.

Blaine N. Porter, William F. Kenkel, and David M. Fulcomer are continuing their experimentation in teaching in the area of the professional person and families.

University of Kansas.—Carroll D. Clark, chairman of the department, is on sabbatical leave, having received a grant from the Fund for Adult Education. His headquarters will be Cornell University.

Marston M. McCluggage will be acting chairman in Dr. Clark's absence.

E. Gordon Ericksen, who has been promoted to associate professor, has been granted leave of absence to serve as a sociological consultant on public housing for the Foreign Operations Administration of the State Department's Point Four program.

Robert Witt is an instructor in the department.

Rupert Murrill has been promoted to assistant professor.

Hilden Gibson has returned to his position of chairman of the human relations department after a year's study of human relations activities in other universities under a grant from the Ford Foundation.

E. Jackson Baur has returned to the department after a year's sabbatical leave spent in research on a grant from Community Studies, Inc., of Kansas City.

Orry C. Walz, who has been instructor in sociology, has accepted a position as assistant professor at East Central State College, Ada, Oklahoma.

George H. Weber has accepted a position as director of preventive and corrective services on the Minnesota Youth Commission.

University of Kentucky.—Howard W. Beers, head of the departments of sociology and rural sociology, has been promoted to the rank of distinguished professor.

Irwin T. Sanders, also a distinguished professor, has been elected vice-president of the Rural Sociological Society and president-elect of the Southern Sociological Society.

C. Arnold Anderson, associate professor of sociology, is on sabbatical leave at the University of Lund, Sweden, for the year.

Harry Best, emeritus professor of sociology, has been awarded the 1954 Migel Medal for Outstanding Service to the Blind for the year 1954. The citation was for his history of work for the blind, *Blindness and the Blind in the United States,* published in 1934.

James S. Brown, associate professor of rural sociology, is spending his sabbatical year as a Fulbright Research Scholar at Christian Albrechts University, Kiel, Germany.

Ralph J. Ramsey, who is on sabbatical leave, is studying at the University of Chicago on an Adult Education Fund fellowship.

James W. Hughes, instructor in sociology, has been appointed director of corrections in the Kentucky State Department of Welfare.

John R. Christiansen has joined the staff as assistant rural sociologist.

The University Press announces the establishment of a fellowship awarding $5,000 for a book-length manuscript analyzing some significant aspect of the culture of Kentucky or its region. When completed, the book will be published by the Press. Deadline for application is April 1, 1955. Further information may be obtained by writing the University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, Kentucky.

University of Massachusetts.—The Board of Trustees has approved a Master of Arts degree program, and specialization in correctional administration has been developed.

C. Wendell King has been promoted to the rank of associate professor in the department of sociology.

Edwin D. Driver has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor of sociology.

Arthur J. Field has been appointed instructor in sociology.

Mexican Social Security Institute.—Robert C. Jones, in addition to serving as technical consultant to the Mexican Social Security Institute, has established a hostel and orientation center for persons wishing to know Mexico better. The center is located at Chilpancingo 23, Mexico 11, D.F., Mexico.

University of Michigan.—Amos Hawley, chairman of the department of sociology, has returned from a year as a technical assistant to the Foreign Operations Administration's Public Administration Program in Manila.

Robert C. Angell is president of the International Sociological Society.

Horace Miner has been elected president of the Society for Applied Anthropology.

Theodore Newcomb is the president-elect of the American Psychological Association.

Ronald Freedman is spending 1954–55 on leave as co-director with P. K. Whelpton of a study of the growth of American families, a project sponsored jointly by the Survey Research Center and the Scripps Foundation for the Study of Population Problems. Leslie Kish is co-operating in the study design.

Werner Landecker, who has received a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council, will spend his spring sabbatical leave conducting research on metropolitan class crystallization.

Morris Janowitz is at the Institute for Social Research of the University of Frankfurt on a Fulbright scholarship for 1954–55.

G. E. Swanson has been promoted to the rank of associate professor.

Gerhard Lenski has been promoted to assistant professor.

Rensis Likert has been elected vice-president of the American Statistical Association.

Ronald Lippitt has been elected to the Council of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.

Harold Wilensky has joined the department as assistant professor.

H. M. Blalock, Jr., has been appointed instructor in statistics and research methods.

Robert Hamblin and David Varley have been appointed predoctoral instructors.

Harry P. Sharp has been named director of the Detroit Area Study, replacing Morris Axelrod, who has become assistant head of the Field Staff at the Survey Research Center.

Donald Pelz has been appointed lecturer.

Michigan State College.—The Alumni Fund offers five predoctoral fellowships ranging in value from $1,000 to $1,400 tenable in any subject for the year 1955–56. With each fellowship a waiver of course and tuition fees is granted. Only United States students are eligible.

The Alumni Fund also offers one postdoctoral fellowship open to United States applicants, of $3,000, for a period of ten months, September to July. This fellowship is available for research in any subject for which Michigan State College has appropriate facilities and entails faculty housing privileges. Completed applications must be received before March 1, 1955.

Ten Graduate Council Fellowships are offered for predoctoral study for the year 1955–56. Each carries a stipend of $700, plus a waiver of course and tuition fees. Every applicant must have been admitted to the School of Graduate Studies before March 1, 1955.

Further information may be obtained from the Dean of the School of Graduate Studies, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan.

University of Minnesota.—Arnold Rose is the president-elect of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, to take office in 1955–56.

George A. Donohue is in charge of research on farming as an occupation.

Marvin Taves is engaged in a study of personality adjustment of children and their acceptance in peer groups. He is collaborating with John Kelley in a longitudinal study of the attitudes of Minnesota youth to American business, a project supported in part by a grant from Midland Cooperatives, Incorporated.

Roy Francis is studying population changes in Minnesota.

Lowry Nelson is at present on a Fulbright fellowship studying Italian village social organization.

Charles E. Ramsey resigned last summer to accept a position as associate professor in the department of rural sociology at Cornell University.

Theodore Caplow is lecturing at the University of Utrecht in Holland on a Fulbright fellowship.

University of North Carolina.—Just on going to press, the *Journal* learns with regret of the death, on November 8, of Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology in this university since 1920, a former chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology, and known in the whole world of social science as editor of *Social Forces.*

E. William Noland is the new chairman of the department.

Gordon W. Blackwell and Katharine Jocher are the editors of *Social Forces.*

University of North Dakota.—A Social Science Research Institute has been established to stimulate, sponsor, and direct research in the social sciences particularly pertaining to North Dakota and the Great Plains. Peter A. Munch, head of the department of sociology and anthropology, has been appointed director.

A grant has been received from a private midwestern foundation in support of a study of the economic and social effects of oil developments in the area of Williston, North Dakota.

Robert B. Campbell has been promoted to assistant professor of sociology.

In the division of social work there are two new staff members: Ole Omlid, assistant professor of social work, and Ione Olson, assistant professor of occupational therapy.

Ohio State University.—Frederick Elmore Lumley, professor emeritus of sociology at the Ohio State University, died in St. Thomas, Ontario, Canada, on July 26, 1954.

Dr. Lumley was born in Canada on June 7, 1880. He received the A.B. degree from Hiram College in 1905, the A.M. from McMaster University in 1907, the D.B. from Yale University in 1909, and the Ph.D. from Yale in 1912. His academic career began in 1906, when he was appointed principal of Sinclair College, St. Thomas, which position he held for two years. In 1912, following his graduation from Yale, he went to Butler University, where he served as professor of sociology until 1920. He joined the Ohio State University faculty as assistant professor of sociology in 1920 and was made professor the following year. He was chairman of the department of sociology between 1932 and 1940 and became professor emeritus in 1945.

He taught as visiting professor at Yale University in 1924 and in the summer schools of Northwestern University in 1924, Syracuse University in 1929, and Western Reserve University in 1930 and 1931.

Dr. Lumley was the author of a number of significant books in the field of sociology. His *Means of Social Control* was published in 1925. In 1928 he published *Principles of Sociology,* which went through two editions and numerous printings and was one of the most widely used sociology textbooks for many years. He was the co-author, with B. H. Bode, of *Ourselves and the World,* published in 1931. In 1935 *The Propaganda Menace* was published. He contributed about fifty items to the *Dictionary of Sociology* and was editor of the *Ohio Sociologist* (later the *Ohio Valley Sociologist*) for ten years. He was at work on a volume, *The Social Order,* at the time of his death.

Dr. Lumley engaged in many activities off campus. He was a lecturer on the Chautauqua platform in 1919, lectured widely in behalf of the Country Life Movement, and served as a member of the Columbus Board of Zoning Adjustment and of the Columbus Planning Commission.

Dr. Lumley always devoted considerable time to his students, inviting them to come to his office and discuss their problems with him. His passing will be mourned by innumerable students and colleagues, who remember him as a kind, patient, and scholarly gentleman.

Pennsylvania State University.—Robert E. Clark continues as acting chairman of the department of sociology for the academic year 1954–55.

Jessie Barnard has resumed teaching and research activities after a sabbatical leave during the academic year 1953–54, spent in research in Graz, Austria.

Margaret B. and Frederick R. Matson are accompanying the University of Chicago archeological project in Iran.

Joseph C. Lagey, previously of the University of Wisconsin, has joined the department as assistant professor.

Population Council, Inc.—An expanded program of fellowships for advanced training in the study of population at the predoctoral

and postdoctoral levels has been set up. Fellowships are for study in universities in the United States and elsewhere for the academic year 1955–56. Preference will be given to qualified applicants from countries other than the United States and Europe. The basic stipend of $2,500 per year may be supplemented to provide for travel expenses, maintenance of dependents, and other exceptional expenses. Somewhat larger stipends may be granted to postdoctoral than to predoctoral Fellows.

Applications should be received before March 1, 1955. Requests for further information and for application forms should be addressed to The Population Council, Inc., 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

Purdue University.—William F. Ogburn will be visiting professor during the spring semester of the present academic year.

A new staff position in urban-industrial sociology has been created, and Robert L. Eichhorn has been appointed to it with the rank of assistant professor.

Louis Schneider is on leave and has accepted a fellowship with the Center for Advanced Study set up by the Division of Behavioral Sciences of the Ford Foundation.

Richard Thursten has been given a temporary appointment during Professor Schneider's absence.

University of Rochester.—Joseph B. Gittler, formerly of Iowa State College, has become professor and chairman of the department of sociology. In addition, he has become director of the Center for the Study of Group Relations. He is editor of a forthcoming volume, *Review of Sociology, 1945–55,* which is an inventory and evaluation of research studies.

Roscoe and Gisela Hinkle's book, *The Development of Modern Sociology,* has just been published.

David Pittman and C. Wayne Gordon are working on a study of police case alcoholics, financed by a grant from the New York State Mental Health Commission.

Joseph B. Gittler and Lami S. Gittler are further testing their study on rural intergroup relations in four additional counties in Iowa, with the assistance of Jacqueline Macy.

Other members of the department, both those teaching and those in research, are: Phyllis Casden, Janet Coye, David Crystal, Julie Fay, Ruth Forsyth, C. Wayne Gordon, Roscoe C. Hinkle, Jr., Gisela J. Hinkle, David J. Pittman, and Laura Root.

Roosevelt University.—In September, 1954, Roosevelt College of Chicago became Roosevelt University. The institution is now in its tenth year.

Rose Hum Lee's textbook, *The City: Urbanism and Urbanization in Major World Regions,* will be published in 1955.

St. Clair Drake has a Ford fellowship for 1954–55 for research in Africa and is spending the fall in Accra on the Gold Coast.

Robert E. T. Roberts is teaching courses in anthropology part time. He has the rank of assistant professor.

Arthur Hillman, chairman of the department, is directing a demonstration adult-education program for recent immigrants, supported by the Schwarzhaupt Foundation. An Italian edition of his *Community Organization and Planning* has been published in Milan.

Southern Sociological Society.—The eighteenth annual meeting will be held in Nashville, Tennessee, March 31–April 2, 1955, the headquarters being the Hermitage Hotel. The local arrangements committee is composed of Gideon W. Fryer, chairman, University of Tennessee School of Social Work; Morris J. Daniels, Vanderbilt University; Mrs. Preston Valien, Fisk University; T. P. Yeatman, Peabody College; and Miss Louise Young, Scarritt College.

The program will include sections on the following subjects: theory, William L. Kolb, Newcomb College; methodology, Meyer F. Nimkoff, Florida State University; cultural anthropology, Emilio Willems, Vanderbilt University; teaching, James W. Gladden, University of Kentucky; and social work, Miss Belle Boone Beard, Sweet Briar College.

Members of the society will have the opportunity to participate in the dedication of the Robert E. Park Hall at Fisk University in ceremonies which will include a series of seminars on race relations. A dinner and evening session on April 1 will be held on the Scarritt College campus.

Third International Congress on Criminology.—The Congress will meet in London from September 11 to 18, 1955, inclusive. It is organized on behalf of the International Society for Criminology by a British Committee, the main subject being recidivism.

Membership is open to all scientists, medical men, judges, magistrates, lawyers, officials dealing with crime and criminals, penal administrators and officers, police and police scientists, probation officers, social workers, and others who are seriously interested in criminology in general or recidivism in particular. A cordial invitation is extended to government departments, universities, faculties, societies, etc., to send representatives.

All communications concerning the Congress should be addressed to: The Organizing Secretary, Third International Congress on Criminology, 28 Weymouth Street, London, W.I., England.

University of Toronto.—The School of Social Work announces that the first recipients of awards from the Harry M. Cassidy Memorial Research Fund are Nicolaas Pansegrouw, who at present is at the New York School of Social Work; Roger Marier, of the School of Social Work of McGill University; David Donnison, of the University of Manchester; and Albert Rose, of the University of Toronto's School of Social Work. Respectively, they will investigate the scientific bases of education for social work, community planning, social effects of public housing, and welfare in a small community in a time of change.

Trinity College.—Eva J. Ross has resumed her duties as head of the department of sociology after a sabbatical leave spent in research and in writing and lecturing in Great Britain, France, and Spain. She is now completing an article on the status of sociology in Spain.

University of Wichita.—Donald O. Cowgill, professor and head of the department of sociology and anthropology, has completed an ecological study of Wichita, Kansas, which has been published by the Wichita Community Planning Council.

Amy G. Gerling, associate professor, and Donald Cowgill are the authors of *Children and Youth in Wichita,* published by the University of Wichita.

Jean Fyfe Baird has joined the staff and will be in charge of the courses on marriage.

Yale University.—Omar K. Moore (Ph.D., Washington University, 1949) has been appointed assistant professor of sociology.

John H. Mabry has been appointed lecturer in sociology.

John S. Ellsworth has been appointed director of the Office for Selective Service and Veterans Affairs and of the Bureau for Foreign Nationals.

Richard D. Schwartz is serving as consultant to the Yale Study Unit in Psychiatry and Law.

The following have been appointed assistants in instruction: Burwell Dodd, Jr., Peter M. Park, and George Psathas. Douglas L. C. Rennie has been appointed laboratory assistant.

A University study unit in sociology and medicine has been established under a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation to co-ordinate the research interests of the medical school and the department of sociology. The steering committee includes Leo W. Simmons, A. B. Hollingshead, and Albert F. Wessen from the sociology department; Milton J. E. Senn, Sterling Professor of Pediatrics and director of the Child Study Center, George B. Darling, professor of human ecology in the department of public health, and Bertram H. Roberts, assistant professor of psychiatry. As a preliminary, Dr. Roberts and Dr. Wessen are preparing an annotated bibliography on social aspects of medicine, while Dr. Hollingshead and Dr. Roberts are organizing an interuniversity, interdisciplinary project on mental health in a New England community.

BOOK REVIEWS

Mathematical Thinking in the Social Sciences.
Edited by PAUL F. LAZARSFELD. Glencoe,
Ill.: Free Press, 1954. Pp. 444. $10.00.

Within its chosen range of interests—which
is still a very broad one—the book testifies to
the richness and promise of mathematical meth-
ods that can be brought to bear on social science
problems. It offers social scientists the best,
most lucid, and most stimulating introduction
that I have seen to a wide range of mathemati-
cal techniques, to their usefulness in thinking,
and to their application to concrete data and
specific cases.

Despite its broad title, the volume does not
give a representative sample of all the ways in
which mathematical thinking at present is in-
fluencing developments in the social sciences. It
pays only slight attention to such broad areas
of current work as game theory; cybernetics, or
the theory of communication and control; or-
ganizational behavior; and linear programming
and operational research. Rather, it represents a
sampling of the particular areas of research that
have most interested Professor Lazarsfeld and
his associates, with six of the eight chapters tak-
ing some or all of their applications from the
field of public opinion and attitude research.

There is a good nontechnical introduction to
stochastic processes and Markov chains, by a
mathematical statistician, T. W. Anderson,
with an interesting attempt to apply these
methods to the analysis of the "transitional
probabilities" of Republican and Democratic
voters changing their minds from month to
month in Erie County, Ohio, during the 1940
electoral campaign.

Nicolas Rashevsky, a pioneer in mathemati-
cal biology, offers a fascinating application of
differential equations to the problem of imita-
tive behavior. His mathematical model suggests
why and how a high level of conformity may
tend to make a society unstable, by producing a
secondary social disorder more serious than the
primary one which conformity is often intended
to allay.

James S. Coleman elucidates Rashevsky's
models, introduces the reader to the technique
of dimensional analysis, and offers a comparison
and classification of mathematical models of
different kinds.

Jacob Marschak uses some basic ideas about
probability in connection with "pay-off 'ma-
trices" in order to elucidate the connection be-
tween subjective utilities—the "tastes" of the
decision-maker—and his subjective estimates of
the probability of events in his environment.
This type of thinking, if carried further, should
lead the reader to problems of linear program-
ming and general operational analysis. The
chapter offers an interesting mathematical ap-
proach to the problem of "identification" of
unknown constants in a situation, similar in
some respects to Lazarsfeld's "latent structure
analysis."

Two chapters by Louis Guttman, "The Prin-
cipal Components of Scalable Attitudes" and
"A New Approach to Factor Analysis: The
Radex," link theory closely to application. They
show great resourcefulness, sophistication, and
pure ingenuity, balanced by thorough familiar-
ity with empirical data and the general state of
the field.

Of Paul Lazarsfeld's method of latent struc-
ture analysis the present book offers a clear and
mature presentation, together with a very care-
fully worked-out application to a concrete case,
involving the assigning of 2,660 soldiers to three
"latent classes" of high, intermediate, and low
morale. Lazarsfeld attempts to infer simpler but
unobservable "latent structures" from the be-
havior of individuals or groups, as recorded in
more complex "manifest data," than can be ob-
tained from questioning or observation. If suc-
cessful, the resulting "latent structures" should
help not merely in classifying the data more ac-
curately but also in predicing at least in part the
results of other independent tests before they
are made. Lazarsfeld's work seems certain to
influence developments in social science for
years to come.

A final chapter by a political scientist, Her-
bert A. Simon, discusses "some problems of
strategy in theory construction in the social sci-
ences." He suggests that *existing* theories of
behavior should be translated into mathemati-
cal terms, with consequent gains in clarity and
unity; further, that a plurality of mathematical
models be constructed, corresponding to the
plurality of relevant theories; and, finally, that
the improvement of models of "rational be-

havior" be chosen as a particularly promising line of attack. By introducing "amount of information" and "speed of adjustment" among the bounding conditions of rational behavior, Simon then arrives at a distinction of two kinds of rational behavior, "optimizing" and "adaptive." It appears, however, that optimizing models represent special limiting and static cases of adaptive behavior and that they tend to conceal the interplay of means and ends which adaptive models will bring out. A mathematical model of adaptive rational behavior would be recognized by engineers as a servomechanism or a "closed-loop control system," Simon points out. Simon then applies models of adaptive behavior to problems of motivation and learning in the individual, and in the behavior of social groups, with intriguing suggestions for further model-building and research.

The application of theory to data in Anderson's paper is not very successful: the stochastic methods appear to yield a poorer prediction of the actual vote recorded in November, 1940, than could have been obtained from simply repeating the last crude data of vote intent tabulated a month before the election. Rashevsky's present models show a considerable sense of realism and potential relevance, but in some of them there still survive such legacies of extreme biological thinking as a physiologically determined "drive" to vote Democratic or Republican.

The concept of "ethnocentrism" to which both Marschak and Lazarsfeld apply some of their mathematical methods is never well defined and retains some serious ambiguities. "Ethnocentrism" is tested by answers to questions about feeling "uncomfortable with strangers" (p. 197) and about the relative importance of one's own country to a common war effort, contrasted with that of allies. But some intense nationalists might give unexpected answers to these questions: they might not be uncomfortable with strangers, and they might be bitterly critical of their own country or people.

Lazarsfeld and his associates have produced an outstanding and seminal book. It represents a wide range of pioneering work; and it can teach social scientists much in terms of recent mathematical techniques, analytic power, and intellectual initiative.

KARL W. DEUTSCH

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Social Thought: From Hammurabi to Comte. By ROLLIN CHAMBLISS. New York: Dryden Press, 1954. Pp. vii+469. $5.00.

The possible coverage of a text in the history of social thought is immense, the approaches are diverse, the available current texts few. Consequently, this new addition to the scarce supply is easy to praise but still easier to censure.

Some purposes of a course in the history of social thought may be (1) to trace trends and immanent continuities, such as the growing secularization of thought, the emergence of dynamic versus static social concepts, the evolution of scientific and positivist consciousness, and the like—a conception linked less with personalities and more with broad theoretical cultural concepts; (2) to designate surviving thought motifs, selecting from Plato, Thomas Aquinas, Rousseau, and others the residue of permanent contribution to the present thought-ways; (3) to describe or illustrate case studies of selected thought systems, the truths that men have lived by in different epochs, a procedure contributing to the intellectual emancipation of the student; and (4) to depict the relation between thought systems and the social settings in which they have arisen.

The emphasis in this text is assertedly on the second and third of the foregoing functions and almost not at all on the first and fourth. The chapters are social vignettes, selected as "living thought" for their "eternal verities" (p. 5): "In the Golden Mean of Aristotle we discover a way of life which is still appealing" is a statement typical of the author's stand.

Some critics would, of course, agree that Plato sought values which "transcended time and place" but may question whether he actually was as successful as the author believes. Platonism might better be studied as a type of social thought relevant to its time than as an illustration of surviving truth applicable to contemporary social issues. In addition to studying an ancient philosophy for its immediate bearing on present-day problems, one could view it as having been inherited and absorbed by way of subsequent systems, modified by an untold number of social forces, and thus indirectly as an integral part of Western social thought. The line of argument of this book leans toward the former position, and it does not elaborate the more dynamic concepts.

The materials are organized into a useful system by orienting the selections around some of the conventional social concepts: human nature,

family, social organization, social stratification, education, institutions, social change, and many others. Here again, however, they tend to be static analyses of the social theory of the various historical personalities and either are not related too intimately with their own setting or are integrated in a long-time current of thought.

In comparison with the selection of social philosophers of older texts in this field (Lichtenberger, Ellwood, Bogardus, House, Barnes, and Becker), the book presents several novelties. It reaches back to Babylonia, ancient Egypt, China, and India and terminates with Comte. Following his own criteria, the author omits Machiavelli and Montaigne but includes Vico; he omits Rousseau and Hobbes but includes Locke. Here, again, no decision would be free from censure by any reasonably informed critic.

The book is well written, fluent in style, systematic and stimulating, and well adapted to advanced undergraduate mentality. As a text it is well organized and sectioned, and even the book architecture is pleasant to sight and touch.

JOHN H. MUELLER

Indiana University

The Sociology of Work. By THEODORE CAPLOW. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954. Pp. viii+330. $5.00.

Professor Caplow has written a brilliant and sophisticated analysis of what he describes as the division of labor in society.

The first chapter is concerned with the relations between culture and work. There follows a chapter pointing out the indeterminancies in the measurement of occupational status, implying that they are indigenous features of an urban industrial society and not merely the consequence of imperfect measuring tools. There then follow two chapters on mobility as related to work. Two succeeding chapters are concerned with the nature of occupational institutions and occupational ideologies. The next chapter treats of the labor market as a sociological phenomenon followed by another dealing with the labor union. There then follow four chapters dealing with some of the social-structural correlates of work, including a consideration of vocational choice, of the occupations of women, of the relation between occupations and the family, and of the sociological analysis of working conditions.

Caplow writes in bold essay fashion, and the lead sentence of each of his paragraphs gives one only an approximate notion of the detail contained in each succeeding sentence. The book must be read carefully for the richness of its insights. It might be argued that the major contribution that Caplow has made has been in the elaboration of these insights through his bold and willing interest in scientific speculation. This is not a book of confirmed knowledge. Caplow never intended to be pedantic, and his analytical skills range far beyond the existing data of empirical studies in the area of the sociology of work. This volume will long stand as a sourcebook of hypotheses and thesis topics for students of industrial sociology.

American sociology is, it seems, rapidly moving away from its alleged narrow empiricism into something like the wide-ranging social analysis of an earlier period. From Parsons to Wright Mills, from Riesman to Caplow, we can see the crisscrossing of the field of sociology by the functionalists who are, without reluctance, analytically searching for the functional interrelations among the units of their theoretical models. As a consequence we get a high degree of speculation in the application of these theoretical models. However, it should be noted that the speculation is with respect to a theoretical model or system. Consequently, the nature of the speculation is always with reference to the total model and is typically susceptible to empirical verification when the speculations are cast in hypothesis form.

To put it another way, Caplow appears squarely to fit into the category of theoretical model-builders who are revolutionizing sociology in the application of a structural-functional mode of analysis. It is now the proper task of the empiricist to take the hypotheses of the theoretical speculators and test them in their empirical studies. Caplow has certainly overwhelmed the empirical industrial sociologists with literally hundreds of hypotheses of significant proportions.

ROBERT DUBIN

University of Oregon

Method and Perspective in Anthropology: Papers in Honor of Wilson D. Wallis. Edited by ROBERT F. SPENCER. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954. Pp. xii+323. $4.50.

This collection of papers reflects that variety of interest which is one of the more attractive and engaging aspects of anthropology. Acker-

knecht's brilliant and all-too-short paper on the history and rationale of the comparative method contrasts sharply with Herskovits' dogged smiting of those theoretical dragons on whose tough hides Boas broke so many spears. Linton's exhortation to study universal values because "the peoples of the world must find common areas of understanding or die," and Stewart's ethnogeographic sermon, rebuking his colleagues for overlooking the influence of primitive people on their physical environment, contrast with Sister M. Inez Hilger's gentle and unpretentious description of field techniques employed on those aged primitives who still remember the old days, and Holmberg's interesting and half-apologetic account of the results of introducing elements of modern technology to the ultra-primitive Siriono.

In general, the more impressive of the methodological works are not those which tell us what we must do to save our skins or our scientific souls but rather those in which the author rolls up his sleeves and demonstrates what can be done by a particular methodology. Mandelbaum's paper on the form, variation, and meaning of a Kota ceremony and Greenberg's "A Quantitative Approach to the Morphological Typology of Language" are most imposing, though there are other close contenders. Greenberg's paper is particularly remarkable, since he has the nerve to undertake a staggering amount of work simply, it would seem, for the hell of it. Not once does he raise the question of what he or anyone can do with his typology once he has it. The spirit of this type of work is, of course, not popular with those who prefer to see research as the servant of mankind, with deans who wish to raise class enrolment, or with many of those who hold the purse strings of foundations devoted to the encouragement of research. But the day on which this spirit is extinguished may be a sad one for human knowledge.

The volume also indicates that anthropologists are as crassly and courageously imperialistic as ever. Colson efficiently applies a sociological technique, the census, to the Tonga of Central Africa; Mandelbaum, in his fashion, works in social psychology; Ackerknecht most fruitfully applies his knowledge of historical method; Spencer suggests an anthropological inroad into the humanities; Linton, discussing universal values, slides smoothly into the domains of philosophers; and Stewart lambasts anthropologists and geographers with equal vigor. For good measure we have Wilford's carefully prepared

defense of the methodology employed by American archeologists and Bower's description and assessment of research methods in sociology. Kroeber is given the task of binding these papers together and commenting on them. He comments rather than binds, and his efforts, as might be expected, are stimulating and generous.

The one major field which is conspicuously ignored in this volume is that of "culture and personality." Except for one or two critical remarks made by Spencer, the lay reader of this book would never know that this approach exists. Perhaps none of the contributors except Mandelbaum was interested in writing about culture and the individual. On the other hand, if this exclusion of those explorers who have ventured into the Freudian "faery lands forlorn" is deliberate, it is lamentable. We can test no one's capabilities by turning their picture to the wall. Moreover, the investigation of the role of the individual in culture was one of Boas' warmest and most worthy ambitions. If the Freudian theory proves unfruitful, there are other psychological schemes of analysis which might be tried.

I do not find the phenomenon which I have jokingly called "imperialism" at all alarming. It is characteristic of youthful cultures and institutions, and why should it not be characteristic of youthful and vigorous disciplines? I cannot share Bower's view that "the vogue to explore new sources of data and thus add to the horizontal surface of the science" is old hat; nor do I see why we should become academic moles "by digging increasingly deeper into a field whose sod has been turned." Whether they are busy with data or method, young and vigorous sciences simply do not dig themselves in. We will continue to refine our methodology and our theory as we age; but, as long as we continue to explore and let our "imaginations run riot" now and then, we will not grow senile. Indeed, on reading this book, I was struck by an intriguing resemblance between anthropologists and certain minority groups. If we keep on exploring and appropriating in this fashion, other disciplines may soon be saying, "You just can't keep *them* out!"

One final carping note: Perhaps in a volume which honors a living scholar the inclusion of a thorough appraisal of his contribution is not considered sporting. But is a complete bibliography of his works too much to ask?

ROSALIE H. WAX

University of Chicago

*An Analysis of the Kinsey Reports on Sexual Be-
havior in the Human Male and Female.* Edited
by DONALD PORTER GEDDES. New York:
E. P. Dutton & Co., 1954. Pp. x+319. $3.50.

The two Kinsey reports have given rise to
several collections of essays and symposiums,
all of which make interesting reading not only as
to the "continuities" problem but as indicators
of the reactions of the several disciplines and of
various types of amateurs to Kinsey and Com-
pany's work. Mr. Geddes, who co-edited a vol-
ume of essays on the first Kinsey volume, now
presents a potpourri of essays on the second,
filled out with Lionel Trilling's justly famous ar-
ticle on the earlier study, with a review of the
reviews of that book, and with an interesting
commentary by Robert E. Taylor on the Mar-
quis de Sade as a social reformer (drawing on
Geoffrey Gorer, Simone de Beauvoir, and other
contemporary rescuers of Sade, as well as on his
own research into the background of Sade's *120
Days of Sodom*). As can be imagined, all this is
very uneven, but even the most flimsy commen-
taries typify the ease with which people sound
off on Kinsey: his books are a projective test for
our times.

The volume under review, in fact, represents
a fair collection of the battles Kinsey has had to
fight. He has had to defend his methods against
some psychoanalysts who dogmatize that only
"deep" interviews or projectives get at re-
pressed, hence all-important, sexual material—a
view reflected in this volume by Dr. Sol W.
Ginsburg's attack on Kinsey's innocence about
the unconscious as well as on his naïvely norma-
tive concept of "normality." Kinsey has also
had to defend his methods from some statisti-
cians who have been insufficiently generous to
Kinsey's undoubted shortcomings—shortcom-
ings which the second volume, as Herbert
Hyman and Paul Sheatsley observe in their es-
say on "The Scientific Method," does a great
deal to overcome. Hyman and Sheatsley write
with characteristic clarity and make many valu-
able observations on what interviews can and
cannot accomplish. They justify Kinsey's con-
centration on the measurable index of "outlet"
—so frequently criticized in this volume as bi-
ologistic and crude (notably in Ashley Mon-
tagu's humanistic commentary)—though they
also observe that Kinsey occasionally confuses
his measure of sexuality with value (much as if
Durkheim should have thought, using suicide as
an index of subtle states of feeling, that the
more, the merrier). They deal carefully with the

problems of reliability and validity, although,
in suggesting that respondents would be more
truthful in answering same-sex interviewers (p.
105), they may underestimate the candor often
evoked by our opposite numbers.

On the whole, in fact, this volume defends
Kinsey even in his right to make errors, let the
mores fall where they may. However, the con-
tributions both of Reinhold Niebuhr and Presi-
dent McIntosh of Barnard verge close to an
obscurantist attack on science; many intemper-
ate attacks of this sort have, of course, been
leveled at Kinsey and are collated in Erdman
Palmore's *Social Forces* article, here reprinted.
The publication of Kinsey's books has coincided
not only with renewed polemical attacks on so-
cial science but also with the growth, owing in
part to social science, of an anthropologically
tinged romance with the allegedly less inhibited
folk in the lower classes at home and the pre-
literates abroad. This romance is an affair of the
educated upper-middle classes, precisely those
whom Kinsey's implicit praise for the "natural"
—for the lower-class youngsters who do not
postpone intercourse, and even for the male
who does not, for the sake of his womenfolk,
postpone ejaculation—is likely to hit hardest.
In this context it makes sense for Mrs. McIn-
tosh and others in this volume, notably Lionel
Trilling and the psychoanalyst Dr. Edward S.
Tauber, to criticize Kinsey's ferocious, if veiled,
attack on all those artifices, delaying tactics,
and sublimations which make human life vari-
ous and interesting. Sublimation today needs
defense and reinterpretation, and young people,
both girls and boys, need defense against Kin-
sey-heightened worries whether or not they are
behaving "naturally" and "wholesomely" in
matters sexual.

What is lacking, however, in some of these
critiques of Kinsey is sufficient appreciation for
his own sublimation, for the Puritan devotion to
his work which accompanies the zealotry of
"emancipation" they denounce. Kinsey is fight-
ing the repressions of an earlier era—repressions
from which, as his books make clear, the more
orthodoxly devout population still suffers. He
has carried the good conscience of an Abolition-
ist into a post-Puritan era. His limitations are
the price he, and we, must pay for his achieve-
ments—achievements which have stimulated
the critiques in the Geddes book and its many
published and unpublished analogues.

DAVID RIESMAN

University of Chicago

World Population and Production: Trends and Outlook. By W. S. WOYTINSKY and E. S. WOYTINSKY. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1953. Pp. lxix+1268. $12.00.

This is a big book. On its twelve-hundred-odd pages are the equivalent of four-fifths of a million words. Moreover, there are about five hundred tables and over three hundred charts. The first chapter begins in a big way and is entitled "The Earth." The work is encyclopedic. Yet its launching price was only nine dollars, the price of a couple of dinners at the Cafe de Paris.

How is all this possible? It was financed by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Twentieth Century Fund. Yet (for the Cox Committee, the Reece Committee, and other future investigating committees of the foundations) there is nothing Communistic in this four-pound book, unless the prospect of diminishing natural resources agitates the reader to doing something radical. Mr. and Mrs. Woytinsky are excellently qualified for their task. As world travelers, they have seen industrially backward areas. Now living in the United States of America, they have been residents of different European countries and are familiar with several languages. It is said they prepared this book without the help of research contributors or collaborators, an almost incredible accomplishment.

How may one review a book of these dimensions? I state at once that I have not read it, though I did read several long chapters on subjects upon which I have done research and published, as, for instance, "Consumption and Standards of Living," "Human Resources," "Cities," and sections on technology in some of the many chapters on production. At first the book suggested one of the yearbooks of the United Nations, because of the immense amount of quantitative data; but the material is much more thoroughly digested. There is some analysis, a good deal of history, but little concern with concepts; and theory is, in general, missing except in spots as in dealing with Malthus. The reader also feels the need of a better pulling-together of central ideas in introductions and summaries. There is nothing in it to interest social psychologists and students of the small group. Its subject is material culture and population. The chapters on needs of the people deal with elemental wants, uncomplicated by the Oedipus complex and frustrated aggression. Let it be said, however, that income, population, natural resources, and technology made it possible for John D. Rockefeller to make the money

which enables the Rockefeller Foundation to support research in sociology.

The casual tone of these comments should not lead anyone to underestimate what the Woytinskys have done. They have made many long annual time series out of different fragments, comparable from year to year. I have spent many weeks trying to do this on a single series. Last year I spent some time trying to compare the rise in the standard of living in the United States of America and the United Kingdom comparable in money of the same purchasing power. But there were many gaps. The Woytinskys have filled in these gaps. Comparisons are readily made from their tables, as, for instance, of per capita income in fifty-two countries. There is a lot of difference between a mass or a mess of statistics and a selected lot, comparable and related, to support a single point or to contribute a definitive bit to our accumulated stock of knowledge, fitted into the organization at the right place.

In trying to give the reader an idea of the setting of this book, credit should be given also to Fred Dewhurst and his associates of the Twentieth Century Fund for initiating and promoting the series of which this book is one. The first was *America's Needs and Resources,* now being revised. This book is to be followed by one on world trade, transportation, and government. There is still another on technology and the future of a somewhat different pattern but dealing with a world force comparable in importance with the subject matter of others in this list of publications. For those who view these matters practically, as the United States of America moves from isolation into the role of a world power, these books should be useful.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

University of Chicago

La Psychologie ethnique. By GEORGES A. HEUSE. Paris: Librairie philosophique, J. Vrin, 1953. Pp. xii+151.

The reader learns about ethnology (general, specific, and applied in Heuse's classification) and *about* methodology; of actual research procedure or of findings by ethnologists, the reader will learn nothing. A few examples enliven on occasion the classificatory account, but, even so, the author merely touches upon the topics and avoids any thorough discussion, with the

exception of the overlong section on definition of ethnology.

Perhaps the major conclusion, one which is expressed by Otto Klineberg in the Preface, is that further progress in ethnological research will result from the adoption of a "synthetic" approach and the simultaneous use of several different research methods.

Of considerable interest, on the other hand, are Heuse's attempts to list the various rules that the research worker might profitably observe. Yet the very chapter devoted to the rules of the method (chap. vi, pp. 100–106) is spectacularly inadequate, and, were it not that the author suggests a few methodological rules in each of the preceeding discussions (of various methods used in general, special, and applied ethnology, respectively), the volume would have little to say beyond giving a most cursory introduction into the field.

Relatively little use is made of American literature, but a useful survey is given of European, and especially, French writings.

Summarily, we may say that the book is a fair introduction to the study of ethnology and a good survey of methodology (but not methodological know-how). We would feel inclined to suggest that, were the author to take his all-too-brief sections and elaborate upon them fully, another volume might result which would be of immense value to the behavioral scientists. Heuse certainly has the skill and knowledge necessary to do so.

JIRI NEHNEVAJSA

University of Colorado

The World of Primitive Man. By PAUL RADIN. New York: Henry Schuman, Inc., 1953. Pp. xi+370. $5.00.

Paul Radin has long been interested in synthesizing knowledge about primitive life and thought, in going beyond merely descriptive and taxonomic accounts to reflections on the general nature of primitive culture. In his *Primitive Man as a Philosopher* (1927) he developed the important thesis that in primitive societies there are philosophers in the fullest sense of the term: a few rare individuals who are seriously concerned with abstract thought about the nature of the universe, man, and society. About a decade later, in his *Primitive Religion*, Radin indicated that primitive man, far from being submerged in supernaturalistic rites and customs, is typically only indifferently religious; the religious individuals, like the philosophers in primitive societies, are a small minority. At least equally important is his analysis of the interrelationship of religion and the socioeconomic aspects of culture. While the empirical validity of Radin's generalizations was often open to question, one could never fail to contrast his lively and stimulating treatment with the uninspired quality of much anthropological work of those periods. In this latest book Radin, as the title suggests, deals with the broader subject of primitive culture in all its aspects, contrasting it with the major civilizations.

The major civilizations since 3000 B.C. were persistently concerned with dream myths of a Golden Age and conceived of a stable afterworld, earthly life being a painful and insignificant incident. But primitive man was largely interested in the earthly here-and-now; the main features of primitive culture, in Radin's view, are respect for the individual, a high degree of sociopolitical integration, and personal security.

Now, the author asks, "how are we to explain the startling fact that in no aboriginal civilization did those basic economic distortions and crises arise that have existed in all the major civilizations since 3000 B.C.?" (pp. 12–13). In answering this question, he turns to some common features of primitive cultures. Part I deals with the nature and distribution of primitive cultures, their limiting conditions, economy, magic and religion, life-crises, and rituals. Part II is concerned with social structure—government, law, status. Part III discusses myth, literature, and philosophy.

Radin's generalizations about the world of primitive man are by no means wholly new; some have been the subject of debate for more than half a century. The main points are: (1) there is no individual property ownership as we know it; (2) social structure is normally based upon the clan; (3) legal structure, while quite variable, never approaches absolute and personal despotism such as has been known in western Europe, the Mediterranean, and Asia; (4) stratification is limited by kinship principles and by the concept that "every individual possessed an inalienable right to food, shelter, and clothing" (p. 15); and (5) magic and religion are important in validating the realities of everyday life, but religion is not institutionalized, that is, there is no official religion with authority to threaten the disbeliever.

The author's substantiation of these propositions is only illustrative and will not convince those who insist on systematic and comprehensive comparisons. Yet his generalizations are important as a stimulus to further research and as a challenge by an avowedly historical anthropologist to colleagues preoccupied with ethnographic description and the accenting of the unique to the exclusion of the search for general processes.

In this book Radin joins his older interests in primitive philosophy, religion, literature, and mythology with an apparently newer concern with the socioeconomic and political phases of culture. His treatment is, in a general way, evolutionary and causal-functional, but its articulation with the parts that deal with primitive thought is not at all clear. One finishes reading the book with a feeling of uncertainty as to whether Radin really considers the socioeconomic-political and the religiophilosophical-literary sides of primitive culture to be parts of a unified system. If his answer be in the affirmative, then their relationship—no easy task—must be shown much more clearly than in this thought-provoking book.

CHARLES S. BRANT

Sarah Lawrence College

Studies in Chinese Thought. Edited by ARTHUR F. WRIGHT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. xiv+317. $4.00.

With the help of a grant from the Ford Foundation, several interdisciplinary symposiums, in which some of the major concepts of a number of the world's major civilizations were discussed, were organized. The present volume is the outcome of the first conference on Chinese thought held under the chairmanship of Arthur F. Wright in 1952. The nine papers contained in the *Studies* do not represent a new theory but discuss methods of study not yet applied to Chinese material. Sinology may suggest modifications in hypotheses, or techniques of inquiry, to make them suit the culture being considered. The volume tries to achieve its goal by using the historical approach, regarding Chinese thought as "a sequence of answers to questions raised by the course of human events and the evolutions of Chinese institutions" (p. 3).

The individual contributions can be classified into some major categories: D. Bodde ("Har-

mony and Conflict in Chinese Philosophy") approaches Chinese philosophy from a new angle by studying one of its major concepts and suggests the desirability of similar studies of other basic concepts such as *chung* ("loyalty"), *hsiao* ("filial piety"), *jang* ("yielding").

D. S. Nivison ("The Problem of 'Knowledge' and 'Action' in Chinese Thought since Wang Yang-ming") follows a similar line by analyzing a pair of concepts which has puzzled Chinese philosophers increasingly since at least the late fifteenth century, played a great role in Sun Yat-sen's political philosophy, and is still discussed by Chinese Communists. The problem turns around the existence of habits of thought which reinforce authority but which coexist in China with a weaker undercurrent of antiauthoritarian thinking.

W. Th. de Bary's reappraisal of neo-Confucianism discusses a group of eleventh- and twelfth-century philosophers whose thought has shaped Chinese state ideology until very recent times. J. R. Levenson discusses "history" and "value" as two incompatible systems for classifying human activities: Does history determine intellectual choice, or is value independent of history? The author applies this question to nineteenth- and twentieth-century China, when Chinese thinkers had to re-evaluate their own attitudes toward the past and toward new Western ideas. Chinese communism he regards as a form of cultural syncretism.

Schuyler Cammann, discussing symbols in Chinese art, analyzes pictorial forms designed to express ideas, in order to open another avenue toward the study of Chinese thought. A similar attempt has already been made by F. Lessing in his "Über die Symbolsprache in der chinesischen Kunst" (*Sinica*, IX [1934], 121–55, 217–31, 237–69; X [1935], 31–42); this extensive and basic study seems unknown to the author as well as later works by L. de Saussure and more recent Western and Japanese studies of the astronomy of China and the works of C. Hentze on early symbolism. For the sociologist, a penetrating study of imperial symbols would be promising and necessary in clarifying the charisma of the ruler in China.

The last four articles deal with the problem of translation and interpretation. While A. Fang discusses a series of supposedly inexact translations of Chinese into English, I. A. Richards proposes the introduction of a number of new symbols added to words, as factors are added to numbers, to achieve a better mutual

comprehension between users of diverse tongues. A. Isenberg discusses the dilemma between interpretation and explanation and interpretation and evaluation. A. F. Wright, on "The Chinese Language and Foreign Ideas," compares in a very interesting way the difficulties which the Chinese in the first centuries A.D. had when rendering Buddhist terms into Chinese with those of the early Western missionaries when they tried to translate Christian terms into Chinese. It would be tempting to continue this research by analyzing the situation in which Chinese Communists are now having to coin new terms or to adopt old terms. Wright has shown clearly that the solution adopted has wide consequences for the whole future development of foreign ideas in the new culture.

W. EBERHARD

University of California, Berkeley

Vision and Action: Essays in Honor of Horace M. Kallen on His Seventieth Birthday. Edited by SIDNEY RATNER. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953. Pp. xii+ 277. $5.00.

The volume under review is a remarkable collection of essays presented in honor of Horace M. Kallen on his seventieth birthday. The wide range of subject matter and philosophical viewpoints reflects the rich intellectual life which Kallen led and his influence on such various aspects of life as the labor movement, civil liberties, consumers co-operatives, education, minority rights, and international peace movements.

An imposing group of scholars contribute to this volume. T. V. Smith writes on "Academic Freedom Revisited," Benjamin V. Cohen on "Human Rights under the United Nations Charter," Paul H. Douglas on "The Absolute, the Experimental Method, and Horace Kallen," Jerome Frank on "Some Tame Reflections on Some Wild Facts," Sidney Ratner on "Some Central Themes in Horace Kallen's Philosophy," George Boas on "Cultural Relativism and Standards," Sidney Hook on "The Philosophy of Democracy as a Philosophy of History," C. I. Lewis on "The Rational Imperatives," T. S. Eliot on "From Poe to Valéry," John Dewey on "Events and the Future," Ernest Nagel on "Teleological Explanation and Teleological Systems," Hu Shih on "Ch'an (Zen)

Buddhism in China: Its History and Method," and Adelbert Ames, Jr., on "Reconsideration of the Origin and Nature of Perception."

The writings of Horace Kallen address themselves to a number of problems. One leading concern was the threat to civil liberties and the rights of minorities in America and elsewhere, which led him to formulate the idea of cultural pluralism with its inevitable logic of free inquiry and communication. Yet he did not shirk his responsibility to his own culture and the people with whom he identified himself: he produced such notable works as *Zionism and World Politics, Frontiers of Hope,* and *Judaism at Bay.*

Kallen dealt, too, with the problem of obtaining a sense of freedom and enjoyment of life in our economic and political order. His book on *The Decline and Rise of the Consumer,* which enjoyed world-wide influence, delineated forcefully the moral as well as the economic advantages of co-operation. He anticipated the various absolutist philosophies of recent years, fascism, naziism, and Soviet imperialism and wrote several incisive essays on the lasting value of liberalism. In his writings on education, on art, and on the philosophy of religion, as in his previous works, Kallen unremittingly struggled against entrenched power, mass prejudice, and hatred.

The volume was sponsored by the Conference on Methods in Philosophy and the Sciences, of which Horace Kallen is one of the founders and honorary president.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

Carleton College

Americans and Chinese: Two Ways of Life. By FRANCIS L. K. HSU. New York: Henry Schuman, 1953. Pp. xix+457. $6.00

Aided by various grants, Francis L. K. Hsu, an American citizen born in Manchuria and currently assistant professor of anthropology at Northwestern University, has written a book on the differences between American and Chinese culture, a subject which is, at the moment, of outstanding interest to the American public.

The layman will find *Americans and Chinese: Two Ways of Life* attractive, because it is easy to read and well organized and because it attempts to contrast two whole cultures instead of merely segments thereof. The scholar will

be pleased with the rich, varied detail and the excellent anecdotes relating to China. As a Chinese, Professor Hsu takes exception to some of the interpretations of East-West differences made by non-Chinese scholars, and his points often seem sound. It is his belief that the answer to how Chinese and Americans acquired their contrasting ways of life "must be broadly Freudian. That is these contrasts are to be found first and foremost in the family." The Chinese, he says are situation-centered. The mutual dependence of the primary group gives them an emotional security which Americans lack. But the price of this dependence has been "an inability to cope with aspects of national life needing drastic reform." The supposedly "inscrutable" Chinese are, in his opinion, merely unemotional, indifferent, and quiescent, having produced over the centuries no crusaders and few martyrs. Dissenting from Northrup's explanation about the poverty of scientific thought in the Orient, he says that Chinese "even if they are on the right trail do not seem to pursue their subject of inquiry remorselessly." In their self-reliance, the individual-centered, emotional, and sometimes highly spiritual Americans are cursed by emotional insecurity, lack of respect for the old, juvenile delinquency, crimes of passion, and racial tension.

The reader is nagged throughout the book by certain inadequacies in the author's approach to cultural differences. His seizing on prime differences between cultures by concentrating mainly on fringe phenomena—such as the American divorce and juvenile delinquency rates or alcoholic and dope addiction—is intellectually suspect. Moreover, Hsu's portrait of Americans and Chinese seems two-dimensional, because time is treated as static and trends are ignored. He depicts the usefulness of the gentry to rural people in a convincing way but fails to take into account their possibly decreasing usefulness during the era of Western penetration, as described in *China's Gentry* by Hsiao-tung Fei, as edited by Margaret Park Redfield.

The scholar will find Part II, which deals with class, leaders, economics, government, and religion the most solid and satisfactory part of this book. Part III, which attempts the difficult business of saying something pertinent about the present "dilemma" of the East and West is, for various reasons, the least satisfactory. Nevertheless some fragments of the picture puzzle of China's present and future emerge. "I am convinced," he says, "that the true basis of

Communist strength is in their drastic reduction of the costs of government and in their uncompromising attitude toward the West." Although Asiatic colonialism was "not of America's making," Hsu finds that anti-British hatred is being neatly unloaded on America's back and that as long as she is a close ally of Britain's, the U.S.A. will be suspect.

Since China's deposed rulers never regained the throne, Hsu doubts that Chiang can come back. He is confident that the ancient pattern of Chinese revolt in which "the people were duty-bound to obey only as long as the imperial rule was more benevolent than despotic" still holds good and cites the record of a dynasty "overthrown by a population wielding wooden poles, the monarch having confiscated all metal implements." Even in the world of the H-bomb, this tradition might again, at some future moment, prove to have great historical importance.

WINIFRED RAUSHENBUSH

Flatbrookville, N.J.

In the Minds of Men: The Study of Human Behavior and Social Tensions in India. By GARDNER MURPHY. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1953. Pp. xiv+306. $4.50.

The author tends to popularize the techniques of social science in this book and makes known in simple terms the aims of UNESCO. The book provides good reading and will undoubtedly be of interest to those in the United States who want to know "something about India." Much stress is placed on the explanation of the Indian social problems and "India's ways" to the American readers. To the general Indian reader, however, the book may fall short of his expectations. And to students of social science the problems of research will appear too broad and the findings of research limited in their scope.

Only one-third of the book consists of discussions of the tensions projects. These projects were set up in seven places in India over great distances, in Aligarh, Lucknow, Patna, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Ahmedabad. The number of people who worked on the projects and their direction into co-operative action is impressive. But the problems of research vary so much in nature that it has been difficult to pull all the threads together.

The aim of the projects was to study social

tensions in India. Tensions among four types of hostility groups were then selected for study. These tensions were, in the order presented, between castes, between Hindus and Muslims, between refugees and other groups, and between industrial workers and supervisors. One wonders why the attention of the projects was divided into so many channels. The results show little or no communication between the participants of the various research teams, and there is no integrated analysis of the findings. Each problem is presented as a separate topic. No attempts are made to study the different ways in which the tensions are released and the differences in their intensity. One may inquire as to why the emphasis placed on caste tensions is equal to that on Hindu-Muslim tensions. Are the tensions of the same type, and do they jeopardize in the same degree the peace and security of the country? Among refugees or among industrial workers one may ask likewise how far tensions lead to aggression, and to what types of aggression, and whether they lead to violence. In describing an incident of caste inequality the author writes: "One wonders whether in Western society such a situation could long continue without blows" (p. 102). The notable fact is that caste tensions do not lead to blows in India, whereas tensions between Hindus and Muslims have led to violence.

Some important facts, however, are brought to light in this book. The rumor study at Aligarh, for example, gives us a clear understanding as to how rumors may grow and provoke riots. The chapter on child development by Lois B. Murphy shows very keen observations of the child in western and north-central India. But much of the data acquired quantitatively through the psychological tests in the various projects seem to lose their significance due to the smallness of the samples from which they were taken.

One wonders whether the information given in this book is all that came out of the tensions research projects in India. We know that many publications by the individual research workers of the various research teams have appeared and that many are about to be published. But the author does not provide a bibliography or give any indication of the existence or possibilities of further publications.

JYOTIRMOYEE SARMA

Calcutta

The Islamic State and Other Political Essays. By AJIT KUMAR SEN. Calcutta: Thacker Spink, 1950. Pp. 141. 3s. 12d.

In this collection of articles and essays, Professor Sen, formerly head of the department of political science of Dacca University, presents his views on Islamic political thought and on the political theories of the Hindus. In addition he includes articles written at the time of partition regarding current political questions in the new state of Pakistan. The final section of the compilation includes three articles in political theory. The result is uneven but rewarding.

The author's views on Islamic political thought are provocative and sober. It must be confessed, however, that Muslim theorists would disagree with a number of his interpretations. For instance, in his paper on "Communism and Islam" he develops the argument, based on certain formal analogies, that the affinity between the two systems is great. For this reason he deprecates Islam as a counterforce to communism. Most Muslim theorists would take exception to this argument and deny the validity of some of his analogies. Moreover, Islamic theorists disagree among themselves as to the Islamic state and can criticize Sen for having chosen an interpretation of Islam that may appear to carry authority when, in fact, Muslims would deny it.

Despite these facts, the book casts an interesting light on some trends or potential trends in Islam and deprecates any easy acceptance of an oversimplified view of the role of Islam in the bipolar world of today.

The essays on Hindu political thought are even more rewarding. When discussing Hindu theories, Sen is obviously much more at home than in the byways of Islam. The papers on Hindu thought give the Western reader an excellent summary of an extensive body of ancient literature as well as an interesting, if labored, interpretation of its affinity for "socialism." Here again Sen relies on formal analogies that can be contested. For instance, he finds in the "joint-family" system a social force that creates personalities amenable to a political "socialism," without asking himself whether the state really is simply the family writ large; it has not yet been demonstrated that the conditioning given by the family system will necessarily predispose the citizen to accept any one form of political order in preference to others.

The papers on minority problems in Pakistan

are quite valuable to those who are well aware of the complicated tensions that resulted in partition. In those terms his trenchant views regarding such matters as coalition ministries verge almost on the brilliant, as also his arguments regarding the status of East Bengal. In the latter case, for example, he tends to "predict" the course of events that was to culminate in the very recent action by the Governor-General of Pakistan vis-à-vis the East Bengal ministry, although he was writing more than two years prior to the event. He also makes some cogent observations regarding the difficult task of constitution-making in Pakistan.

The final section on political theory is interesting but by no means unique. The collection as a whole is useful for its insights into current Indian political thinking and some of the trying complexities of partition.

ROBERT I. CRANE

University of Chicago

Sexual Behavior in the Human Female. By ALFRED C. KINSEY, WARDELL B. POMEROY, CLYDE E. MARTIN, and PAUL H. GEBHARD. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953. Pp. xxx+842. $8.00

One can hardly review the latest Kinsey report unmindful of other summaries and critiques which have appeared in the last several months. Kinsey has been criticized, to list a few of the charges, for poor or inappropriate sampling, lacking a sense of humor, not being a woman, gathering lies as data, showing disrespect for love, and not being conscious of the unconscious. It is also frequently though not unanimously agreed that Kinsey and his associates have been and are carrying on important and perhaps monumental research.

With the publicity that Kinsey, his co-workers, and his books receive, anyone interested in sexual activity set to print has, in some way or another, confronted both volumes. Added interest is to be found in the second volume, with its comparisons of male and female behavior, and in the excellently written Part III, which summarizes recent physiological findings concerning sexual activity and response. However, in this section, Kinsey's notion of "the psychologic factors" is somewhat Victorian or Kraft-Ebbingish.

Anyone involved in field research will recognize the great achievement in interviewing for an average of two hours nearly 16,000 men and women across the United States. This feat may not impress armchair philosophers or couch clinicians. For the first time, an attempt has been made to obtain information on sexual behavior from a large nonclinical sample. As the authors modestly say, "The sample is still, at many points, inadequate, but we have been able to secure a greater diversification of subjects than had been available in previous studies." They have collected and tabulated a lot of informative data. For this accomplishment social scientists ought to be grateful, in spite of the occasional and understandable enthusiasm which leads the authors to claim more for their data than can be sustained.

Nonetheless, one may question whether Kinsey knows quite what to do with his data. His sociological and psychological understanding is inadequate. For instance, he categorizes his subjects by age, education, occupation of parent or husband, rural or urban, religious background. These are only common-sense categories. Why, one may ask, are these more relevant than hair color, shoe size, or food habits? Even when one finds a juicy correlation, what does it mean? This question is deeper than, but similar to, some of the questions that have arisen about the sampling procedures. Sexual behavior is more socially controlled than other biological functions because the sex drive does not have to be satisfied to maintain life in the organism. This is not true of food or air, for instance. The social nature of man provides him with choice concerning sexual activity. There are sublimations and substitutes.

The values by which choices are made make sense of the variety of choices, and the social forces and institutions which give rise to the value systems are the relevant sociological variables. There is the question then as to whether sociologists have developed the concepts of social forces and institutions adequately to communicate with fellow scientists, even zoölogists, who are highly motivated to find out about them or whether Kinsey is sufficiently sensitized to sociological concepts to have tried to find them.

Secondly, when Kinsey interprets the meaning of his findings, he again reflects his nineteenth-century view of ethics which modern social science could dispel. Kinsey finds that "the law is an ass" because it is so far from being lived up to—it is not rational. But the law is only a guide and frequently only an ideal; it is

more likely to be based on what people think they ought to do than on what they do. Similarly, it is only a minor aspect of legal punishment to consider the culprit and his reclamation. The major function is to reinforce the "oughts" of the value system. A study of the anthropology of law would make Kinsey's zeal for reform more realistic and realizable.

As much as I like to argue with Kinsey and his associates, I am grateful that they are around to argue with. Even now, through the smoke of heated argument, it can be recognized that Kinsey's studies of sexual behavior provide a solid groundwork for fruitful discussion and have opened up new vistas for much-needed further research.

MARTIN B. LOEB

Kansas City Study of Mid-
dle Age and Aging

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Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social
Stratification. Edited by REINHARD BENDIX
and SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET. Glencoe, Ill.:
Free Press, 1953. Pp. 725. $6.00.

This excellent selection of source material on social stratification confirms the impression of an abundance of interesting research findings and a dearth of systematic theories. Contemporary American scholars contributed all the papers in the three central parts of the book, which consist largely of empirical investigations, but only two of the twelve theories presented in the first part. This, surely, does not reflect a peculiar bias of the editors, but a state of affairs.

Even more significant is the difference in focus of earlier theorists, represented by Adam Smith, Marx, Veblen, and Max Weber, among others, and recent ones, such as Parsons, who contributed an original article. Whereas the former were concerned with the significance of differentials in power for other aspects of the social structure, the latter are primarily interested in value orientations and their effects on social relations. If Marx neglected to treat value orientations as an independent variable, since he assumed them to be directly determined by power relations, Parsons neglects the analysis of power relations as an independent variable and thus ignores how value standards are affected by them.

The studies in the second part, "Status and Power Relations in American Society," deal either with the organization of power groups or with prestige hierarchies in communities. The relationship between power and prestige position is directly examined in Baltzell's original paper. In contrast to the large amount of systematic information about the prestige structure is the scarcity of equally detailed data on the network of power relations. Since this type of investigation is so rare, it is particularly regrettable that an excerpt from the chapter on the X family by the Lynds could not have been included in the *Reader*.

The statics and dynamics of the American stratification system in their diverse ramifications are vividly portrayed in the next two parts. The selections in Part III, "Differential Class Behavior," range from demographic studies to a suggestive essay on fashion (Barber and Lobel), and discussions of class differences in family relationships, sexual behavior, religious affiliation, mental illness, and political attitudes. Five investigations of patterns and trends in "Social Mobility in the United States" constitute the core of Part IV, where are also a variety of analyses of value orientations toward mobility and success and two studies of the consequences of vertical mobility on attitudes toward minorities and toward union membership, respectively.

The last part, "Comparative Social Structures," is a collection of case studies of different stratification systems and their developments. Only one of them, that by Rogoff, is a systematic comparison of two class structures. Most of the others illustrate historical research and its interpretation, perhaps best exemplified by Pirenne's classical essay on "The Stages in the Social History of Capitalism." The inclusion of these interesting studies is especially fortunate because the analysis of the development of stratification systems, as distinguished from the investigation of class differences within one, is too often neglected in the American literature.

This collection provides an excellent survey of the existing knowledge of stratification and the various approaches for studying it. It therefore is not only the best "text" for courses in the field but also contributes to its scientific development. By indicating the gaps in our present knowledge and theoretical formulations, it helps to direct the endeavors of the advanced student of stratification. It would have served these functions even better, however, had the editors not confined themselves

to a very stimulating introduction, but had prefaced each part with an essay attempting to integrate the conclusions of the different papers in it. Implicit in any selection is a certain conceptual framework; why not make it explicit?

PETER M. BLAU

University of Chicago

Soziale Theorie des Betriebes. By FRANZ H. MUELLER. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1952. Pp. 224. No price indicated.

The "shop" (*Betrieb*) in the author's view is the essential organization of modern industrial enterprise. This book is an attempt to outline a general theory of this form of work organization, taking account of its economic, legal, and sociological functions.

The insistence on the distinct but widespread characteristics of the shop (factory, plant) as the productive unit is based on two principal considerations. First, only in modern industrial societies do such organizations exist in physical and temporal isolation from other groups and forms of social intercourse. Second, such units exist in *all* industrial societies, regardless of proprietary forms and the character of "higher management" or the nature of the "enterprise." Here the author is especially cogent in pointing out that the organizational characteristics of the factory derive from industrial technology and, in a more limited sense, cost calculation, and not from capitalism as such.

Part I sets forth the author's conceptual distinctions. Part II, on the "Socio-Legal Structure of the Shop," being primarily oriented to the German legal structure and philosophy of law, will be of less interest to American readers but useful for its indication of the way organized collectivities are affected by legal conceptions. Part III, on "The Unique Sociological Structure of the Shop," analyzes the way the productive function of the organization is abetted or limited by necessary psychological and sociological attributes of human behavior.

Mueller does not make the mistake, implicit or explicit in much current industrial sociology, of viewing administrative organizations as mere coalitions or constellations of small "primary" work teams. He does, however, doubt the long-term organizational efficacy of gigantic enterprises, partly on grounds of the depersonaliza-

tion of participants of all rank, partly on the related grounds that authority, leadership, and standardized rules are most acceptable where their function is easily understood at first hand.

The reader whose German is sketchy or nonexistent will find value in an Appendix, which consists of the author's article, "The Social Question of the Shop," reprinted from the *American Catholic Sociological Review.* It contains a summary of the author's principal points but is not a substitute for the book as a whole.

WILBERT E. MOORE

Princeton University

Health in Later Years: A Report on the Third Annual Southern Conference on Gerontology, Held at the University of Florida, January 26–27, 1953. By JOHN M. MACLACHLAN. Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1953. Pp. x+123. $1.50.

The third annual Southern Conference on Gerontology, the proceedings of which are reported in this volume, had as its theme "Florida Plans for a Healthy Senior Citizen." The selection of health as a focal point came about partly from the research being carried on at the University of Florida on the establishment of a health center, organized around the school of medicine. With the number of older people increasing more rapidly than any other group, their health problems merited special consideration. The very facts that special attention is being given to the aging and aged in the *planning* stage of a medical school, and that the subject of health is being approached through interdisciplinary means, should prepare the reader for a fresh approach to the health problems of the older population.

The conference posed these questions: What should be included in the program of a medical school in the field of geriatrics? What roles should the various disciplines play in the study of gerontology in a medical center? Participants who attempted to answer these questions included distinguished authorities from many fields, among them Albert Lansing, Ernest Burgess, Robert Kleemier, Nathan Schock, and Robert Moore, representing the fields of medicine, physiology, sociology, economics, psychology, public health, and public welfare. The conference started out with a consideration of the status and function of geriatrics, proceeding

naturally to the integral place of geriatrics in the field of gerontology, the role of gerontology in a health center, its relation as such to other health agencies, and, finally, the implications of gerontology for medical education.

Throughout, the integration of biological, sociological, and psychological aspects of gerontology was stressed; and a multidisciplinary approach to research, health maintenance, prevention of aging, treatment of disease, and teaching was outlined. With the older population rapidly becoming the age group most unable to pay for medical care, a major problem still to be solved is the economic one.

On the whole, this is an informative, useful, and stimulating volume, the great merit being its emphasis on the interdisciplinary approach to health and its noteworthy attempt to offer practical suggestions.

MARGERY J. MACK

Industrial Relations Center
University of Chicago

The Psychiatric Interview. By HARRY STACK SULLIVAN. New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1954. Pp. 246. $4.50.

Sullivan was a pungent talker, with a sardonic yet sentimental view of human relations; he comes wonderfully alive in these lectures, edited from notes and recordings by Helen Swick Perry and Mary Ladd Gawel in this posthumous publication. The lectures wander, but this only serves to highlight the combination of the elusive and the concrete in Sullivan—a combination easier to illustrate than to analyze and describe; see for instance the following, where Sullivan is discussing the use of accented transitions to prevent an interview from becoming a smooth account of the interviewee's legends about himself (p. 48):

Suppose the person has just been showing me what an unutterably lovely soul he has. I will then sort of growl a bit as a preliminary to saying something like, "with what sort of person do you find yourself really hateful?" As a matter of fact, I probably wouldn't do anything quite that crude. But the point is that as long as he is full of the idea of convincing me of his beautiful soul, it would really be uncouth for me to proceed smoothly to attempt to find out how the devil he is a nuisance. But with the accented change, he may forget what he was talking about. People are apt to get a little insecure, you know, when it is suggested that the weather is going to change, and the predictions aren't depend-

able. In any case it causes a little pause, a sort of empty pause, which is not being smoothly, socially conversational. . . . In this way the later data is not poisoned by the exploration that was in progress before, as it might be with a smooth transition.

For readers of this *Journal* the main interest of the book will probably lie in its treatment of the dialectic or social rhetoric of the interview and not in the chapter on diagnostic signs and patterns of mental disorder or in other scattered remarks concerning Sullivan's general view of interpersonal relations and of mental disease. Sullivan's view of the interview is notably applicable to social science and journalistic interviewing, as well as to more clinical varieties, in part because of his refusal to encourage free association as a regular psychiatric procedure. Rather, he uses the interview to gain information which he hopes will illuminate the respondent's own life for him, and he grapples in these lectures with the obstacles the members of a dyad can put in the way of the free flow of relevant information. The interviewer may frequently profit by showing surprise or even anger, but never by feeling them: he must handle himself life a skilled actor, aware of how every movement, every intonation, will be received. Indeed, his task is more difficult than the actor's, for his audience is not a "generalized other" but a specific interviewee, whom the interviewer must categorize to start with, but must eventually know so well that he knows how he appears to him from moment to moment. In Sullivan's opinion the alertness this requires militates against note-taking; it is an alertness and self-control so intense—and, I would add, involving such complex ethical problems of manipulation of the other and the self—as to make meaningful interviewing the hardest sort of work.

Much if not all of this will be familiar to the experienced fieldworker, at least if the latter does not believe in being nondirective. But few fieldworkers probably are capable of the amiable sarcasm with which Sullivan can cut short digressions or penetrate hokum, while at the same time preventing the interviewee's becoming too anxious. What is required for this is, not only control of one's own hostility and a certain assurance, but also sufficient life-experience to give one a pretty good idea about the variety of autobiographies Americans are likely to present. In questioning a patient, for instance, about his vocational history, Sullivan could work from a picture of occupational careers which must have

given his respondents the feeling he knew both his business and theirs and allowed him quickly to grasp the patient's story, and at the same time give the latter a more accurate view of his own job history. In this book Sullivan sets out some of the items in his framework for understanding careers, as well as his well-known stages (a profound modification of the Freudian scheme) leading up to adolescence. However, he is carefully not chronological in getting the career history, skipping around to prevent the formation of "sets" in the respondent's mind as to what should follow what in a "normal" life.

Despite, or perhaps in part because of, his barbed interviewing, Sullivan was notably successful in communicating to respondents the idea that all human beings are sinners, all "abnormal" in one way or another, thus alleviating their anxieties and gently disparaging their illusions about themselves. Indeed, I think Sullivan's cynicism goes too far, especially in his insistence, repeated many times in the lectures, that all respondents—and all interviewers—are constantly engaged in "security operations" to protect their self-esteem and that anxiety is aroused by any prospective threat to self-esteem. This is true of most of us most of the time but takes inadequate account both of those who like to put their worst foot forward (perhaps to protect a residual self-esteem by getting there first with the worst) and of those so concerned with objects or goals outside the network of persons as to be relatively unconcerned with any given person's esteem. In the use he made of Cooley and George Herbert Mead, Sullivan came to feel that the socialized self is all the self there is and that the sense of individuality is mostly an illusion. In such a conspectus there is no room for saints, only for sinners; this reviewer believes that there are saints, and approximations thereof, who have more—or less—at stake in the universe than self-esteem. (The term, like self-interest, can be used so inclusively as to lose all meaning; Sullivan does not so use it.)

It might be thought that for day-to-day purposes the rarity of saints even at best makes their existence irrelevant to the interviewing process. Not so. Sullivan's method is a good one for an age in which hypocrisy consists in concealing vice, and many of those who come to psychiatrists were brought up in such an age or in its survivals into our own time. Sullivan's method may be somewhat less useful when

hypocrisy among the emancipated consists increasingly in concealing one's altruism or lack of toughness. The skilful interviewer needs to work with a somewhat more differentiated view of human nature and American culture than Sullivan's, even if he is lucky enough to muster anything like the latter's extraordinary sensitivity.

DAVID RIESMAN

University of Chicago

Interrelations between the Social Environment and Psychiatric Disorders. By MILBANK MEMORIAL FUND. New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1953. Pp. 265. $1.50.

This book, a report of the twenty-ninth Annual Conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund, presents nine research projects concerned with the epidemiology of mental disorders and a collection of papers and discussions dealing with pertinent concepts in social psychiatry. It reports an attempt to come to grips with problems which arise practically and conceptually when workers must cross the boundaries of their own frame of reference. The research projects are discussed by representatives of public health, sociology, anthropology, psychology, animal psychology, and social psychology.

Schneider presents a critical analysis of the sociological concepts used in the research reports and lists thirty-two factors which may be tested in their relationship to mental disease. He then deals with the theory of action as it relates to the disorientation of personality, emphasizing the notion of role. Though abstract and not directly applicable to the projects under discussion, Schneider's paper points in the direction which collaborative work between psychiatrists and theorists who use Parson's framework can take. Henry, representing psychology, discusses the inherent stress situation which produces a healthy individual and which aids in the developing of ego control and ego strength. Jaboda, speaking for social psychology, selects as criteria for health the modes of adjustment in problem-solving and the presence of need-free perception.

The second section of the book deals with the difficult problem of defining a case for purposes of research in social psychiatry. The lack of unanimity in the discussion is a reflection of the range of the points of view presented. By

and large there is a tendency to speak of a case as including those elements in the social situation to which the individual patient is related. This creates added difficulties in deciding upon what is relevant in the social situation.

The nine research projects are all in various stages of planning and completion. Of interest here is the Hollingshead and Redlich study of social class and the diagnosed psychiatric population; Gruenberg's study of first admission rates of patients with cerebral arteriosclerotic and senile psychosis, indicating socioeconomic status as measured by average monthly rental and number of dwelling units per structure; and Lindemann's description of the Wellesley project. Miller and Swanson describe a most interesting proposal for the study of defenses utilized in the resolution of psychic conflicts. They propose to relate these to child-training practices as these vary by social class.

Since the book itself does not represent a unified effort but rather is oriented in the direction of reporting separate projects, it suffers as an integrated work. It can be recommended, however, to those in the field.

HARRY TROSMAN, M.D.

University of Chicago

✶ *Man and Society: Preface to Sociology and the Social Sciences.* By GEORGE SIMPSON. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1954. Pp. 90+vi. $0.95.

This little volume, the first of some twenty planned for the Doubleday "Short Studies in Sociology," undertakes to provide the beginning student or interested layman with an orientation to sociology and some understanding of its relations to the other social sciences. The study starts with a discussion of what science is and how it goes about its business of building up verified knowledge, then turns to the social sciences and their special roles in the scientific enterprise.

The impact of the rising young science of sociology upon the other social sciences, and its interrelations with economics, political science, history, anthropology, and psychology are presented with a bold sweep. A separate chapter is devoted to the relations of sociology and psychology, including social psychology and psychoanalysis. Another draws from the spate of methodological discussions a statement of major issues confronting or dividing

sociologists. The scope of the discipline is classified heuristically into eight fields, briefly described and illustrated. The volume closes with a discussion of the place of values in the sociological scheme of things and a glance at the prospective future of the science.

Obviously, in attempting to squeeze topics of such magnitude into a book of eighty-five pages, Professor Simpson has faced a nearly impossible task. The treatment throughout is succinct, in some places to the point of giving mere fragments of large issues, yet these are always significant and well fitted into the general design.

Taking the study for what it purports to be —a preface, not a treatise—it is surprisingly clear-cut and revealing, with little of the turgidity and none of the watering-down that mar too many of the texts. At the same time, one may doubt whether the book will fulfil adequately the purpose of expediting the beginning student's introduction to sociology. Will college Freshmen and Sophomores be drawn or repelled by this high-level and relatively sophisticated discussion of matters that, except to the initiated, are pretty heavy and recondite? One is inclined to think that the volume will prove more useful in the senior seminar or theory courses for sociology majors than in the introductory course.

CARROLL D. CLARK

University of Kansas

Theory and Method in the Social Sciences. By ARNOLD M. ROSE. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954. Pp. xii+351. $5.00.

In recent years it has become a popular practice for social scientists, particularly social theorists, to collect and publish under one cover the articles they have written over a number of years. One thinks immediately of the collections of Parsons, Merton, Bidney, and, most recently, Riesman. As these books have been published, there have also developed criteria for judging them. Since the authors make no claim that the essays constitute a systematic, complete coverage of all aspects of sociological theory and methodology, a total judgment must be reached by judging each essay on the following bases: (1) Is there a rigorous, sustained argument built around a central focus? (2) Does the author grapple with the central theoretical or methodological issues raised by the topic of

his concern? (3) Does the author make any advance in dealing with the issues thus raised? The collections mentioned stand the test well, on the whole.

Arnold Rose's *Theory and Method in the Social Sciences*, is such a collection and should be similarly judged. The best article is actually a research report in which the data have been analyzed on the basis of a system of theoretical concepts concerning the role of voluntary associations in complex social structures. This study, "Voluntary Associations in France," is an excellent work in historical sociology, tracing the failure of France to develop strong voluntary associations to institutional factors in French social structure. Another essay which meets the criteria is "Generalizations in the Social Sciences." This essay is tightly structured and is particularly sound in its logically grounded demand for replicative studies as a basis for generalization. It is followed by a bibliography of such studies, and the bibliography itself, in its very sparseness, testifies eloquently to the need for encouraging such research. A third article, "A Weakness of Partial Correlation in Sociological Studies," is well reasoned, important, and constructive.

The remainder of the twenty-two articles fall short of the criteria. Thus the first article in the collection, "A Theory of Social Organization," is diffuse and inadequate in argument, as are many other of the essays. In it the author attempts to derive hypotheses concerning social disorganization from a theory of organization based on such writers as Durkheim, Weber, Cooley, Dewey, Mead, Thomas, and Park. The author claims, and the reviewer doubts, that these theoretical sources have hitherto not been well co-ordinated, but his attempt to do so in eight pages is totally inadequate. In the remaining eleven pages a total of sixteen major hypotheses are derived. If the theoretical scheme itself had been better developed, it still would have been impossible to derive so many major hypotheses with such limited argument. The same defects in argument occur in other articles of the collection which have promising titles: "Some Suggestions for Research on Race and Culture Conflict," "Group Conflict and Its Mediation: Hypotheses for Research," and "Public Opinion Research Techniques Suggested by Social Theory." These essays and others like them are no more than memoranda which a scientist prepares for himself in approaching theoretical writing or research.

Others of the articles do not properly belong in a collection of theoretical and methodological pieces. Some, originally published in nonacademic journals must have served a useful purpose for a nontechnical public, but are, nevertheless, out of place here.

Finally, the three articles grouped under the heading, "Values in Social Research," fail to deal with the central issues of the ethical and value responsibilities of the sociologists. There is a good restatement in "The Selection of Problems for Research" of the belief held by Rose and Myrdal that most sociological research is based on value premises which should be made explicit. Such a position departs very little from Weber's position except in its erroneous conception that if a research problem cannot be used for achieving universal propositions it must have practical importance. This notion grossly oversimplifies and evades the central issues raised by the concept of value relevancy. While the second article in the group, "Social Action and Social Research," suffers only from the very limited issues of action research with which it deals, the major failure to grapple with values occurs in the third, "The Social Responsibility of the Social Scientist." After raising the problems of a possibly manipulative social science, Rose turns his attention to the human weaknesses of the social scientists and to the conditions which might lead them to prostitute or misuse their science: for example, low prestige, social-class isolation, and various frustrations. He fails to note that scientists like Skinner and Lundberg, since their theoretical frame of reference itself is hostile to the human being as a free agent, leave no place for values like freedom, choice, and human dignity. Thus the central point is missed that the real difficulty lies not in the motives of the social scientists but in their ideas.

In sum, then, with the exception of the three articles mentioned at the beginning of this review, the content of the volume fails to measure up to the criteria presented.

WILLIAM L. KOLB

Tulane University

Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy. By ALVIN W. GOULDNER. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954. Pp. 282. $4.50.

This is an excellent case study of the process of bureaucratization in private industry. This

process is examined on the basis of two contrasts: that between the periods before and after a new manager took charge in a gypsum plant and that between its two component organizations, the gypsum mine and the factory of wallboards. A perceptive discussion about the fieldwork is appended.

The new manager was confronted by special problems. Anxious to prove himself in his new position, he did not command the allegiance of subordinates, who were still loyal to his predecessor, and he was not familiar with the informal practices and relationships in the organization. As a result, he relied heavily on formalized procedures. The detailed analysis of the structural conditions that constrained the manager in his role as a successor to use bureaucratic methods for solving his problems is very suggestive.

Succession engenders bureaucratization, but its extent depends also on the resistance the members of the organization put up against it, as indicated by the comparison between mine and factory. The belief system of the miners laid more stress on hard work and less on rational discipline than that of factory workers; the dangers of mining lowered the labor supply for this job and served to justify the miners' claim to special privileges; and the informal solidarity among miners was superior. These differences enabled the miners to resist the introduction of formalized procedures more effectively than factory workers could, and they also made such procedures less necessary in the mine; for instance, since the cohesive informal groups there effected the distribution of extra work, no formal rules for doing so were needed. Consequently, mining operations were far less bureaucratized than those in the factory.

Three bureaucratic types are distinguished, in terms of the status of the group in the organization, that support a set of rules. "Mock bureaucracy" is characterized by rules that are largely honored in the breach, because neither management nor workers favor them, such as the no-smoking rule imposed by the insurance company. Rules that served only the interest of management were enforced through disciplinary measures, and those that served only the interest of workers were enforced through the grievance machinery of the union. These two cases where conformity depends on the interested group's power of sanction over the other are classified together as "punishment-centered bureaucracy." "Representative bu-

reaucracy," finally, is the type where rules serve the ends of both management and workers and are supported by both groups, exemplified by the safety program. These are evidently analytical types, which probably never exist in pure form.

The basic function of bureaucratic rules, underlying all their specific functions, is seen as the relief of tensions generated in the organization. Close supervision, in particular, creates feelings of inequality and other tensions, which are mitigated by rules that justify the exercise of authority and decrease the need for many direct orders. However, bureaucratic mechanisms do not solve the basic problems of the organization, according to Gouldner; on the contrary, since "bureaucratic rules reduce tensions that *emanate* from close supervision they make it less necessary to resolve, and thus safeguard, the tensions that *lead* to close supervision" (p. 241; italics in original). The point that the reduction of tensions perpetuates their source is interesting, but the conclusion that bureaucracy is merely a mechanism that preserves organizational problems in order to justify its existence is debatable. Bureaucratic regulations, notably those specifying results (which Gouldner does not distinguish from rules prescribing the ways by which results must be accomplished), define the responsibility of subordinates and, by limiting supervisory discretion, prevent arbitrary supervision from lowering work motivation. They, thereby, actually lessen the need for close supervision, and not only the tensions it produces. Moreover, there are bureaucratic mechanisms that are explicitly designed to deal with the basic problems of motivation, such as the incentive system, but the author does not examine these, because he decided to concentrate on the analysis of formal rules (p. 158). Indeed, his own concept of "representative bureaucracy" implies that bureaucratic mechanisms can solve the basic problems of organization.

The penetrating and systematic analysis of an industrial organization presented in this book has important theoretical implications. By taking into account disequilibrium and the divergent ends of different groups in the hierarchy, Gouldner is able to demonstrate that crucial revisions are needed in Weber's theory of bureaucracy and in the conceptions of functionalism. Suggestive as this analysis is, it would have been even more convincing had systematic research procedures been used more extensively.

A case study of this kind provides an excellent opportunity for developing and testing observational techniques. Besides, the closeness of the observer makes it particularly important in a case study to validate impressions by employing exact methods. Of course, not only would systematic data verify conclusions already suspected, but also their analysis by as astute a sociologist as Gouldner would furnish entirely new insights.

PETER M. BLAU

University of Chicago

American Labor from Defense to Reconversion. By JOEL SEIDMAN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. ix+307. $5.50.

This is a clear and succinct summary of the economic and political history of labor in the period of World War II, from the beginning of our defense preparations to the end of the "reconversion" period. It centers on events in the national scene and on labor's national leaders. Since the government was drastically manipulating the economy and since the organized labor movement was the accepted Washington spokesman for labor, the summary is primarily concerned with the interaction between the government and the organized labor movement. To interpret it, however, the author appropriately ranges beyond the NLRB, the War Labor Board, the government-sponsored labor-management conferences and Congress, to include the Manpower Commission, FEPC, Wage and Hour Division, WPB, and other government agencies, as well as questions of labor unity, Communists in the labor movement, and many other problem areas.

One of the contributions of the volume is that it records the vigorous debate and emotionalism evoked by many of the issues of the time. For the student of labor, the period is of great importance because of the apparently lasting changes which took place both in the labor movement and in its relations with employers, the public and the government. The enormous increase in membership, maintained through the reconversion period, appears to have established the union movement in the life of the nation. Governmental acceptance of labor leaders appears also to be permanent. In this connection, one of the few significant issues inadequately summarized concerns the distinction frequently made within the government between a protagonist and advisory role

for labor and the assignment and acceptance of administrative responsibility. The uncertain status of the Labor Department, of the Labor Production Division of the War Production Board and of similar units within other governmental agencies attest to the problem.

The author notes the hope then existing for a postwar era of "industrial peace" as a result of wartime collaboration of labor and management. He judges that these hopes were illusory. He is certainly correct when attention is focused on the wave of strikes, the failure of the Labor-Management Conference, the adoption of the Taft-Hartley Act after a presidential veto. Yet, recent studies suggest that in the development of attitudes and goals of mutual adjustment, labor and management in industrial plants made substantial progress during the war.

Finally, this summary is valuable because it focuses on the labor position. Thus it centers on issues that labor leaders considered important and, with adequate footnote references, summarizes the positions taken by the labor leaders both in pressing for a governmental program and in appraising the resulting governmental action.

The perspective of the volume poses two significant problems:

The first concerns the general purpose of the work. Professor Seidman has been frank about his own point of view and has deliberately presented the view of labor leaders on the various issues under review. However, there is little effort to analyze why the labor leaders took particular positions and relatively little analysis of the consequences within the movement of particular governmental decisions. There is almost no analysis of positions other pressure groups took in relation to both legislative and administrative issues, why they did so, why the governmental decisions came out the way they did, and the consequences of these decisions on other groups. This is not to object to the treatment, but to point out the book's limitations for reaching an understanding of what happened and why.

Any historian is on tricky ground when he makes judgments about what should or should not have been done by individuals and groups. Professor Seidman notes that his "value judgments" lead him to be critical of labor leaders (and presumably others as well) who "ignore the public welfare." Like many of the rest of us, I suspect, he identifies a personal value judgment with the "public interest."

The same problem appears in his concluding chapter. There, these sentences occur: "The government's basic economic strategy for the wartime emergency can likewise be criticized, from an economic point of view as well as from that of the labor movement. . . . From an economic point of view the problem might best have been solved by. . . . But from a political point of view such a program would have been at best unpopular, and perhaps impossible." Then, on the next page, dealing with the postwar period: "As often happens in a democracy, what was politically expedient prevailed—perhaps was bound to prevail—over what was economically desirable." But how can one separate the "economic" from the "political" point of view? What is the "economic point of view"? Professor Seidman surely cannot be setting up as his ideal standard an uncontrolled economy of free markets. Obviously, it was the inability of the "free market" economy to handle these problems satisfactorily that led to the extensive government intervention. It follows that if one is to make objective judgments of the "public welfare" one has to base these on the appraisal of both the economic and political processes and results. For, at least in a set of problems in which the government is so elaborately involved, the "public welfare" derives from the political process.

W. ELLISON CHALMERS

University of Illinois

The Mystique of Modern Monarchy: With Special Reference to the British Commonwealth. By PERCY BLACK. London: C. A. Watts & & Co., Ltd., 1954. Pp. xii+92. 8s. 6d.

This book is a fresh examination, by a Canadian psychologist, of the monarchic principle in England. It endeavors to explain the "mystery" that "an old institution freighted with conspicuous vestiges of medievalism" should thrive in the modern age, indeed, the more so, the less the crown actually governs.

Prevailing theories justifying monarchy are found to be either rationalizing myths or incomplete insights, because they do not justify monarchy *as such* or prove that other institutions could not perform much the same functions about as satisfactorily. Black's thesis is that the need for monarchy is neither innate nor universal, but a learned appetite. The "regal feeling" or "monarchical sentiment" is a

demand for certain forms of vicarious experience which can be met only by the monarch. Popular enjoyment of monarchical sentiment has three components: "reciprocal complementarity" or "satisfaction by giving to something more important than" one's self, "conspicuous submission," and a sense of "invisible guidance" by a quasi-magical sovereign. On this luxurious diet the English character, common as well as aristocratic, has been formed. The monarchical sentiment is transmitted by activities of the people themselves and those of royalty, which "deliberately or unwittingly keep aloft the sentiment." "The roots of monarchical sentiment are many. . . . The sentiment is a complex psychological state involving feelings of loyalty to and reverence for the persons of the monarch and his family" and diverse national and traditional images.

Interesting observations are made concerning the ideal personaltiy type presented by the British monarch, who, although he is not typical of the average Briton, is nonetheless subject to powerful expectations, generally those looked for in persons of high social position. But it does not follow that the man-on-the-street must practice *noblesse oblige;* rather, his king must. All may participate in this vicarious experience, regardless of class.

The author proceeds to a discussion of "the future of a myth," the "anaesthesia of unreason," and an evaluation of the reasons for monarchy—rightly asserting that enjoyment of or sufficient cause for an institution is not an adequate argument for it—that "whether the needs or satisfactions are mature or necessary" is quite another question. An apology for monarchy that would also justify opium-smoking is rejected as insufficient. The expected conclusion is reached: "On the day when reason zealously enters the minds of men, the monarchy as a primitive social institution will crumble." It is "only a temporary stopgap in the tide that sweeps men closer into a world community."

Various minor criticisms of the book come to mind:

This "psychological" study lacks adequate treatment of the psychoanalytic viewpoint. Black rejects Weber's theory that the king's charisma guarantees the legitimacy of the existing order, on the ground that kings sometimes fail or fall; yet surely Weber did not assume that no legitimate monarchy could ever be abandoned. For the jaw-cracker "reciprocal

complementarity" the author might have found a shorter term. The absence of an index will be inconvenient.

Many will feel that the major fault of the book is an excessive or at least a strenuous rationalism which makes it difficult to do full justice to topics like magic, myth, ritual, and morale. For instance, granting that monarchy as such is not functionally irreplaceable except to generations trained to need it, does it follow that there are not 'more general nonrational functions for which all societies need symbols? Would abolishing monarchy mean finding other institutions to perform similar functions? Is the author justified in assuming that all functions can become rational? It may be so, but he presents no evidence that a completely rational society would be either possible or happy.

Black, in focusing attention more searchingly on monarchic functions and the sources and transmission of its sentiments, and raising again the question (which he admits he has not answered), why have such an institution? has done a valuable if not the final job.

ORRIN E. KLAPP

San Diego State College

Towards an Understanding of Juvenile Delinquency: A Study of 8,464 cases of Juvenile Delinquency in Baltimore. By BERNARD LANDER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954. Pp. xv+143. $3.00.

This book is a notable example of the imaginative use of refined statistical techniques in the service of sociological theory.

The following were computed for each of 155 census tracts in the city of Baltimore: male delinquency rates based on court hearings, 1939–42; percentage of homes owner-occupied; percentage of overcrowding; percentage of nonwhites; percentage of substandard housing; median rentals: median years of education; percentage of foreign-born. These data were then used to check a variety of conclusions from earlier studies. The usual intercorrelations and concentric zonal patterning were observed. The author's special interest, however, lay in the study of exceptions from the gross trends and in the application of more advanced statistical methods. To cite three examples of exceptions: Virtually the entire range of delinquency rates for the city of Baltimore may be found within

the innermost zone alone; one of the most economically blighted areas is not among the ranking juvenile-delinquency areas; when curvilinearity of the data is taken into account, the statistical relationships are markedly altered. Although the linear correlation between delinquency rates and the percentage of nonwhites is +.70, the delinquency rate for Negroes alone *decreases* when the percentage of Negroes in an area increases beyond 50 per cent. The white delinquency rate exhibits a similar but less pronounced trend.

When indexes of partial correlation—which allow for curvilinearity—are computed, some of the correlations disappear and the percentage of nonwhite and the percentage of homes owner-occupied retain the strongest relationships to the delinquency rate. This clue is followed up in a factor analysis. The author's conclusion is that there are two fundamental factors at work, which together account for almost all the covariation. One, which he calls "anomie" (also "disorganization" and "instability"), accounts for the intercorrelations among the variables: delinquency rate; percentage of nonwhite, and percentage of homes owner-occupied. The other, an "economic" factor, accounts for the intercorrelations among the remaining variables, exclusive of percentage of foreign-born, which stands off by itself. Delinquency is "fundamentally related" only to the anomic factor. The author does not maintain that lack of home-ownership and racial heterogeneity are of necessity or by definition concomitants of anomie; he describes types of communities where they ought not to be interpreted as signs of anomie.

The naming of these factors is more than a matter of semantic preference. It is either a creative theoretical leap or it is a tautology. The author acknowledges the latter danger. The fact remains, however, that he has contributed little to the conceptual clarification of that beguiling but elusive concept, "anomie." He provides no independent definition of the sort that would be necessary to put his conclusions to a crucial test. The city is beleaguered, but the gates have not yet fallen!

One of the many difficulties in the use of delinquency statistics merits comment because it is related to a point which is important to the author's argument. If it is correct that law enforcement is less vigorous where both offender and victim are Negro, it may explain the curvilinear relationship between delinquency and the percentage of nonwhite. It would seem in-

cumbent upon the author to attempt to meet this criticism.

This book, of deceptively slender bulk, contains many exciting facets and is undoubtedly destined to stimulate much creative criticism and research.

ALBERT K. COHEN

Indiana University

The Juvenile in Delinquent Society. By MILTON L. BARRON. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954. Pp. xix+349+vii. $5.00.

This is one of the best of the textbooks on the younger offender. Much of the subject matter of the conventional criminology textbook is duplicated but to a lesser extent than in most texts.

In the introductory section, the first of three major divisions, the author traces the historical development of the concept of delinquency and its current multiple meanings. There is a good chapter on the meaning and limitations of delinquency statistics and another on the dynamic relationship of delinquency to such general social changes as economic fluctuations and war.

Part II on etiology is the core of the book. Here the author, abandoning the frequent broad eclecticism of other writers, attempts to hold to a sociological approach. This is apparent in the treatment of biological and psychological factors, the appraisal of etiological processes in the family, and especially in the chapters on peer groups and social institutions. The frequent use of mass media as etiological scapegoats is criticized, but their importance in the transmission of values is acknowledged.

The major premise is that delinquency can be explained best with reference to the value system of American society and its "delinquent culture." Delinquents are motivated by the same values as nondelinquents but pursue them in conformity to norms unacceptable to the mass society. This provides a useful framework for analysis but, unlike the rest of the book, is virtually undocumented, reflecting, of course, the current state of sociology rather than a weakness of the author. The analysis would be more useful if it were more definitely related to the specifically delinquent aspects of behavior.

The last third of the book on control of delinquency, while well written, is not well integrated with the earlier parts. The chapter on the juvenile court is especially good. From petition to final disposition, a case is followed through the court in Pittsburgh, and the general aims and procedures involved in the case are then enlarged upon. Such skilful use of pertinent and interesting illustrative material is one of the commendable features of the book, in which the opening chapter provides an extended case history.

Students should like this volume for its integrated treatment of the subject, the lucid and concise style, and the unburdensome size. Sociologists will find it a most successful attempt to incorporate the great mass of data on crime and delinquency into a consistent sociological context.

JAMES W. HUGHES

University of Kentucky

A Study of Bolshevism. By NATHAN LEITES. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953. Pp. 639. $6.50.

This unusual book has not been written; it has been assembled. In 639 pages Nathan Leites presents thousands of quotations from Bolshevik theorists and political leaders as well as pre-revolutionary Russian novelists and poets in order to derive, with the help of psychoanalytic concepts, the Bolshevik "operational code, that is, the conceptions of political strategy" (p. 15). He finds that the Bolshevik doctrine is "means-oriented, for the maximization of power" (chap. iii); that it "claims to contain no unanswered questions" (chap. iv); that it "places high value on the Party's past as a source of prototypes for the present and future" (chap. ii); that it advocates control of feelings and emotions (chaps. v and vi); and that it sees danger in political instability as well as in doctrinairism, inactivity, inefficiency, incorrectness, and lack of concentration on the problem at hand (chaps. vii–ix). However, these are preconditions of political action generally; much of what he hypothesizes and elaborately illustrates can be found in politizal theory from Machiavelli to Hans Morgenthau.

The Bolshevik techniques, Leites finds, consist mainly in monolithic organization, primacy of leadership, deliberate and ceaseless attempts to maintain the closeness of the group, suspicion of enemies and potential enemies, the advocacy of violence, and careful propaganda. These are, as the reader will easily recognize, the

techniques of a group that is or considers itself to be in a state of continuous warfare.

Leites claims that, while each separate technique may also be used by other groups, it is the unique combination of all these that makes for the Bolshevik spirit. However, he admits that his elements are derived from speculation and are not tested, hence the whole becomes a speculation twice compounded. The "operational code" is not the outcome of a content analysis; the choice of quotations is not based on any methodological principle of selection; they are chosen in order to prove points; and, where no quotations from Bolshevik leaders seemed available for the purpose, the author simply turns to passages from classical Russian literature.

No distinction is made by Leites between the "operational code" of *any* type of political movement and the specific Bolshevik spirit or between the specific Bolshevik attitude and the general attempt at rational mastery of reality. For example, in his first chapter, talking about the determinist approach of Bolshevik doctrine, Leites finds that "there is an emphatic and recurring denial that important events can be 'accidental'" (p. 67). But is this peculiar to bolshevism? Didn't Freud—whose insights Leites here tries to apply in order to "[delineate] the preconscious and conscious content of Bolshevik doctrine" (p. 22)—consider that even slips of the tongue are not "accidental"? And isn't this the assumption which underlies these nearly 650 pages, where indiscriminately chosen statements by Lenin or Stalin as well as Tolstoy or *The Idiot*, for that matter, are taken to be significant (i.e., not "accidental")?

The author does not analyze Bolshevik doctrine and techniques with reference to the real or imagined political situation in which the Bolshevik party acted but attempts to discover a meaning *sui generis*. To this end he makes use of psychoanalytic concepts. Political statements are isolated from the situation in which they were made and are quoted without explanation as to their origin—whether from theoretical writings or polemical discussions or personal communications—or as to the political issue to which they refer or the audience to which they are directed. To cite only one example from the numerous instances of fallacious reasoning: If taken out of context, Lenin's statements that "history is not creating new problems" (1918) and that "never and nowhere in the world had

such a thing been seen" (1916) seem contradictory indeed. Leites ignores the fact that the first is from an open letter to Petrograd workers and hence has propagandistic value and that the second is from a personal letter and hence is most probably an exclamation of surprise. Instead, he offers the explanation that the first is "a defensive position" "to ward off the tendency to feel . . . that events are utterly novel" (p. 93). The second statement allegedly proves this point, since it acknowledges a completely new situation. However, Leites adds that it is an example of "characteristic phraseology." But if it is mere phraseology, where is the tendency which must be warded off and against which the first statement allegedly constitutes a defense? In his attempt to apply psychoanalysis, Leites fails to examine both the psychoanalytic concepts which he uses and the political concepts which he purports to analyze. Might it not be simpler, but more logical, to see in both statements an expression of defense, but political defense for that matter, by the representative of a political body engaged in a struggle?

Some understanding of the rules governing politics might lead one to discover that much of what is attributed to the "Bolshevik spirit" is common practice.

Of his purpose in quoting elaborately from Russian classical literature, Leites has this to say in his Introduction: "The [literary] passages express what the Bolshevik ones contain in unexpressed form. That is, I believe that the feelings overtly stated [*sic*] in the non-Bolshevik statements are similar to those which, under suitably intimate (and hence impracticable) observation, Bolshevik leaders would turn out to have opposed or expressed under the guise of this or that rule of conduct ostensibly oriented on expediency only" (p. 21). That should make it clear!

The author further asks in his Introduction: "Is this an analysis or an unanalyzed compilation, a Bartlett of familiar and unfamiliar Russian quotations?" The question is to the point, but he does not answer it. He merely states that it has "the purpose of emotional learning" (p. 22). Whatever contributions the book may make in *this* area, it adds nothing to the scientific understanding of its topic.

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CURRENT BOOKS

AMMAR, HAMED. *Growing Up in an Egyptian Village: Silwa, Province of Aswan.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1954. Pp. xvi+316. $6.00. Anthropological monograph: the general setting and the social organization of the community; phases of the life-cycle up to marriage; theoretical discussion of the learning process in this culture and changes in education. Unusual feature is a brief life-history of the chief informants.

BAKKE, E. WIGHT, HAUSER, PHILIP M., PALMER, GLADYS L., MYERS, CHARLES A., YODER, DALE, and KERR, CLARK. *Labor Mobility and Economic Opportunity.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1954. Pp. vi+118. $3.50.

BARCLAY, GEORGE W. *Colonial Development and Population in Taiwan.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1954. Pp. xviii+274. $5.00.

BECK, SAMUEL J. *The Six Schizophrenias: Reaction Patterns in Children and Adults.* New York: American Orthopsychiatric Association, Inc., 1954. Pp. viii+238. $5.00. Report of a study of several years duration. Q-statistical analysis applied to Rorschach findings on a number of cases; additional data from interviews, checking life-histories, etc.; a chapter on Q-technique and the Rorschach Test by William Stephenson is included. Other chapters report the methods used to correlate Rorschach with other data.

BECKHARDT, ISRAEL. In collaboration with WEN-ZELL BROWN. *The Violators.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1954. Pp. 253. $3.75. A book of cases; murderers, abortionists, criminal psychopaths, sex offenders, con men, narcotics. Popular treatment.

BENNETT, M. K. *The World's Food: A Study of the Interrelations of World Populations, National Diets, and Food Potentials.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. Pp. vi+282. $4.00. About half devoted to the American diet, cost, nutritional components, variations by region, income, time, etc.; the rest to dietary history of the world and the world situation as to food and hunger. Summary and comparative tables.

BENTLEY, ARTHUR F. Edited with an Introduction by SIDNEY RATNER. *Inquiry into Inquiries: Essays in Social Theory.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1954. Pp. xvi+365. $6.00. Twenty papers published from 1910 to the present by one of America's pioneering freelance social scientists. Sample titles: "Sociological Critique of Behaviorism," "Sociology and Mathematics," "Knowledge and Society." Complete bibliography of author's works.

BENTWICH, NORMAN. *The Rescue and Achievement of Refugee Scholars.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff

N.V., 1954. Pp. xiv+107. The story of the first expulsions from German universities in 1933, institutions and committees in various countries for placing the refugees, wartime and postwar rescuing, contributions of the refugees in Britain. An appendix lists refugee fellows of the Royal Society and of the British Academy and professors in British universities.

BERNARD, JESSIE, and JENSEN, DEBORAH MAC-LURG. *Sociology.* St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Co., 1954. Pp. 427. $5.00. A text for student nurses. Section on social change enlarged to include community problems. Appendixes and Glossary brought up to date.

BLAUSTEIN, ALBERT P., and PORTER, CHARLES. O. *The American Lawyer: A Summary of the Survey of the Legal Profession.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. xi+360. $5.50. Status of the profession, its services, education, ethics, etc.

BODO, JOHN R. *The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812–1848.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1954. Pp. xiv+291. $5.00. The Theocrats and their stand on the Roman Catholic problem, American Indians, Negroes, territorial expansion, and America's world role.

BOGUE, DONALD J., and HARRIS, DOROTHY L. *Comparative Population and Urban Research via Multiple Regression and Covariance Analysis: A Methodological Experiment, with an Illustrative Application to the Study of Factors in the Growth and Suburbanization of Metropolitan Population.* Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation, Miami University; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1954. Pp. vii+75. $0.90.

BOND, FLOYD A., *et al. Our Needy Aged: A California Study of a National Problem.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1954. Pp. xxx+401. $4.50. Report on research done by six men. Text and tables on history of old age assistance, the law and its administration; recommendations for action. Methods presented in an appendix.

BROWNRIGG, WILLIAM. *The Human Enterprise Process and Its Administration.* University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1954. Pp. 232. $4.50. General theory of enterprises of all kinds, listing steps necessary for their successful conduct; for students and practicing executives.

BURT, SIR CYRIL. *Contributions of Psychology to Social Problems.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1953. Pp. 76. $1.00.

CAIRNCROSS, A. K. (ed.). *The Scottish Economy: A Statistical Account of Scottish Life by Members of the Staff of Glasgow University.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1954. Pp. xv+319.

$6.00. General social and economic survey, with 135 tables, 17 figures, maps, etc.

CAMPBELL, ANGUS, GURIN, GERALD, and MILLER, WARREN E. *The Voter Decides.* Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1954. Pp. xiii+242. Study of the voter's perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors, based on survey of the 1952 election.

CHAMBERLAIN, NEIL W. *Social Responsibility and Strikes.* New York: Harper & Bros. 1954. Pp. xi+293. $4.00.

CHILDS, MARQUIS W., and CATER, DOUGLASS. *Ethics in a Business Society.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. Pp. 191. $2.75. Last of series of books based on studies of the Church and Economic Life undertaken by and/or for the Federal Council of Churches. Chapters are broad treatments, in essay style, of such problems as free enterprise, government and business, technology and society.

CURRAN, FRANCIS X., S.J. *The Churches and the Schools: American Protestantism and Popular Elementary Education.* ("Jesuit Studies.") Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1954. Pp. vii+152. $3.00.

CUVILLIER, A. *Introduction à la sociologie* ("Introduction to Sociology"). Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1954. Pp. 222. Fifth edition, with some minor changes and many new references.

DALE, R. R. *From School to University: A Study with Special Reference to University Entrance.* New York: Grove Press, 1954. Pp. xi+258. $4.50. A survey of scholarship awards in Britain and of success and failure in university studies. Use of examinations and of various tests for predicting quality of university work, etc.

DICKINSON, ROBERT E. *City Region and Regionalism: A Geographical Contribution to Human Ecology.* New York: Grove Press, 1954. Pp. xv+327. $5.00. General treatise. Treats of the urban settlement as regional center, the structure of cities, and the city region. Data taken from England, United States, and western Europe. Compares patterns of growth of various cities. Maps.

EATON, JOSEPH W., and MAYER, ALBERT J. *Man's Capacity To Reproduce: The Demography of a Unique Population.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954. Pp. 59. $2.00. Study of the Hutterites from 1880 to 1950, with theoretical conclusions. Reprinted from *Human Biology,* Volume XXV.

ELKIN, A. P. *Social Anthropology in Melanesia: A Review of Research.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1954. Pp. xiii+166. $4.75. Part I: ethnographic record by explorers, travelers, missionaries, administrators, settlers, and anthropologists up to 1950. Part II: the knowledge gathered by subregion and proposals for filling gaps. Part III: general plan for research related to the welfare and development of the natives. Considers also the problem of sampling of the numerous tribes (about two million people) varying as to language, habitats, and amount of contact with the outside world.

FRANKEL, S. HERBERT. *The Economic Impact on Under-developed Societies: Essays on International Investment and Social Change.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953. Pp. vii+179.

FRASER, D. C. *A Psychological Glossary.* Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1954. Pp. vi+40. 3s. 6d. Half-page to full-page definitions of a few psychological terms and of a few simple statistical terms.

GALDSTON, IAGO, M.D. *The Meaning of Social Medicine.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. viii+137. $2.75. A history of the concept of social medicine and of various movements to deal with health as a social problem, discussion of etiological medicine, epidemics in modern times, their ecology, morbidity, and mortality; final chapter on medical education. Addendum on "Social Medicine in England." Bibliography.

GLOVER, J. D. *The Attack on Big Business.* Boston: Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1954. Pp. xvi+375. $4.00. Analysis of content of large numbers of published attacks on business. Later chapters criticize the critics and offer proposals for meeting the attacks.

HANDLIN, OSCAR. *The American People in the Twentieth Century.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. x+244. $3.75. Essays on the composition, doings, and attitudes of the American people in the twentieth century.

HARARY, FRANK, and NORMAN, ROBERT Z. *Graph Theory as a Mathematical Model in Social Science.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research, 1953. Pp. v+45. Monograph reporting research in a region being rapidly industrialized: industry, population, unions, collective bargaining, and conflict.

HILL, REUBEN, MOSS, J. JOEL, and WIRTHS, CLAUDINE G. *Eddyville's Families: A Study of Personal and Family Adjustments Subsequent to the Rapid Urbanization of a Southern Town.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, 1954. Pp. 441. (Mimeographed.) Limited number of copies. Report of firsthand research; design and data presented in detail. Chapters on impact of a defense plant, particularly on family and personal problems.

HOFSTÄTTER, PETER R. *Einführung in die Sozialpsychologie* ("Introduction to Social Psychology"). Stuttgart and Wien: Humboldt-Verlag, 1953. Pp. 535. DM. 12.50. Three main parts: "Culture and the Individual," "Incorporation of the Individual into Society," and "The Structure of Social Groups." Extensive bibliography, mostly of items in English.

HOLLOWAY, ROBERT J. *A City Is More than People: A Study of Fifteen Minnesota Communities.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954. Pp. iv+63. $2.00.

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE. *African Worlds: Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and So-*

cial Values of African Peoples. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954. Pp. xvii+243. $4.80. Introduction by Daryll Forde, followed by papers on nine peoples, written by specialists.

JENSEN, VERNON H. *Nonferrous Metals Industry Unionism, 1932–1954: A Story of Leadership Controversy.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1954. Pp. xv+328. $4.00.

KASIUS, CORA (ed.). *New Directions in Social Work.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. Pp. xxi+258. $3.50. Symposium on current changes and problems of professional social work.

KATONA, GEORGE, *et al. Contributions of Survey Methods to Economics.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1954. Pp. viii+269. $5.00. Six papers on methods of study of consumer behavior and related matters.

KEVE, PAUL W. *Prison, Probation, or Parole?: A Probation Officer Reports.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954. Pp. 263. $3.75.

KLINEBERG, OTTO. *Social Psychology.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1954. Pp. xii+578. $5.25. Some revision and practically complete rewriting of certain parts. More attention to group dynamics, attitudes and opinions, and culture and personality than in first edition. New chapters on national characteristics and psychology and international relations.

KORNHAUSER, ARTHUR, DUBIN, ROBERT, and ROSS, ARTHUR M. (eds.). *Industrial Conflict.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1954. Pp. xi+551. $6.00. Forty chapters written especially for this volume. Authors are of various social sciences; all have done research in industrial problems.

KROEBER ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY. *The Walter B. Cline Memorial Volume—Numbers 8 and 9.* Berkeley: Kroeber Anthropological Society, 1953. Pp. xix+159. $3.25. Eleven papers, several of sociological interest, e.g., a new messianic cult in Japan.

KUPER, LEO. *Living in Towns: Selected Research Papers in Urban Sociology of the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science, University of Birmingham.* London: Cresset Press, 1953. Pp. xi+370. 21s. Five papers. The first, "Blueprint for Living Together," by Leo Kuper, describes a study of a residential unit of Coventry (pp. 1–202), with appendixes on the sampling, and showing tables of relationships of the people with their neighbors. The four shorter papers are on similar topics but refer to other communities.

LANE, ROBERT E. *The Regulation of Businessmen: Social Conditions of Government Economic Control.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954. Pp. xiii+144. $3.75. Study of social and personal friction between businessmen and government. A chapter, "Why Businessmen Break the Law," based on study of the New England shoe industry. Stresses the ideologies and social roles of businessmen.

LEAKEY, L. S. B. *Mau Mau and the Kikuyu.* New York: John Day Co., 1954. Pp. xi+115. $2.50. American edition of an English book by a man reared in Kenya who speaks the Kikuyu language. Describes Kikuyu life as of before the Europeans; the changes they wrought; political movements of the natives leading up to the Mau Mau movement; the conflict over land between the Kikuyu and the white settlers.

LINDBERG, JOHN. *Foundations of Social Survival.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1953. Pp. viii+260. $3.50. A social theory—sophisticated, philosophical, religious.

MANN, ARTHUR. *Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. x+314. $5.00. Covers 1880 to 1900; chapters on Irish, Jewish, Protestant reformers, writers and artists, workers and women reformers.

MARTIN, WALTER T. *The Rural-Urban Fringe: A Study of Adjustment to Residence Location.* Eugene, Ore.: University of Oregon, University Press, 1953. Pp. v+109. $1.25. Study of families on the fringe of Eugene and Springfield, Oregon; history of the area; description of the sample and procedures; data on amount of land occupied per family, migration, occupations, etc., with various findings concerning adjustment.

MILES, ARTHUR P. *American Social Work Theory: A Critique and a Proposal.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. Pp. ix+246. $3.00. Chapters on the theoretical affiliations of the philosophy of professional social workers, with some proposals for change.

MOORE, BARRINGTON, JR. *Terror and Progress USSR: Some Sources of Change and Stability in the Soviet Dictatorship.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. xvii+261. $4.50.

MYRDAL, GUNNAR. *The Political Element in the Development of Economic Theory.* Translated by PAUL STREETEN. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. xvii+248. $5.00. Translation of a major work originally published in Swedish in 1929, translated into German in 1932, both now out of print. The English is a translation from the German edition. A brief preface to the translation by Myrdal.

OLIVER, HENRY M., JR. *A Critique of Socioeconomic Goals.* Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1954. Pp. vii+191. $3.00. Revision of a thesis on concepts of economic justice together with some previously published papers of the author.

PINSON, KOPPEL S. *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science,* Vol. VIII. New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute, Yivo, 1953. Pp. 303. Documents on the Nazi ghettos in Vilna and Warsaw; social differentiation in Nazi concentration camps; and other papers concerning liquidation, rescue, relief, etc.

POLLITT, BASIL H. *Justice and the Justices.* Daytona Beach, Fla.: College Publishing Co., 1954. Pp. 210. $4.00.

RHEINSTEIN, MAX (ed. and annotated). *Max Weber on Law in Economy and Society*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. lxxii +363. $6.00. Translation of 160 pages of *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* ("Economy and Society"). The main part of the book is the seventh chapter of that work. A few other sections especially pertinent to law are included.

RICHMOND, ANTHONY H. *Colour Prejudice in Britain: A Study of West Indian Workers in Liverpool, 1941-51*. New York: Grove Press, 1954. Pp. xi+ 183. $4.00.

RIESMAN, DAVID. *Individualism Reconsidered and Other Essays*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954. Pp. 529. $6.00. Thirty previously published papers. Chief general topics: individualism in American society, marginality and minorities, popular culture, psychoanalysis and society, totalitarianism, and problems of method in social science.

RIVERA, GENEROSO F., and McMILLAN, ROBERT T. *The Rural Philippines*. Manila, Philippines: Office of Information, Mutual Security Agency, 1952. Pp. 215.

ROCHE, ALPHONSE V. *Provençal Regionalism: A Study of the Movement in the* Revue félibréenne, Le Feu, *and Other Reviews of Southern France*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1954. Pp. xix+271. $4.25. A study of cultural regionalism as shown in periodical literature in the south of France.

SCOTTISH COUNCIL FOR RESEARCH IN EDUCATION, THE. *Social Implications of the 1947 Scottish Mental Survey*. London: University of London Press, Ltd., 1953. Pp. xxiii+356. 10s. 6d. Correlates the data on intelligence (presented in *The Trend of Scottish Intelligence* [1949]) with social and physiological factors—height and weight, social background, etc. Data presented in numerous tables.

SIMMONS, LEO W., and WOLFF, HAROLD G. *Social Science in Medicine*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954. Pp. 254. $3.50. A sociologist and a physician propose a basis for collaboration in the study and treatment of illness.

SMITH, T. LYNN. *Brazil: People and Institutions*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1954. Pp. xix+704. $7.50. Comprehensive book on cultures, population, standards of living, land and land tenure, and social institutions. See *American Journal of Sociology*, LII. (November, 1946), 282-83 for review.

SOULE, GEORGE. *Men, Wages and Employment in the Modern U.S. Economy*. New York: New American Library of World Literature, 1954. $0.35. Summary of the findings of Twentieth Century Funds survey, *Employment and Wages in the United States*, by W. S. Woytinsky and Associates (New York, 1953).

SPENCE, JAMES, WALTON, W. S., MILLER, F. J. W.,

and COURT, S. D. M. *A Thousand Families in Newcastle upon Tyne: An Approach to the Study of Health and Illness in Children*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954. Pp. xiv+217. $3.00. Inquiry on diseases of childhood in the first year of life, their causes and effects in a representative sample of families. Inquiry designed to follow the children and their families for seven years.

STANTON, ALFRED H., M.D., and SCHWARTZ, MORRIS S. *The Mental Hospital: A Study of Institutional Participation in Psychiatric Illness and Treatment*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1954. Pp. xx +492. $7.50.

STRUNK, FREDERICK R. (comp.). *An Inventory of Social and Economic Research in Health*. New York: Health Information Foundation, 1954. Pp. 180. Projects are classified as facilities, service, personnel, economic factors, health levels and practices, sociological factors, or mental health; grouped as in progress, completed, or as theses and dissertations. The problem, the geographical area, kinds of data and analysis, staff and name of research organization, are reported for each project.

TATE, H. CLAY. *Building a Better Home Town: A Program of Community Self-analysis and Self-help*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. Pp. xvi+236. $3.50. Semipopular book, with case studies of successful self-help programs of Illinois communities.

UNITED NATIONS. *Urban Land: Problems and Policies*. (Bull. 7.) New York: United Nations Publication, Columbia University Press, 1953. Pp. 181. $1.75. Survey of urban land use policies in thirteen countries. Contains bibliography of 792 titles on urban land policies, classified by subject and country.

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA INSTITUTE OF GERONTOLOGY. Edited by GEORGE B. HURFF. *Economic Problems of Retirement*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1954. Pp. ix+180. $2.50. Papers and discussion on pensions and savings.

USHER, ABBOTT PAYSON. *A History of Mechanical Inventions*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. xi+450. $9.00. A general treatise, with theoretical chapters and chapters on particular inventions, inventors, and epochs. Extensive bibliography and illustrations.

VON GRUNEBAUM, G. E. (ed.). *Studies in Islamic Cultural History*. Menasha, Wis.: American Anthropolitical Association, 1954. Pp. xi+60. Four well-documented papers: Von Grunebaum, "Islamic Studies and Cultural Research"; Kissling, "The Sociological and Educational Roles of the Dervish Orders in the Ottoman Empire"; Caskel, "The Bedouinization of Arabia"; Spuler, "Iran and Islam"—papers of special interest to sociologists interested in cultural contacts and in comparative study of religious institutions.

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WORLD URBANISM

AN EDITORIAL FOREWORD

One of the most striking aspects of the modern era has been increasing urbanization, that is, the increasing proportion of the world's population residing in cities. This phenomenon is the physical manifestation of the urban way of life which is so characteristic of today, and of the many new types of problems incident to what has become a mass society. Moreover, the urban mode of life extends far beyond the boundaries of cities and even beyond those of metropolitan areas.

Partly because of the high visibility of large population agglomerations, sociologists and others have associated with urbanism many of the basic changes in current society, ranging from sophistication, scholarship, and modern art to divorce, juvenile delinquency, and political corruption. The prominence of the large city has undoubtedly largely inspired social scientists to distinguish community and society, the urban and the rural, the primary and the secondary group, the folk society and the urbanized society.

The prominence given to urbanization and to urbanism as independent variables in the explanation of social phenomena is undoubtedly well deserved. It is becoming increasingly clear, however, that urbanization and urbanism, as such, are complex and confounded variables which must be further analyzed into elements, the more so as we gain increasing acquaintance with both urban and nonurban populations in non-Western societies. This special issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* represents an effort further to press upon the sociologist the need to reconsider some of the perhaps too hasty generalizations of the past.

The first of the papers, "The Origin and Growth of Urbanization in the World," by Kingsley Davis, presents probably the most comprehensive summary of statistics on the population of the world's cities ever assembled. On the basis of intensive research and by the exercise of great ingenuity, Davis and his co-workers have filled in many gaps in our knowledge of the populations of the cities of the world, both historically and at the present time. Furthermore, in his glance into the future, Davis challenges any purely static concept of "urban" as contrasted with "rural" and alerts social scientists to the likelihood of urbanization exceeding that known to date.

Bogue's article on urbanization in the United States brings out some implications of the recent census statistics on urban population. It also makes readily available to the *Journal*'s readers the major changes introduced in the concept of urban statistics in the 1950 Census of the United States.

Sjoberg, in his article on the preindustrial

city, calls for the re-examination of many current generalizations about the differences between urban and rural populations, on the one hand, and between industrial and pre-industrial societies and cities, on the other.

The three following papers, relating to specific areas—Bascom on Africa, Crane on India, and Ginsburg on Southeast Asia— provide case materials which tend to document Sjoberg's analysis. They point to the need for more intensive research into non-Western cities and into comparative international urbanism in general. It is not without significance that the papers on cities in Africa and Asia are written by an anthropologist, a historian, and a geographer, rather than by sociologists.

Turning from global and regional surveys of urbanism, the final two papers of the issue illustrate some possibilities of comparative ecological research. Hawley's study of changes in land-value patterns in a Japanese city which was virtually wiped out in the war indicates a remarkable and unexpected stability in the ecological pattern. The Duncans' analysis of residential patterns in relation to occupational stratification in Chicago suggests some techniques of ecological analysis that are adaptable to comparative studies and, in addition, provides an example of a research design appropriate to the rigorous testing of ecological hypotheses. The paper is one of a series of urban studies being carried out at the Population Research and Training Center of the University of Chicago.

This issue does not pretend to deal comprehensively with the many aspects of world urbanism. It is designed rather to provide some relevant data, to pose some questions, and to point to new areas of urban research on a world-wide basis.

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THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF URBANIZATION IN THE WORLD

KINGSLEY DAVIS

ABSTRACT

Although there were a few cities as early as 4000 B.C., the cities of the ancient world were generally small and had to be supported by much larger rural populations. "Urbanized societies," in which a high proportion of the population lives in cities, developed only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The process of urbanization has moved rapidly in the entire world since 1800, and the peak is not yet in sight. A diminution of the rate of urbanization in the older industrial countries is being compensated for by an increase in the rate in the underdeveloped areas.

Urban phenomena attract sociological attention primarily for four reasons. First, such phenomena are relatively recent in human history. Compared to most other aspects of society—e.g., language, religion, stratification, or the family—cities appeared only yesterday, and urbanization, meaning that a sizable proportion of the population lives in cities, has developed only in the last few moments of man's existence. Second, urbanism represents a revolutionary change in the whole pattern of social life. Itself a product of basic economic and technological developments, it tends in turn, once it comes into being, to affect every aspect of existence. It exercises its pervasive influence not only within the urban milieu strictly defined but also in the rural hinterland. The third source of sociological interest in cities is the fact that, once established, they tend to be centers of power and influence throughout the whole society, no matter how agricultural and rural it may be. Finally, the process of urbanization is still occurring; many of the problems associated with it are unsolved; and, consequently, its future direction and potentialities are still a matter of uncertainty. This paper examines the first and last points: the origin, growth, and present rate of progress of urbanization in the world. Since good statistics on urban concentration do not exist even today for substantial parts of the world, and hardly exist for any part during most of the time since cities have been in existence, we are forced to rely on whatever credible evidence can be found and so can reach only broad conclusions concerning early periods and only approximations for recent times. Nev-

ertheless, it can be said that our information, both statistical and nonstatistical, is much better today than when Adna Weber wrote his classic treatise on comparative urbanization at the turn of the present century.[1]

THE RISE OF EARLY URBAN CENTERS

Because the archeological evidence is fragmentary, the role of cities in antiquity has often been exaggerated. Archeologists in particular are inclined to call any settlement a "city" which had a few streets and a public building or two. Yet there is surely some point in not mistaking a town for a city. Moreover, what is important is not only the appearance of a few towns or cities but also their place in the total society of which they were a part. Thus, even though in particular regions around the Mediterranean and in southern and western Asia many towns and a few cities arose prior to the Christian Era, there were severe limitations both on the size that such cities could reach and on the proportion of the total population that could live in them.

Speaking generally, one can agree with the dominant view that the diverse technological innovations constituting Neolithic culture were necessary for the existence of settled communities.[2] Yet one should not

[1] Adna F. Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1899).

[2] V. Gordon Childe, *Man Makes Himself* (rev. ed.; London: Watts, 1941), chaps. v-vi; *What Happened in History* (London and New York: Penguin Books, 1946 [first printed in 1942]), chaps. iii-iv.

infer that these innovations, which began some 8,000–10,000 years ago, were sufficient to give rise to towns as distinct from villages. Even though the Neolithic population was more densely settled than the purely hunting or food-gathering peoples, it was nevertheless chiefly engaged in an occupation—agriculture—which requires a large amount of land per person. The Neolithic population density was therefore not a matter of town concentration but rather a matter of tiny villages scattered over the land.

What had to be added to the Neolithic complex to make possible the first towns? Between 6000 and 4000 B.C. certain inventions—such as the ox-drawn plow and wheeled cart, the sailboat, metallurgy, irrigation, and the domestication of new plants—facilitated, when taken together, a more intensive and more productive use of the Neolithic elements themselves. When this enriched technology was utilized in certain unusual regions where climate, soil, water, and topography were most favorable (broad river valleys with alluvial soil not exhausted by successive cropping, with a dry climate that minimized soil leaching, with plenty of sunshine, and with sediment-containing water for irrigation from the river itself), the result was a sufficiently productive economy to make possible the sine qua non of urban existence, the concentration in one place of people who do not grow their own food.

But a productive economy, though necessary, was not sufficient: high productivity per acre does not necessarily mean high per capita productivity. Instead of producing a surplus for town dwellers, the cultivators can, theoretically at least, multiply on the land until they end up producing just enough to sustain themselves. The rise of towns and cities therefore required, in addition to highly favorable agricultural conditions, a form of social organization in which certain strata could appropriate for themselves part of the produce grown by the cultivators. Such strata—religious and governing officials, traders, and artisans—could live in towns, because their power over

goods did not depend on their presence on the land as such. They could thus realize the advantages of town living, which gave them additional power over the cultivators.

The first cities, doubtless small and hard to distinguish from towns, seem to have appeared in the most favorable places sometime between 6000 and 5000 B.C. From that time on, it can be assumed that some of the inventions which made larger settlements possible were due to towns and cities themselves—viz., writing and accountancy,[1] bronze, the beginnings of science, a solar calendar, bureaucracy. By 3000 B.C., when these innovations were all exercising an influence in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and India, there were in existence what may be called "true" cities. After that there appears to have been, for some 2,000 years, a lull during which the most important innovations, toward the end of the period, were alphabetic writing and the smelting of iron. Curiously, the cities in the regions where city life had originated eventually went into eclipse, and it was not until Greco-Roman times that new principles made possible, in new regions, a marked gain in city existence. The fact that the greatest subsequent cultural developments did not occur primarily in the regions where the first cities arose suggests that cities are not always and everywhere a stimulant of economic and social advance. Childe admits that, if anything, the first cities had a stultifying effect on cultural progress,[3] due perhaps to the unproductive insulation and excessive power of the urban elite. There is no doubt that the religio-magical traditionalism of the early cities was profound.

Why was there so little urbanization in ancient times, and why did it proceed so slowly from that point? The sites of the earliest "cities" themselves show that they were small affairs. The walls of ancient Babylon, for example, embraced an area of very roughly 3.2 square miles,[4] and "Ur,

[3] Man Makes Himself, p. 227.

[4] Deduced from data given in Marguerite Rutten, Babylone (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948), p. 34.

with its canals, harbors, and temples, occupied some 220 acres; the walls of Erech encompass an area of just on two square miles."[5] This suggests that the famous Ur could hardly have boasted more than 5,000 inhabitants and Erech hardly more than 25,000. The mounds of Mohenjo-daro in Sind cover a square mile,[6] and Harappa in the Punjab had a walled area visible in 1853 with a perimeter of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles.[7] These were evidently "cities" of 5,000–15,000 inhabitants, yet they were the chief centers for the entire Indus region, an area nearly two-thirds the size of Texas. Less is known about the earliest Egyptian cities, for they were built with mud bricks and have long since disappeared beneath the alluvial soil. Tell el 'Amarna, the temporary capital built much later, about 1400 B.C., perhaps held something like 40,000 people. The wall of Hotep-Sanusert, an earlier capital built about 1900 B.C. on the Fayum, measured 350 by 400 meters[8] and inclosed an area of approximately one-twentieth of a square mile. Thebes, at the height of its splendor as the capital of Egypt about 1600, was described by Greek writers as having a circumference of 14 miles. By a liberal estimate it may have contained 225,000 inhabitants.

To the questions why even the largest cities prior to 1000 B.C. were small by modern standards, why even the small ones were relatively few, and why the degree of urbanization even in the most advanced regions was very slight, the answer seems as follows: Agriculture was so cumbersome, static, and labor-intensive that it took many cultivators to support one man in the city. The ox-drawn plow, the wooden plowshare, inundation irrigation, stone hoes, sickles, and axes were instruments of production, to be sure, but clumsy ones. Not until iron came into use in Asia Minor about 1300 B.C. could

general improvement in agriculture be achieved. The static character of agriculture and of the economy generally was fostered perhaps by the insulation of the religio-political officials from the practical arts and the reduction of the peasant to virtually the status of a beast of burden. The technology of transport was as labor-intensive as that of agriculture. The only means of conveying bulky goods for mass consumption was by boat, and, though sails had been invented, the sailboat was so inefficient that rowing was still necessary. The oxcart, with its solid wheels and rigidly attached axle, the pack animal, and the human burden-bearer were all short-distance means of transport, the only exception being the camel caravan. Long-distance transport was reserved largely for goods which had high value and small bulk—i.e., goods for the elite—which could not maintain a large urban population. The size of the early cities was therefore limited by the amount of food, fibers, and other bulky materials that could be obtained from the immediate hinterland by labor-intensive methods, a severe limitation which the Greek cities of a later period, small as they remained, nevertheless had to escape before they could attain their full size.

There were political limitations as well. The difficulty of communication and transport and the existence of multifarious local tribal cultures made the formation of large national units virtually impossible. The first urban-centered units were city-states, and when so-called "empires" were formed, as in Egypt, in the Sumerian region, and later in Assyria, much local autonomy was left to the subordinated areas, and the constant danger of revolt prevented the extension of the hinterlands of the cities very far or very effectively. It is symptomatic of the weakness of the early cities that they were constantly threatened and frequently conquered not only by neighboring towns but also by nonurban barbarians. Each wave of barbarians tended to rebuild the urban centers and to become agricultural and sedentary, only to be eventually overwhelmed in turn by new invaders. Other limiting factors

[5] Childe, *What Happened in History*, p. 87.

[6] Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1950), p. 165.

[7] Childe, *What Happened in History*, p. 118.

[8] Pierre Montet, *La Vie quotidienne en Égypte* (Paris: Hachette, 1946), p. 16.

were the lack of scientific medicine (which made urban living deadly), the fixity of the peasant on the land (which minimized rural-urban migration), the absence of large-scale manufacturing (which would have derived more advantage from urban concentration than did handicraft), the bureaucratic con-trol of the peasantry (which stifled free trade in the hinterland), and the traditionalism and religiosity of all classes (which ham-pered technological and economic advance).

The limitations explain why we find, when the sites furnish adequate evidence, that the earliest cities were small affairs, usually no more than towns. Whether in the new or in the old world, even the biggest places could scarcely have exceeded 200,000 inhabitants, and the proportion of the total population living in them must have been not more than 1 or 2 per cent. From 50 to 90 farmers must have been re-quired to support one man in a city.

SUBSEQUENT CITY DEVELOPMENT

If urbanization was to escape its early limitations, it had to do so in a new region, a region more open to innovation and new conceptions. As it turned out, the region that saw a later and greater urban develop-ment was farther north, the Greco-Roman world of Europe, flourishing approximately during the period from 600 B.C. to 400 A.D. Iron tools and weapons, alphabetic writing, improved sailboats, cheap coinage, more democratic institutions, systematic coloni-zation—all tended to increase production, stimulate trade, and expand the effective political unit. Towns and cities became more numerous, the degree of urbanization greater. A few cities reached a substantial size. Athens, at its peak in the fifth century B.C., achieved a population of between 120,-000 and 180,000. Syracuse and Carthage were perhaps larger.

The full potentialities of the ancient world to support a large city were realized only with the Romans. Through their abil-ity to conquer, organize, and govern an em-pire, to put the immediate Italian hinter-land to frutiful cultivation, to use both

force and trade to bring slaves, goods, food, and culture to the imperial capital, they were able to create in Rome (with the pos-sible exception of Constantinople some cen-turies later) the largest city that was to be known in the world until the rise of London in the nineteenth century. Yet, despite the fact that Rome and Constantinople came to hold populations of several hundred thou-sand, they were not able to resist conquest by far less urbanized outsiders. The eclipse of cities in Europe was striking. Commerce declined to the barest minimum; each locale became isolated and virtually self-sufficient; the social system congealed into a heredi-tary system.[9] When finally towns and cities began to revive, they were small, as the following estimates suggest: Florence (1338), 90,000; Venice (1422), 190,000; Antwerp (sixteenth century), 200,000; London (1377), 30,000;[10] Nuremberg (1450), 20,165; Frankfort (1440), 8,719.[11]

Yet it was precisely in western Europe, where cities and urbanization had reached a nadir during the Dark Ages, that the limitations that had characterized the ancient world were finally to be overcome. The cities of Mesopotamia, India, and Egypt, of Persia, Greece, and Rome, had all been tied to an economy that was primarily agricultural, where handicraft played at best a secondary role and where the city was still attempting to supplement its economic weakness with military strength, to com-mand its sustenance rather than to buy it honestly. In western Europe, starting at the zero point, the development of cities not only reached the stage that the ancient world had achieved but kept going after that. It kept going on the basis of improve-ments in agriculture and transport, the opening of new lands and new trade routes,

[9] Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939), pp. 84–85.

[10] Pierre Clerget, "Urbanism: A Historic, Geo-graphic, and Economic Study," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1912* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), p. 656.

[11] Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1936), p. 172.

and, above all, the rise in productive activity, first in highly organized handicraft and eventually in a revolutionary new form of production—the factory run by machinery and fossil fuel. The transformation thus achieved in the nineteenth century was the true urban revolution, for it meant not only the rise of a few scattered towns and cities but the appearance of genuine urbanization, in the sense that a substantial portion of the population lived in towns and cities.

THE WORLD TREND FROM 1800 TO 1950[12]

Urbanization has, in fact, gone ahead much faster and reached proportions far greater during the last century and a half than at any previous time in world history. The tremendous growth in world trade during this period has enabled the urban population to draw its sustenance from an ever wider area. Indeed, it can truly be said that the hinterland of today's cities is the entire world. Contemporary Britain, Holland, and Japan, for example, could not maintain their urban population solely from their own territory. The number of rural inhabitants required to maintain one urban inhabitant is still great—greater than one would imagine from the rural-urban ratio *within* each of the highly urbanized countries. The reason is that much of agriculture around the world is still technologically and economically backward. Yet there can be no doubt that, whether for particular countries or for the entire globe, the ratio of urban dwellers to those who grow their food has risen remarkably. This is shown by the fact that the proportion of people living in cities in 1950 is higher than that found in any particular country prior to modern times and many times higher than that formerly characterizing the earth as a whole.

The rapidity of urbanization in recent times can be seen by looking at the most

[12] The writer acknowledges with pleasure the collaboration of Mrs. Hilda Hertz Golden in the statistical work on which this and succeeding sections are based. Such work has been done as part of a continuing program of comparative urban research in the population division of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University.

urbanized country, England. In 1801, although London had already reached nearly the million mark (865,000), England and Wales had less than 10 per cent of their population in cities of 100,000 or more. By 1901 no less than 35 per cent of the population of England and Wales was living in cities of 100,000 or more, and 58 per cent was living in cities of 20,000 or more. By 1951 these two proportions had risen to 38.4 and 69.3 per cent, respectively.

Britain was in the van of urban development. A degree of urbanization equal to that she had attained in 1801 was not

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE OF WORLD'S POPULATION LIVING IN CITIES

	Cities of 20,000 or More	Cities of 100,000 or More
1800........	2.4	1.7
1850........	4.3	2.3
1900........	9.2	5.5
1950........	20.9	13.1

achieved by any other country until after 1850. Thereafter the British rate of urbanization began slowly to decline, whereas that of most other countries continued at a high level. By assembling available data and preparing estimates where data were lacking, we have arrived at figures on urbanization in the world as a whole, beginning with 1800, the earliest date for which anything like a reasonable estimate can be obtained. The percentage of the world's population found living in cities is as shown in Table 1. It can be seen that the proportion has tended to do a bit better than double itself each half-century and that by 1950 the world as a whole was considerably more urbanized than Britain was in 1800. As everyone knows, the earth's total population has grown at an extremely rapid rate since 1800, reaching 2.4 billion by 1950. But the urban population has grown much faster. In 1800 there were about 15.6 million people living in cities of 100,000 or more. By 1950 it was

313.7 million, more than twenty times the earlier figure. Much of this increase has obviously come from rural-urban migration, clearly the most massive migration in modern times.

In 1800 there were apparently less than 50 cities with 100,000 or more inhabitants. This was less than the number in the million class today and less than the number of 100,000-plus cities currently found in many single countries. By 1950 there were close to 900 cities of 100,000 or more people, which is more than the number of towns and cities of 5,000 or more in 1800.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE OF WORLD'S POPULATION
LIVING IN CITIES, BY REGIONS

	In Cities of 20,000 Plus	In Cities of 100,000 Plus
World..................	21·	13
Oceania................	47	41
North America (Canada and U.S.A.)...........	42	29
Europe (except U.S.S.R.)..	35	21
U.S.S.R................	31	18
South America..........	26	18
Middle America and Caribbean..................	21	12
Asia (except U.S.S.R.)....	13	8
Africa..................	9	5

As yet there is no indication of a slackening of the rate of urbanization in the world as a whole. If the present rate should continue, more than a fourth of the earth's people will be living in cities of 100,000 or more in the year 2000, and more than half in the year 2050. For places of 20,000 or more, the proportions at the two dates would be something like 45 per cent and 90 per cent. Whether such figures prove too low or too high, they nevertheless suggest that the human species is moving rapidly in the direction of an almost exclusively urban existence. We have used the proportion of the population in cities of 20,000 and 100,-000 or more as a convenient index of differences and changes in degree of urbanization. Places of less than 20,000 also fit a demographic definition of "urban." When, there-

fore, more than a third of the population of a country lives in cities of the 100,000 class (38.4 per cent in England and Wales in 1951), the country can be described as almost completely urbanized (81 per cent being designated as "urban" in the English case in 1951). We thus have today what can be called "urbanized societies," nations in which the great majority of inhabitants live in cities. The prospect is that, as time goes on, a greater and greater proportion of humanity will be members of such societies.

The question may be raised as to how such an extreme degree of world urbanization will prove possible. Who will grow the food and fibers necessary for the enormous urban population? The answer is that agriculture may prove to be an archaic mode of production. Already, one of the great factors giving rise to urbanization is the rather late and as yet very incomplete industrialization of agriculture. As farming becomes increasingly mechanized and rationalized, fewer people are needed on the land. On the average, the more urbanized a country, the lower is its rural density.[13] If, in addition to industrialized agriculture, food and fiber come to be increasingly produced by manufacturing processes using materials that utilize the sun's energy more efficiently than plants do, there is no technological reason why nearly all of mankind could not live in conurbations of large size.

THE REGIONAL PATTERN OF URBANIZATION

The highest levels of urbanization are found today in northwestern Europe and in those new regions where northwest Europeans have settled and extended their industrial civilization. The figures are as shown in Table 2.[14] Oceania is the most urbanized of

[13] See Kingsley Davis and Hilda Hertz, "Urbanization and the Development of Pre-industrial Areas," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, III (October, 1954), 6–26. See also the writer's paper, "Population and the Further Spread of Industrial Society," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCV (February, 1951), 10–13.

[14] From Kingsley Davis and Hilda Hertz, "The World Distribution of Urbanization," *Bulletin of the International Statistical Institute*, XXXIII, Part IV, 230.

the world's major regions, because Australia and New Zealand are its principal components. North America is next, if it is defined as including only Canada and the United States. The regions least urbanized are those least affected by northwest European culture, namely, Asia and Africa.

The figures for world regions are less valuable for purposes of analysis than are those for individual countries. The latter show clearly that urbanization has tended to reach its highest point wherever economic productivity has been greatest—that is, where the economy is industrialized and rationalized. This explains why urbanization is so closely associated with northwest Europeans and their culture, since they were mainly responsible for the industrial revolution. Of the fifteen most urbanized countries in the world, all but one, Japan, are European in culture, and all but four derive that culture from the northwest or central part of Europe.

The rate of urbanization in the older industrial countries, however, is slowing down. During the twenty years from 1870 to 1890 Germany's proportion in large cities more than doubled; it nearly doubled again from 1890 to 1910; but from 1910 to 1940 the increase was only 36 per cent. In Sweden the gain slowed down noticeably after 1920. In England and Wales the most rapid urbanization occurred between 1811 and 1851. Contrary to popular belief, the fastest rate in the United States occurred between 1861 and 1891. Since, as we noted earlier, there has been no slowing-down of urbanization in the world as a whole, it must be that, as the more established industrial countries have slackened, the less-developed countries have exhibited a faster rate. In fact, such historical evidence as we have for underdeveloped areas seems to show that their rates of urbanization have been rising in recent decades. This has been the case in Egypt, where the rate is higher after 1920 than before; in India, where the fastest urbanization has occurred since 1941; in Mexico, where the speed-up began in 1921; and in Greece, where the fastest period ran from 1900 to

1930. Asia, for example, had only 22 per cent of the world's city population in 1900 but 34 per cent of it in 1950, and Africa had 1.5 per cent in 1900 but 3.2 per cent at the later date.

With respect to urbanization, then, the gap between the industrial and the preindustrial nations is beginning to diminish. The less-developed parts of the world will eventually, it seems, begin in their turn to move gradually toward a saturation point. As the degree of urbanization rises, it of course becomes impossible for the rate of gain to continue. The growth in the urban proportion is made possible by the movement of people from rural areas to the cities. As the rural population becomes a progressively smaller percentage of the total, the cities no longer can draw on a noncity population of any size. Yet in no country can it be said that the process of urbanization is yet finished. Although there have been short periods in recent times in England, the United States, and Japan when the city population increased at a slightly slower rate than the rural, these were mere interludes in the ongoing but ever slower progress of urban concentration.

THE TENDENCY TOWARD METROPOLITAN EXPANSION

The continuance of urbanization in the world does not mean the persistence of something that remains the same in detail. A city of a million inhabitants today is not the sort of place that a city of the same number was in 1900 or in 1850. Moreover, with the emergence of giant cities of five to fifteen million, something new has been added. Such cities are creatures of the twentieth century. Their sheer quantitative difference means a qualitative change as well.

One of the most noticeable developments is the ever stronger tendency of cities to expand outward—a development already observed in the nineteenth century. Since 1861, the first date when the comparison can be made, the Outer Ring of Greater London has been growing more rapidly than London

itself. French writers prior to 1900 pointed out the dispersive tendency,[15] as did Adna Weber in 1899.[16] There is no doubt, however, that the process of metropolitan dispersion has increased with time. This fact is shown for the United States by comparing the percentage gains in population made by the central cities with those made by their satellite areas in forty-four metropolitan districts for which Thompson could get comparable data going back to 1900. The

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN POPULA-
TION IN 44 METROPOLITAN
DISTRICTS IN THE UNITED
STATES, 1900–1940

	Central Cities	Rest of Districts
1900–1910...	33.6	38.2
1910–20.....	23.4	31.3
1920–30.....	20.5	48.7
1930–40.....	4.2	13.0

gains are as shown in Table 3.[17] The difference increases, until in 1930–40 the population outside the central city is growing more than three times as fast as that inside the central city. Furthermore, Thompson has shown that *within the metropolitan area outside the central cities* it was the "rural" parts which gained faster than the urban parts, as the percentage increases per decade shown in Table 4, indicate. Clearly, the metropolitan districts were increasingly dependent on the areas outside the central cities, and especially upon the sparsely settled parts at the periphery of these

[15] Paul Meuriot, *Des agglomérations urbaines dans l'Europe contemporaine* (Paris: Bélin Frères, 1898), pp. 249–78. Literature on the movement of industry and people to the periphery of cities is cited, and a theoretical discussion of the subject given, in René Maunier, *L'Origine et la fonction économique des villes* (Paris: Giard & Brière, 1910), pp. 231–314.

[16] *Op. cit.*, pp. 458–75.

[17] Warren S. Thompson, *The Growth of Metropolitan Districts in the United States, 1900–1940* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1948), p. 5. The picture is much the same for the rest of the metropolitan districts for decades in which comparability could be established.

areas, for their continued growth. Thompson showed that, the greater the distance from the center of the city, the faster the rate of growth.[18]

The same forces which have made extreme urbanization possible have also made metropolitan dispersion possible, and the dispersion itself has contributed to further urbanization by making large conurbations more efficient and more endurable. The outward movement of urban residences, of urban services and commercial establishments, and of light industry—all facilitated by improvements in motor transport and communications—has made it possible for huge agglomerations to keep on growing without the inconveniences of proportionate increases in density. In many ways the metropolis of three million today is an easier place to live and work in than the city of five hundred thousand yesterday. Granted that the economic advantages of

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE POPULATION INCREASE
OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITIES IN 44
METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS

	Urban Parts	Rural Parts
1900–1910...	35.9	43.2
1910–20.....	30.2	34.5
1920–30.....	40.6	68.1
1930–40.....	7.3	28.1

urban concentration still continue and still push populations in the direction of urbanization, the effect of metropolitan dispersion is thus to minimize the disadvantages of this continued urban growth.

The new type of metropolitan expansion occurring in the highly industrial countries is not without its repercussions in less-developed lands as well. Most of the rapid urbanization now occurring in Africa and Asia, for example, is affected by direct contact with industrial nations and by a concomitant rise in consumption standards. Although private automobiles may not be available to the urban masses, bicycles and busses generally are. Hence Brazzaville and

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Abidjan, Takoradi and Nairobi, Jamshed-pur and New Delhi, Ankara and Colombo, are not evolving in the same manner as did the cities of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Their ecological pattern, their technological base, their economic activity, all reflect the twentieth century, no matter how primitive or backward their hinterlands may be. Thus the fact that their main growth is occurring in the present century is not without significance for the kind of cities they are turning out to be.

FUTURE TRENDS IN WORLD URBANIZATION

Speculation concerning the future of urbanization is as hazardous as that concerning any other aspect of human society. Following the direction of modern trends, however, one may conclude that, with the industrial revolution, for the first time in history urbanization began to reach a stage from which there was no return. The cities of antiquity were vulnerable, and the degree of urbanization reached was so thin in many societies as to be transitory. Today virtually every part of the world is more urbanized than any region was in antiquity. Urbanization is so widespread, so much a part of industrial civilization, and gaining so rapidly, that any return to rurality, even with major catastrophes, appears unlikely. On the contrary, since every city is obsolescent to some degree—more obsolescent the older it is—the massive destruction of many would probably add eventually to the impetus of urban growth.

The fact that the rate of world urbanization has shown no slackening since 1800 suggests that we are far from the end of this process, perhaps not yet at the peak. Although the industrial countries have shown a decline in their rates, these countries, because they embrace only about a fourth of the world's population, have not dampened the world trend. The three-fourths of humanity who live in underdeveloped countries are still in the early stages of an urbanization that promises to be more rapid than that which occurred earlier in the areas of northwest European culture.

How urbanized the world will eventually become is an unanswerable question. As stated earlier, there is no apparent reason why it should not become as urbanized as the most urban countries today—with perhaps 85–90 per cent of the population living in cities and towns of 5,000 or more and practicing urban occupations. Our present degree of urbanization in advanced countries is still so new that we have no clear idea of how such complete world urbanization would affect human society; but the chances are that the effects would be profound.

In visualizing the nature and effects of complete urbanization in the future, however, one must guard against assuming that cities will retain their present form. The tendency to form huge metropolitan aggregates which are increasingly decentralized will undoubtedly continue but probably will not go so far as to eliminate the central business district altogether, though it may greatly weaken it. At the periphery, it may well be that the metropolis and the countryside, as the one expands and the other shrinks, will merge together, until the boundaries of one sprawling conurbation will touch those of another, with no intervening pure countryside at all. The world's population doubles itself twice in a century, becoming at the same time highly urbanized, and as new sources of energy are tapped, the possibility of centrifugal metropolitan growth is enormously enhanced. If commuting to work could be done with the speed of sound and cheaply, one would not mind living two hundred miles from work. Almost any technological advance from now on is likely to contribute more to the centrifugal than to the centripetal tendency. It may turn out that urbanization in the sense of emptying the countryside and concentrating huge numbers in little space will reverse itself—not, however, in the direction of returning people to the farm but rather in that of spreading them more evenly over the land for purposes of residence and industrial work. "Rurality" would have disappeared, leaving only a new kind of urban existence.

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THE PREINDUSTRIAL CITY

GIDEON SJOBERG

ABSTRACT

In the preindustrial cities of medieval Europe and of other parts of the world certain elements (e.g., economic, class, and family systems) are found which are common to all urban communities. But their form in the preindustrial city differs markedly from that in the industrial city. The difference can be attributed primarily to industrialization itself.

In the past few decades social scientists have been conducting field studies in a number of relatively non-Westernized cities. Their recently acquired knowledge of North Africa and various parts of Asia, combined with what was already learned, clearly indicates that these cities are not like typical cities of the United States and other highly industrialized areas but are much more like those of medieval Europe. Such communities are termed herein "preindustrial," for they have arisen without stimulus from that form of production which we associate with the European industrial revolution.

Recently Foster, in a most informative article, took cognizance of the preindustrial city.[1] His primary emphasis was upon the peasantry (which he calls "folk"); but he recognized this to be part of a broader social structure which includes the preindustrial city. He noted certain similarities between the peasantry and the city's lower class. Likewise the present author sought to analyze the total society of which the peasantry and the preindustrial city are integral parts.[2] For want of a better term this was called "feudal." Like Redfield's folk (or "primitive") society, the feudal order is highly stable and sacred; in contrast, however, it has a complex social organization. It is characterized by highly developed state and educational and/or religious institutions and by a rigid class structure.

Thus far no one has analyzed the preindustrial city per se, especially as it differs

[1] George M. Foster, "What Is Folk Culture?" *American Anthropologist*, LV (1953), 159–73.

[2] Gideon Sjoberg, "Folk and 'Feudal' Societies," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (1952), 231–39.

from the industrial-urban community, although Weber, Tönnies, and a few others perceived differences between the two. Yet such a survey is needed for the understanding of urban development in so-called underdeveloped countries and, for that matter, in parts of Europe. Such is the goal of this paper. The typological analysis should also serve as a guide to future research.

ECOLOGICAL ORGANIZATION

Preindustrial cities depend for their existence upon food and raw materials obtained from without; for this reason they are marketing centers. And they serve as centers for handicraft manufacturing. In addition, they fulfil important political, religious, and educational functions. Some cities have become specialized; for example, Benares in India and Karbala in Iraq are best known as religious communities, and Peiping in China as a locus for political and educational activities.

The proportion of urbanites relative to the peasant population is small, in some societies about 10 per cent, even though a few preindustrial cities have attained populations of 100,000 or more. Growth has been by slow accretion. These characteristics are due to the nonindustrial nature of the total social order. The amount of surplus food available to support an urban population has been limited by the unmechanized agriculture, transportation facilities utilizing primarily human or animal power, and inefficient methods of food preservation and storage.

The internal arrangement of the preindustrial city, in the nature of the case, is

closely related to the city's economic and\ social structure.[3] Most streets are mere passageways for people and for animals used in transport. Buildings are low and crowded together. The congested conditions, combined with limited scientific knowledge, have fostered serious sanitation problems.

More significant is the rigid social segregation which typically has led to the formation of "quarters" or "wards." In some cities (e.g., Fez, Morocco, and Aleppo, Syria) these were sealed off from each other by walls, whose gates were locked at night. The quarters reflect the sharp local social divisions. Thus ethnic groups live in special sections. And the occupational groupings, some being at the same time ethnic in character, typically reside apart from one another. Often a special street or sector of the city is occupied almost exclusively by members of a particular trade; cities in such divergent cultures as medieval Europe and modern Afghanistan contain streets with names like "street of the goldsmiths." Lower-class and especially "outcaste" groups live on the city's periphery, at a dis-\ tance from the primary centers of activity. Social segregation, the limited transportation facilities, the modicum of residential mobility, and the cramped living quarters have encouraged the development of well-defined neighborhoods which are almost primary groups.

Despite rigid segregation the evidence suggests no real specialization of land use

[3] Sociologists have devoted almost no attention to the ecology of preindustrial centers. However, works of other social scientists do provide some valuable preliminary data. See, e.g., Marcel Clerget, *Le Caire: Étude de géographie urbaine et d'histoire économique* (2 vols.; Cairo: E. & R. Schindler, 1934); Robert E. Dickinson, *The West European City* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951); Roger Le Tourneau, *Fès: Avant le protectorat* (Casablanca: Société Marocaine de Librairie et d'Édition, 1949); Edward W. Lane, *Cairo Fifty Years Ago* (London: John Murray, 1896); J. Sauvaget, *Alep* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1941); J. Weulersse, "Antioche: Essai de géographie urbaine," *Bulletin d'études orientales*, IV (1934), 27–79; Jean Kennedy, *Here Is India* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945); and relevant articles in American geographical journals.

such as is functionally necessary in industrial-urban communities. In medieval Europe and in other areas city dwellings often serve as workshops, and religious structures are used as schools or marketing centers.[4]

Finally, the "business district" does not hold the position of dominance that it enjoys in the industrial-urban community. Thus, in the Middle East the principal \ mosque, or in medieval Europe the cathedral, is usually the focal point of community life. The center of Peiping is the Forbidden City.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

The economy of the preindustrial city diverges sharply from that of the modern industrial center. The prime difference is the absence in the former of industrialism which may be defined as that system of production in which *inanimate* sources of power are used to multiply human effort. Preindustrial cities depend for the production of goods and services upon *animate* (human or animal) sources of energy—applied either directly or indirectly through such mechanical devices as hammers, pulleys, and wheels. The industrial-urban community, on the other hand, employs inanimate generators of power such as electricity and steam which greatly enhance the productive capacity of urbanites. This basically new form of energy production, one which requires for its development and survival a special kind of institutional complex, effects striking changes in the ecological, economic, and social organization of cities in which it has become dominant.

Other facets of the economy of the preindustrial city are associated with its particular system of production. There is little \fragmentation or specialization of work. The handicraftsman participates in nearly every phase of the manufacture of an article, often carrying out the work in his own home or in a small shop near by and, within the limits of certain guild and community regulations,

[4] Dickinson, *op. cit.*, p. 27; O. H. K. Spate, *India and Pakistan* (London: Methuen & Co., 1954), p. 183.

maintaining direct control over conditions of work and methods of production.

In industrial cities, on the other hand, the complex division of labor requires a specialized managerial group, often extra-community in character, whose primary function is to direct and control others. And for the supervision and co-ordination of the activities of workers, a "factory system" has been developed, something typically lacking in preindustrial cities. (Occasionally centralized production is found in preindustrial cities—e.g., where the state organized slaves for large-scale construction projects.) Most commercial activities, also, are conducted in preindustrial cities by individuals without a highly formalized organization; for example, the craftsman has frequently been responsible for the marketing of his own products. With a few exceptions, the preindustrial community cannot support a large group of middlemen.

The various occupations are organized into what have been termed "guilds."[5] These strive to encompass all, except the elite, who are gainfully employed in some economic activity. Guilds have existed for merchants and handicraft workers (e.g., goldsmiths and weavers) as well as for servants, entertainers, and even beggars and thieves. Typically the guilds operate only within the local community, and there are no large-scale economic organizations such as those in industrial cities which link their members to their fellows in other communities.

[5] For a discussion of guilds and other facets of the preindustrial city's economy see, e.g., J. S. Burgess, The Guilds of Peking (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928); Edward T. Williams, China, Yesterday and Today (5th ed.; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1932); T'ai-ch'u Liao, "The Apprentices in Chengtu during and after the War," Yenching Journal of Social Studies, IV (1948), 90–106; H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, Islamic Society and the West (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), Vol. I, Part I, chap. vi; Le Tourneau, op. cit.; Clerget, op. cit.; James W. Thompson and Edgar N. Johnson, An Introduction to Medieval Europe (New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1937), chap. xx; Sylvia L. Thrupp, "Medieval Gilds Reconsidered," Journal of Economic History, II (1942), 164–73.

Guild membership and apprenticeship are prerequisites to the practice of almost any occupation, a circumstance obviously leading to monopolization. To a degree these organizations regulate the work of their members and the price of their products and services. And the guilds recruit workers into specific occupations, typically selecting them according to such particularistic criteria as kinship rather than universalistic standards.

The guilds are integrated with still other elements of the city's social structure. They perform certain religious functions; for example, in medieval European, Chinese, and Middle Eastern cities each guild had its "patron saint" and held periodic festivals in his honor. And, by assisting members in time of trouble, the guilds serve as social security agencies.

The economic structure of the preindustrial city functions with little rationality, judged by industrial-urban standards. This is shown in the general nonstandardization of manufacturing methods as well as in the products and is even more evident in marketing. In preindustrial cities throughout the world a fixed price is rare; buyer and seller settle their bargain by haggling. (Of course, there are limits above which customers will not buy and below which merchants will not sell.) Often business is conducted in a leisurely manner, money not being the only desired end.

Furthermore, the sorting of goods according to size, weight, and quality is not common. Typical is the adulteration and spoilage of produce. And weights and measures are not standardized: variations exist not only between one city and the next but also within communities, for often different guilds employ their own systems. Within a single city there may be different kinds of currency, which, with the poorly developed accounting and credit systems, signalize a modicum of rationality in the whole of economic action in preindustrial cities.[6]

[6] For an extreme example of unstandardized currency cf. Robert Coltman, Jr., The Chinese (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis, 1891), p. 52. In some tradi-

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The economic system of the preindustrial city, based as it has been upon animate sources of power,.articulates with a characteristic class structure and family, religious, educational, and governmental systems.

Of the class structure, the most striking component is a literate elite controlling and depending for its existence upon the mass of the populace, even in the traditional cities of India with their caste system. The elite is composed of individuals holding positions in the governmental, religious, and/or educational institutions of the larger society, although at times groups such as large absentee landlords have belonged to it. At the opposite pole are the masses, comprising such groups as handicraft workers whose goods and services are produced primarily for the elite's benefit.[7] Between the elite and the lower class is a rather sharp schism, but in both groups there are gradations in rank. The members of the elite belong to the "correct" families and enjoy power, property, and certain highly valued personal attributes. Their position, moreover, is legitimized by sacred writings.

Social mobility in this city is minimal; the only real threat to the elite comes from the outside—not from the city's lower classes. And a middle class—so typical of industrial-

urban communities, where it can be considered the "dominant" class—is not known in the preindustrial city. The system of production in the larger society provides goods, including food, and services in sufficient amounts to support only a small group of leisured individuals; under these conditions an urban middle class, a semileisured group, cannot arise. Nor are a middle class and extensive social mobility essential to the maintenance of the economic system.

Significant is the role of the marginal or "outcaste" groups (e.g., the Eta of Japan), which are not an integral part of the dominant social system. Typically they rank lower than the urban lower class, performing tasks considered especially degrading, such as burying the dead. Slaves, beggars, and the like are outcastes in most preindustrial cities. Even such groups as professional entertainers and itinerant merchants are often viewed as outcastes, for their rovings expose them to "foreign" ideas from which the dominant social group seeks to isolate itself. Actually many outcaste groups, including some of those mentioned above, are ethnic groups, a fact which further intensifies their isolation. (A few, like the Jews in the predominantly Muslim cities of North Africa, have their own small literate religious elite which, however, enjoys no significant political power in the city as a whole.)

An assumption of many urban sociologists is that a small, unstable kinship group, notably the conjugal unit, is a necessary correlate of city life. But this premise does not hold for preindustrial cities.[8] At times so-

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tional societies (e.g., China) the state has sought to standardize economic action in the city by setting up standard systems of currency and/or weights and measures; these efforts, however, generally proved ineffective. Inconsistent policies in taxation, too, hinder the development of a "rational" economy.

[7] The status of the true merchant in the preindustrial city, ideally, has been low; in medieval Europe and China many merchants were considered "outcastes." However, in some preindustrial cities a few wealthy merchants have acquired considerable power even though their role has not been highly valued. Even then most of their prestige has come through participation in religious, governmental, or educational activities, which have been highly valued (see, e.g., Ping-ti Ho, "The Salt Merchants of Yang-Chou: A Study of Commercial Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, XVII [1954], 130–68).

[8] For materials on the kinship system and age and sex differentiation see, e.g., Le Tourneau, *op. cit.*; Edward W. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (3d ed.; New York: E. P. Dutton Co., 1923); C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. J. H. Monahan (London: Luzac, 1931); Horace Miner, *The Primitive City of Timbuctoo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953); Alice M. Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women* (rev. ed.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1902); J. S. Burgess, "Community Organization in China," *Far Eastern Survey*, XIV (1945), 371–73; Morton H. Fried, *Fabric of Chinese Society* (New York: Frederick. A. Praeger, 1953);

ciologists and anthropologists, when generalizing about various traditional societies, have imputed to peasants typically urban kinship patterns. Actually, in these societies the ideal forms of kinship and family life are most closely approximated by members of the urban literate elite, who are best able to fulfil the exacting requirements of the sacred writings. Kinship and the ability to perpetuate one's lineage are accorded marked prestige in preindustrial cities. Children, especially sons, are highly valued, and polygamy or concubinage or adoption help to assure the attainment of large families. The pre-eminence of kinship is apparent even in those preindustrial cities where divorce is permitted. Thus, among the urban Muslims or urban Chinese divorce is not an index of disorganization; here, conjugal ties are loose and distinctly subordinate to the bonds of kinship, and each member of a dissolved conjugal unit typically is absorbed by his kin group. Marriage, a prerequisite to adult status in the preindustrial city, is entered upon at an early age and is arranged between families rather than romantically, by individuals.

The kinship and familial organization displays some rigid patterns of sex and age differentiation whose universality in preindustrial cities has generally been overlooked. A woman, especially of the upper class, ideally performs few significant functions outside the home. She is clearly subordinate to males, especially her father or husband. Recent evidence indicates that this is true even for such a city as Lhasa, Tibet, where women supposedly have had high status.[9] The isolation of women from public life has in some cases been extreme. In nineteenth-century Seoul, Korea, "respectable" women appeared on the streets only during certain

hours of the night when men were supposed to stay at home.[10] Those women in pre-industrial cities who evade some of the stricter requirements are members of certain marginal groups (e.g., entertainers) or of the lower class. The role of the urban lower-class woman typically resembles that of the peasant rather than the urban upper-class woman. Industrialization, by creating demands and opportunities for their employment outside the home, is causing significant changes in the status of women as well as in the whole of the kinship system in urban areas.

A formalized system of age grading is an effective mechanism of social control in preindustrial cities. Among siblings the eldest son is privileged. And children and youth are subordinate to parents and other adults. This, combined with early marriage, inhibits the development of a "youth culture." On the other hand, older persons hold considerable power and prestige, a fact contributing to the slow pace of change.

As noted above, kinship is functionally integrated with social class. It also reinforces and is reinforced by the economic organization: the occupations, through the guilds, select their members primarily on the basis of kinship, and much of the work is carried on in the home or immediate vicinity. Such conditions are not functional to the requirements of a highly industrialized society.

The kinship system in the preindustrial city also articulates with a special kind of religious system, whose formal organization reaches fullest development among members of the literate elite.[11] The city is the seat of the key religious functionaries whose actions set standards for the rest of society. The urban lower class, like the peasantry,

Francis L. K. Hsu, *Under the Ancestors' Shadow* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948); Cornelius Osgood, *The Koreans and Their Culture* (New York: Ronald Press, 1951), chap. viii; Jukichi Inouye, *Home Life in Tokyo* (2d ed.; Tokyo: Tokyo Printing Co., 1911).

⁹ Tsung-Lien Shen and Shen-Chi Liu, *Tibet and the Tibetans* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1953), pp. 143–44.

¹⁰ Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

¹¹ For information on various aspects of religious behavior see, e.g., Le Tourneau, *op. cit.*; Miner, *op. cit.*; Lane, *Manners and Customs;* Hurgronje, *op. cit.*; André Chouraqui, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires. de France, 1952); Justus Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese* (London: Sampson Low, 1868); John K. Shryock, *The Temples of Anking and Their Cults* (Paris: Privately printed, 1931); Derk Bodde (ed.), *Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking* (Peiping: Henri Vetch, 1936); Edwin Benson, *Life in a Medieval City* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1920); Hsu, *op. cit.*

does not possess the education or the means to maintain all the exacting norms prescribed by the sacred writings. Yet the religious system influences the city's entire social structure. (Typically, within the preindustrial city one religion is dominant; however, certain minority groups adhere to their own beliefs.) Unlike the situation in industrial cities, religious activity is not separate from other social action but permeates family, economic, governmental, and other activities. Daily life is pervaded with religious significance. Especially important are periodic public festivals and ceremonies like Ramadan in Muslim cities. Even distinctly ethnic outcaste groups can through their own religious festivals maintain solidarity. ·

Magic, too, is interwoven with economic, familial, and other social activities. Divination is commonly employed for determining the "correct" action on critical occasions; for example, in traditional Japanese and Chinese cities, the selection of marriage partners. And nonscientific procedures are widely employed to treat illness among all elements of the population of the preindustrial city.

Formal education typically is restricted to the male elite, its purpose being to train individuals for positions in the governmental, educational, or religious hierarchies. The economy of preindustrial cities does not require mass literacy, nor, in fact, does the system of production provide the leisure so necessary for the acquisition of formal education. Considerable time is needed merely to learn the written language, which often is quite different from that spoken. The teacher occupies a position of honor, primarily because of the prestige of all learning and especially of knowledge of the sacred literature, and learning is traditional and characteristically based upon sacred writings.[12] Students are expected to memorize

rather than evaluate and initiate, even in institutions of higher learning.

Since preindustrial cities have no agencies of mass communication, they are relatively isolated from one another. Moreover, the masses within a city are isolated from the elite. The former must rely upon verbal communication, which is formalized in special groups such as storytellers or their counterparts. Through verse and song these transmit upper-class tradition to nonliterate individuals.

The formal government of the preindustrial city is the province of the elite and is closely integrated with the educational and religious systems. It performs two principal functions: exacting tribute from the city's masses to support the activities of the elite and maintaining law and order through a "police force" (at times a branch of the army) and a court system. The police force exists primarily for the control of "outsiders," and the courts support custom and the rule of the sacred literature, a code of enacted legislation typically being absent.

In actual practice little reliance is placed upon formal machinery for regulating social life.[13] Much more significant are the informal controls exerted by the kinship, guild, and religious systems, and here, of course, personal standing is decisive. Status distinctions are visibly correlated with personal attributes, chiefly speech, dress, and personal mannerisms which proclaim ethnic group, occupation, age, sex, and social class. In nineteenth-century Seoul, not only did the upper-class mode of dress differ considerably from that of the masses, but speech varied according to social class, the verb forms and pronouns depending upon whether the speaker ranked higher or lower or was the equal of the person being addressed.[14] Obviously, then, escape from one's role is difficult, even in the street crowds.

[12] Le Tourneau, *op. cit.*, Part VI; Lane, *Manners and Customs*, chap. ii; Charles Bell, *The People of Tibet* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), chap. xix; O. Olufsen, *The Emir of Bokhara and His Country* (London: William Heinemann, 1911), chap. ix; Doolittle, *op. cit.*

[13] Carleton Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1951), p. 259; George W. Gilmore, *Korea from Its Capital* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1892), pp. 51–52.

[14] Osgood, *op. cit.*, chap. viii; Gilmore, *op. cit.*, chap. iv.

The individual is ever conscious of his specific rights and duties. All these things conserve the social order in the preindustrial city despite its heterogeneity.

CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this paper there is the assumption that certain structural elements are universal for all urban centers. This study's hypothesis is that their form in the preindustrial city is fundamentally distinct from that in the industrial-urban community. A considerable body of data not only from medieval Europe, which is somewhat atypical,[15] but from a variety of cultures supports this point of view. Emphasis has been upon the static features of preindustrial city life. But even those preindustrial cities which have undergone considerable change approach the ideal type. For one thing, social change is of such a nature that it is not usually perceived by the general populace.

Most cities of the preindustrial type have been located in Europe or Asia. Even though Athens and Rome and the large commercial centers of Europe prior to the industrial revolution displayed certain unique features, they fit the preindustrial type quite well.[16] And many traditional Latin-American cities are quite like it, although deviations exist, for, excluding pre-Columbian cities, these were affected to some degree by the industrial revolution soon after their establishment.

It is postulated that industrialization is a key variable accounting for the distinctions between preindustrial and industrial cities. The type of social structure required to develop and maintain a form of production utilizing inanimate sources of power is quite

[15] Henri Pirenne, in *Medieval Cities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1925), and others have noted that European cities grew up in opposition to and were separate from the greater society. But this thesis has been overstated for medieval Europe. Most preindustrial cities are integral parts of broader social structures.

[16] Some of these cities made extensive use of water power, which possibly fostered deviations from the type.

unlike that in the preindustrial city.[17] At the very least, extensive industrialization requires a rational, centralized, extra-community economic organization in which recruitment is based more upon universalism than on particularism, a class system which stresses achievement rather than ascription, a small and flexible kinship system, a system of mass education which emphasizes universalistic rather than particularistic criteria, and mass communication. Modification in any one of these elements affects the others and induces changes in other systems such as those of religion and social control as well. Industrialization, moreover, not only requires a special kind of social structure within the urban community but provides the means necessary for its establishment.

Anthropologists and sociologists will in the future devote increased attention to the study of cities throughout the world. They must therefore recognize that the particular kind of social structure found in cities in the United States is not typical of all societies. Miner's recent study of Timbuctoo,[18] which contains much excellent data, points to the need for recognition of the preindustrial city. His emphasis upon the folk-urban continuum diverted him from an equally significant problem: How does Timbuctoo differ from modern industrial cities in its ecological, economic, and social structure? Society there seems even more sacred and organized than Miner admits.[19] For example, he used divorce as an index of disorganization, but in Muslim society divorce within

[17] For a discussion of the institutional prerequisites of industrialization see, e.g., Bert F. Hoselitz, "Social Structure and Economic Growth," *Economia internazionale*, VI (1953), 52–77, and Marion J. Levy, "Some Sources of the Vulnerability of the Structures of Relatively Non-industrialized Societies to Those of Highly Industrialized Societies," in Bert F. Hoselitz (ed.), *The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), pp. 114 ff.

[18] *Op. cit.*

[19] This point seems to have been perceived also by Asael T. Hansen in his review of Horace Miner's *The Primitive City of Timbuctoo, American Journal of Sociology*, LIX (1954), 501–2.

certain rules is justified by the sacred litera-
ture. The studies of Hsu and Fried would
have considerably more significance had the
authors perceived the generality of their
findings. And, once the general structure of
the preindustrial city is understood, the
specific cultural deviations become more
meaningful.

Beals notes the importance of the city as\
a center of acculturation.[20] But an under-
standing of this process is impossible with-
out some knowledge of the preindustrial
city's social structure. Although industriali-
zation is clearly advancing throughout most
of the world, the social structure of pre-
industrial civilizations is conservative, often
resisting the introduction of numerous in-
dustrial forms. Certainly many cities of Eu-
rope (e.g., in France or Spain) are not so
fully industrialized as some presume; a num-
ber of preindustrial patterns remain. The

persistence of preindustrial elements is also
evident in cities of North Africa and many
parts of Asia; for example, in India and
Japan,[21] even though great social change is
currently taking place. And the Latin-Amer-
ican city of Merida, which Redfield studied,
had many preindustrial traits.[22] A conscious
awareness of the ecological, economic, and
social structure of the preindustrial city
should do much to further the development
of comparative urban community studies.

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[20] Ralph L. Beals, "Urbanism, Urbanization and
Acculturation," *American Anthropologist*, LIII
(1951), 1–10.

[21] See, e.g., D. R. Gadgil, *Poona: A Socio-eco-
nomic Survey* (Poona: Gokhale Institute of Politics
and Economics, 1952), Part II; N. V. Sovani,
Social Survey of Kolhapur City (Poona: Gokhale
Institute of Politics and Economics, 1951), Vol. II;
Noel P. Gist, "Caste Differentials in South India,"
American Sociological Review, XIX (1954), 126–
37; John Campbell Pelzel, "Social Stratification in
Japanese Urban Economic Life" (unpublished
Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, Depart-
ment of Social Relations, 1950).

[22] Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*
(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

URBANIZATION AMONG THE YORUBA

WILLIAM BASCOM

ABSTRACT

The Yoruba of Western Nigeria have large, dense, permanent settlements, based upon farming rather than upon industrialization, the pattern of which is traditional rather than an outgrowth of acculturation. They are undoubtedly the most urban of all African peoples, the percentage living in large communities being comparable to that in European nations. In terms of these communities, Wirth's final criterion of the city, social heterogeneity, may be critically examined and perhaps redefined in terms of economic specialization and interdependence or replaced by formalized government which incorporates primary groups into a political community.

Wirth has defined a city as "a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals."[1] His final criterion is not clearly defined; and, in the absence of specific standards which can be applied cross-culturally, it is difficult to distinguish between heterogeneity and homogeneity. Miner has recently commented on "the lack of any concise benchmark from which to appraise the degree of homogeneity"[2] in his study of Timbuctoo, although he concludes that "Timbuctoo is a city. It has a stable population of over six thousand persons, living in a community roughly a square mile in area and patterning their lives after three distinct cultural heritages. The size, density, and heterogeneity of the city are all evident."[3] Miner admittedly rests his case for heterogeneity on the ethnic diversity of the Songhai, Tuareg, and Arabs who inhabit it, but neither he nor Wirth suggests that ethnic diversity is essential to the definition of the city. Many Western cities include groups of different racial, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds, but this can be regarded as a secondary feature of the process of urbanization and a basis for distinguishing cosmopolitan from noncosmopolitan cities.

The shortcomings of Wirth's criterion of social heterogeneity are suggested by the equivocal conclusions of those who have attempted to apply it to traditional African communities. Miner describes Timbuctoo as a "primitive city" and its inhabitants as a "city-folk." Schwab, in a study of a Yoruba city, concludes that "if Oshogbo was viewed on the level of form, it was an urban community; if viewed in terms of social organization and process, it was folk."[4] If the concepts of "folk" and "urban" are useful, it should at least be possible to distinguish between them.

Contrasted to Timbuctoo's 6,000 inhabitants, the Yoruba have six cities of more than 100,000, including Ibadan, the largest Negro city in Africa (Table 1). Only Lagos, which is both the principal port and the capital of Nigeria, is ethnically heterogeneous and follows the familiar African pattern of the growth of cities at mining and trading centers, ports, and colonial administrative headquarters.

Nine out of the ten largest cities in Nigeria in 1931 were Yoruba, excepting only Kano, with 97,031 inhabitants. In these nine cities of over 45,000 lived 901,262, or 28.4 per cent, of the 3,166,164 Yoruba recorded in the *Census of Nigeria, 1931*, while 1,077,-691, or 34 per cent, lived in sixteen cities of over 20,000 (including, in addition to those listed in Table 1, Ijebu-Ode, 27,909; Ikirun, 23,874; Ikire, 20,920; and Ondo, 20,859). In addition, there were 27 other Yoruba centers with populations between 10,000 and

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[1] L. Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1938), 8.

[2] H. Miner, *The Primitive City of Timbuctoo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, for the American Philosophical Society, 1953), p. 268.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 267.

[4] W. Schwab, "Urbanization and Acculturation" (MS).

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19,999; 55 with populations between 5,000 and 9,999; and 180 with populations between 2,000 and 4,999.[5]

Taking the average populations of the last three groups as 15,000, 7,500, and 3,500 and counting only the 77 per cent of the population of Lagos who were Yoruba, we arrive at the distribution of urban Yoruba in 1931 given in Table 2. For comparison, the figures for European and North American countries cited by Davis and Casis are included, and, following these authors, the index of urbanization has been computed as the average of the previous four columns.[6] The estimated index of urbanization of Yoruba cities falls between that of the United States and Canada, and the distribution of population in urban centers is remarkably similar to that in France.

[5] There were also 7,338 communities with populations under 2,000.

[6] K. Davis and A. Casis, "Urbanization in Latin America," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XXIV (1946), 186–207.

TABLE 1

YORUBA CITIES WITH POPULATIONS OVER 40,000*

| | 1952 (CENSUS) | 1931 (CENSUS) | 1931 (NON-NATIVES) | 1921 (CENSUS) | 1911 (CENSUS) | ESTIMATES BY | | |
						Millson (1890)	Bowen (1856)	Tucker (1853)
Ibadan.........	459,196	387,133	226	238,094	175,000	200,000	70,000	60,000
Lagos..........	267,407	126,108	1,443	99,690	73,766	....	20,000	......
Ogbomosho.....	139,535	86,744	0	84,860	80,000	60,000	25,000	45,000
Oshogbo........	122,698	49,599	31	51,418	59,821	35,000– 40,000	....	......
Ife.............	110,790	24,170	5	22,184	36,231	....	....	......
Iwo............	100,006	57,191	4	53,588	60,000	60,000	20,000	......
Abeokuta.......	84,451	45,763	66	28,941	51,255	....	60,000	80,000
Oyo.	72,133	48,733	19	40,356	45,438	40,000	25,000	......
Ilesha..........	72,029	21,892	7	....	....	....	....	......
Iseyin..........	49,680	36,805	0	28,601	33,362	40,000– 60,000	20,000	70,000
Ede............	44,808	52,392	0	48,360	26,577	30,000– 40,000	20,000	......
Ilorin..........	41,000	47,412	27	38,668	36,342	....	70,000	......

* Other estimates, not included above, are as follows: Cgbomosho: 50,000 (1860, Campbell); Abeokuta: 45,000 (1842, Freeman), 50,000 (1843, Townsend), 100,000 (1852, Irving), twice the usual figures of 60,000–100,000 (1855, Consul Campbell), 80,000 (1858, Bowen), 100,000 (1874, Chause and Holley); Iseyin: 20,000 (1860, Campbell); Ilorin: 100,000 (1858, Bowen). The 1952 figures were kindly made available by the Nigerian government in advance of publication.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE OF YORUBA IN CITIES BY SIZE CLASS

	Over 2,000	Over 5,000	Over 10,000	Over 25,000	Over 100,000	Index of Urbanization
Yoruba (1931)......	78.8	58.9	45.9	29.6	15.3	37.4
Great Britain (1931)	....	81.7	73.6	63.1	45.2	65.9
Germany (1939).....	....	57.4	51.7	43.5	31.8	46.1
United States (1940)	....	52.7	47.6	40.1	28.8	42.3
Canada (1941)......	....	43.0	38.5	32.7	23.0	34.3
France (1936)......	....	41.7	37.5	29.8	16.0	31.2
Sweden (1935)......	....	37.1	33.4	27.0	17.5	28.7
Greece (1937)......	....	33.1	29.8	23.1	14.8	25.2
Poland (1931)......	....	22.8	20.5	15.8	10.7	17.4

Official figures on population density are lacking except for Lagos Island (25,000 in 1901, 50,000 in 1921, 58,000 in 1931, and 87,000 in 1950; in 1950 the three wards of Lagos Island had densities of 67,000, 111,-000, and 141,000 per square mile). It has been possible to calculate approximate densities for three other cities, using 1931 census figures and official maps[7] for that period. Abeokuta's area is calculated roughly as 8 square miles, giving a density of 5,720; Oyo's area is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, giving a density of 13,914; Ogbomosho's area is calculated, probably more accurately than the others, at 2 square miles, giving a density of 43,372 per square mile. Because of the higher ratio of inhabitants per room and per square foot and the greater compactness of the traditional Yoruba housing, the size of the older Yoruba cities is easily underestimated by outsiders. Abeokuta, for example, appears much larger than Ogbomosho, which is actually something like half again as large and eight times as dense.

The permanency of Yoruba cities is partially documented in Table 1. Bowen's estimates of a century ago are conservative but incomplete; he visited Ogbomosho but does not estimate its size, and he states: "The eastern parts of Yoruba, and the countries of Ifeh (Ife), Ijesha (Ilesha), Igbona (Igbomina), and Effong (Effon-Alaive) have not been visited by the missionaries. We are assured that there are many large towns in that region."[8] The interior of Yoruba country was first reached in 1825 by Clapperton and Lander, who visited Katunga (Old Oyo) and other large cities, some of which were obliterated before Bowen's arrival in 1849. The wars of the last century destroyed or reduced many Yoruba cities and resulted in

[7] Abeokuta: Scale 1:12,500; drawn and reproduced by Land and Survey Department, Lagos, 1947; surveyed in 1930. Oyo: 300/723/3–50; scale 1:12,500; drawn and reproduced by Land and Survey Department, Lagos. Ogbomosho Town:300/684/1.50; scale 400 feet to 1 inch; surveyed in 1938 and reproduced by Land and Survey Department, Lagos, 1939; reprinted in 1950.

[8] The principal historical sources are listed in the Bibliography.

a very considerable depopulation of the entire area.

Earlier historical materials can be found in the accounts of Benin, to the east, and Dahomey, to the west, which indicate that both were subject to some measure of political control by Yoruba cities as early as 200–500 years ago. When the Portuguese explorer d'Aveiro first visited the city of Benin in 1485, it was learned that the sanction of the Ogane, a powerful king in the interior, was required when the king of Benin was crowned; the Ogane has been identified by Talbot as the King of Ife. In 1505–8 Pereira mentions "a very large city called Geebuu," which is unquestionably Ijebu-Ode. In 1668 Dapper mentions the kingdom of Oedebo, and D'Anville's map of 1729 locates Oudobo in the region of the province and city of Ondo. Dapper also mentions the kingdom of Ulkami, which Talbot identifies as Old Oyo; Old Oyo may also be referred to in Bosman's account of the invasion of Arder in Dahomey in 1698. Old Oyo was certainly an important and powerful center by 1724, if not earlier, and was able to collect annual tribute from Dahomey for almost a century (1747–1837). Between 1830 and 1841 Old Oyo was evacuated and the present city of Oyo was founded.

Urbanization can therefore be considered a traditional Yoruba pattern and not the outgrowth of European acculturation. It cannot be explained in terms of the development of colonial administrative centers, ports, mines, or industry. The real basis of the Yoruba economy is, and was, farming. Yet the farmers are city dwellers, and the city is not really a "nonfarm area" as we view it. A belt of peripheral farms which are visited regularly surrounds the city, extending as much as fifteen miles or more outside it. Families whose farms are more distant may have farm huts, where they spend several days at a time during the height of the farming activity, but they maintain a residence in the city and regard it as their real home. Some Yoruba, of course, live on farms or in very small villages.

Nearly all Yoruba engage in farming, but

the production of many other goods is specialized. Weaving, dyeing, ironworking, brass-casting, wood-carving, ivory-carving, calabash-carving, beadworking, and leatherworking, as well as drumming, divining, the compounding of charms and medicines, and certain other activities, are crafts, whose techniques are known only to a small group of specialists. These specialists, who are organized into guilds, supply all other members of the community with their particular goods and services. Formerly these occupations tended to be more hereditary within the clan or lineage, but the apprenticeship system provided a method by which individuals from outside the kinship unit could be taught a craft. Specialization, however, was only on a craft basis and never reached the extent to which it is found in industrialized societies with the adaptation of labor to the machine.

Trading in local produce within the community is a necessary outgrowth of craft specialization, and both intercommunity and intertribal trade are apparently traditional. The Landers met one hundred wives of the king of Old Oyo trading for him at "Jadoo," north of Ilaro and "Egga." Clapperton and Lander met Hausa and Nupe caravans at "Coosoo" and "Jaguta" between Shaki and Old Oyo and at Kiama, north of Yoruba country, who traded with Yoruba and Dahomeans, with Gonja, Ashantee, and Accra in the Gold Coast, and with Bornu in northeastern Nigeria. In at least Ife, Abeokuta, and Ijebu-Ode, guilds of male traders held monopolies on imported goods from other Yoruba towns and from Europe, buying them in wholesale lots and letting them out to women traders for retail in the markets. Tolls levied on all trade, which provided an important source of income for Yoruba chiefs and kings, are mentioned by Lander on his first visit to Old Oyo. These, and the monopolies on imported goods held by the guilds of male traders, were actively opposed and eventually broken by the British in their efforts to extend trade in Nigeria. The desire to control trade routes to the sea and insure a supply of European imports, including arms, and an outlet for slaves led Ibadan, Abeokuta, and other inland cities to attack coastal enemy towns and defend those of their allies.

Trading is the third basis of the Yoruba economy, and the size and importance of Yoruba markets impress the visitor today as they did the early explorers. Retail trade in the markets is primarily in the hands of women, who also tend to specialize in yams, corn, chickens, cloth, and other commodities, as they become successful, and who are organized into guilds. Trade does not involve a simple exchange of goods between the producer and the consumer but is carried on by middlemen whose role and motivation are similar to those in our own society. In the simplest case a trader buys from the producer and sells at a higher price for a monetary profit; but in some cases goods are sold and resold through a chain of middlemen which has so many links that it becomes difficult to distinguish between wholesaler and retailer. True money in the form of the cowrie shell was used by the Yoruba probably even before European contact, and early European officials received their pay in cowries. Barbot (1732) mentions that "cauries" or "boejies" were being imported from the Maldive Islands in the East Indies as ballast, "no other people in the universe putting such a value on them as the Guineans," but their use as money at Benin is mentioned as early as 1589. Some Yoruba traditions speak of the institution of barter, but others suggest that cowrie shells were used as money before even the Portuguese arrived and that the pecuniary economy of the Yoruba is of long standing. To say the least, it is difficult to imagine how the European traders would have hit upon cowrie shells as an importable commodity which the Africans would accept in exchange for goods if the shells had not been already known and valued. One may conclude that the traditional Yoruba pattern of trade involved large markets, true middlemen, and true money.

The earliest available evidence indicates an important and well-developed trade be-

tween Yoruba cities and with other tribes but does not suggest that these cities developed as trading centers of the type represented by Timbuctoo, Kano, and other Sudanese cities. Under British rule, trade in European goods has increased tremendously, and as has trade in local produce, owing to the development of new occupations such as those of clerk, carpenter, and mechanic and to the increasing amounts of farm land devoted to cocoa. The typical pre-British markets, however, excluding those which specialized in the buying and selling of slaves, dealt mainly with local produce rather than with goods from abroad, from other tribes, or from other Yoruba cities. In other words, trade was based upon specialization within the city rather than the city itself being based upon trade growing out of extensive regional or tribal specialization.

It is important to distinguish between industrial and nonindustrial cities. Industrialization, where it has occurred, has produced a kind and degree of specialization that are unknown in nonindustrialized societies. Industrialization has given rise to urbanization in Western societies, but this is not to say that it is its prerequisite or its only cause. On this point, Wirth has stated specifically: "It is particularly important to call attention to the danger of confusing urbanism with industrialism and modern capitalism. The rise of cities in the modern world is undoubtedly not independent of modern power-driven machine technology, mass production, and capitalistic enterprise. But different as the cities of earlier epochs may have been by virtue of their development in a preindustrial and precapitalistic order from the great cities of today, they were, nevertheless, cities."[9]

The Yoruba cities were nonindustrial and lacked the degree of specialization based upon the machine. Nevertheless, the craft form of specialization made each individual economically dependent upon the society as a whole. The weaver depended upon the blacksmith for tools and upon the farmer, the hunter, and the trader for his food; the

blacksmith depended upon others for his food and upon the weaver for his clothes; the farmer depended upon the hunter and the trader for his meat, the smith for his cutlass and hoe, and the weaver for his clothing. Each of these, moreover, had to rely upon the diviner, the herbalist, the priest, the drummer, the potter, the wood-carver, and other specialists for goods and services which they could not provide for themselves.

Aside from craft specialization, the Yoruba cities were heterogeneous only in terms of their social stratification and their social and political segmentation. Nine social strata can be distinguished in the Yoruba city of Ife. Oversimplifying for the sake of brevity, the five lowest strata, comprising perhaps 95 per cent of the population, may be described as positions which are ascribed on the basis of clan or lineage, while the four highest strata are primarily achieved, although often only within specified clans or lineages.[10] The patrilineal lineage or clan is basic to Yoruba society, rural or urban. The large cities are composed of many such segments based on kinship, organized politically into permanent, clearly defined wards or "quarters" and precincts or subquarters, while the small villages may contain only a few or even only a single lineage. In Ife heads of each lineage constitute the precinct council, one of their number serving as its chief. Precinct chiefs constitute the ward council, headed by a ward chief. The five ward chiefs and three other city chiefs represent the interests of the townspeople and, with eight chiefs chosen from the palace retinue, serve as the king's council and in former times served as a chief tribunal. The king, whose position is hereditary within the related lineages of the royal clan, is responsible for the affairs of the capital and of the outlying towns and villages within the kingdom.

Within the lineage, individual relationships are dependent upon such circum-

⁹ Wirth, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.

¹⁰ W. Bascom, "Social Status, Wealth and Individual Differences among the Yoruba," *American Anthropologist*, LIII (1951), 490–505.

stances as seniority, sex, wealth, personal qualities, and status as slave, pawn, or free; but between lineages individual relationships are dependent upon the relative rank of the lineage.[11] The individual counts for little except as a member of the lineage. Further, in Wirth's words, "interests are made effective through representation."[12] Representation or delegation is clearly illustrated in the system of lineage heads, precinct councils and precinct chiefs, ward councils and ward chiefs, city council with its city chiefs, representatives of the palace officials, and the king himself.

The city is a secondary group, while the lineage is primary. Wirth says: "The contacts of the city may indeed be face to face, but they are nevertheless impersonal, superficial, transitory and segmental." All these characteristics are exemplified in Yoruba market transactions. As in our own urban communities, one may have regular customers with whom relations are not impersonal, but one also must deal with casual customers of whom one must always beware in either buying or selling. Miner notes the cheating of a gullible buyer or seller in Timbuctoo. Among the Yoruba the principle of *caveat emptor* is also well established, as is illustrated by an edict of the king of Ife prohibiting the "hawking" or peddling of palm wine through the streets so as to restrict the possibility of its being watered down. Furthermore, the counterfeiting of government currency was so perfected by one Yoruba subgroup that counterfeit coins became known throughout Nigeria as "Ijebu money." Another new kind of cheating was made possible by the "money doubling" machines of the early thirties. Into these Westernized gadgets the up-country dupe would put shillings and pounds in increasing amounts and have double value returned, until the became greedy for the big kill and put in all the cash he could; at this point the operator explained that the machine had stuck and

would take overnight to digest such a large amount, and skipped out of town under the cover of darkness.

Wirth emphasizes that urbanization refers to a distinctive mode of life. This is evident among the Yoruba in clothing, food habits, manners, and attitudes toward each other of even the non-Europeanized city dweller and the people from the small village, the rural farm area, and the hinterland. The city dwellers ridicule the unsophisticated "bush" people; their attitudes, as expressed in conversation and proverbs,[13] closely parallel our concepts of "rube" or "hick." The attitudes of the rural Yoruba toward the city dweller also seem to resemble those in our society. On the other hand, the anomie stressed by Durkheim and later sociologists does not seem to be apparent, unless it is to be found among the rural Yoruba who find themselves in the city. Since the lineage is the residential unit and involves reciprocal social and economic obligations, the city dweller need not feel lonely or insecure. Competitiveness is strong, and economic failure can lead to frustration or suicide but not to starvation.

There is no evidence that the old pattern of city life tended to weaken the lineage, or produce the increased mobility, instability, and insecurity which Wirth suggests are the results of heterogeneity. To the extent that the lineage has been weakened, the causes have been other conditions, such as the increased ease of travel with the ending of warfare and the development of Western forms of transportation, the introduction of a valuable permanent crop in cocoa, the superimposition of British control and European ethics over the traditional Yoruba authorities and mores, and the emphasis on the individual in the teaching of Christian missions, which have affected the Yoruba over the last fifty to a hundred years.[14] All these

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[11] *Ibid.*; W. Bascom, "The Principle of Seniority in the Social Structure of the Yoruba," *American Anthropologist*, XLIV (1942), 37–46.

[12] Wirth, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[13] E.g., "They don't call a man a man; they don't call a human a human; therefore the farm people [*ara oko*] wear a breechclout to town," meaning that they do not have enough respect for others to dress properly in public.

[14] The effects of these factors cannot be analyzed

things are today producing changes in Yo-
ruba cities similar to those in the newer
African cities, and to the Western cities of
which Wirth speaks; kinship bonds, tradi-
tionally a basic element in the structure of
the city, are weakening.

Wirth states that "the bonds of kinship,
of neighborliness, and the sentiments arising
out of living together for generations under a
common folk tradition are likely to be ab-
sent or, at best, relatively weak in an aggre-
gate the members of which have such diverse
origins and backgrounds. Under such cir-
cumstances competition and formal control
mechanisms furnish the substitutes for the
bonds of solidarity that are relied upon to
hold a folk society together." This state-
ment is undoubtedly true of the cosmopoli-
tan cities in the United States and perhaps
elsewhere, but in the Yoruba cities the
bonds of kinship and living together which
unite the lineage were strong, and the ele-
ments of competition and formal control
mechanisms were not developed as *substi-
tutes* for kinship control mechanisms but,
rather, as mechanisms of control on a supra-
kinship, secondary level, transcending the
primary groups, such as lineages, which
were very much alive and functional.

Although Wirth dismisses forms of politi-
cal organization as an arbitrary and there-
fore unsatisfactory criterion for urbanism,
the presence or absence of a formalized city
government which exercises authority over
neighboring primary groups and incorpo-
rates them into a community seems, on the
contrary, no less arbitrary and certainly far
less subjective than social heterogeneity.
When coupled with size, density, and per-
manency, formalized community govern-
ment would seem to be a useful criterion of
urbanism for cross-cultural comparisons. It
is this factor which differentiates the urban
Yoruba from the Ibo of eastern Nigeria,
whose total population is comparable and
whose over-all population densities are

about double[15] but the growth of whose
cities has been recent. We do not know why
the Yoruba developed cities and city gov-
ernment while the Ibo did not, but city life
is definitely a part of the Yoruba tradition.

Some Yoruba cities, such as Oyo, Ife,
Ilesha, Ijebu-Ode, Ondo, and Ketu, were
metropolitan in that, as capitals, they
served as centers of the entire kingdom and
can be considered metropolitan. The capital
city maintained regular communication
with the outlying towns over which they
ruled, and representatives of the king were
stationed in them. Taxes of several kinds
were collected throughout the kingdom and
brought to the capital for the king. Death
sentences had to be referred to the capital,
where executions were performed and where
each case could be reviewed by the king's
court. Other large cities, such as Iseyin,
Ogbomosho, and Ibadan, were not metro-
politan except as they served as centers of
trade or warfare, but these also had formal-
ized city government. Each was ruled by a
"town" chief (*bale*) under the authority of
the king (*oba*), who lived elsewhere and to
whom allegiance was owed. Ibadan became
so powerful as a military center that it
achieved a measure of independence from
Oyo and could command the allegiance of
many surrounding towns, but its ruler is
still a *bale*, not an *oba*.

Ethnically the Yoruba cities were homo-
geneous. With the end of the wars of the
last century, individuals from the Hausa,
Ibo, Jekri, and other cultural and linguistic
groups have settled in them, but in rela-
tively small numbers except for Lagos. One
may assume that in earlier times the non-
Yoruba consisted mainly of slaves and
transient traders. The wars of the last cen-
tury flooded some cities with refugees, in-
cluding those from other Yoruba kingdoms

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here. They are touched on partially in W. Bascom,
"African Culture and the Missionary," *Civilisations*
(Brussels), III (1953), 491–504.

[15] Population densities in 1931 for the Yoruba
provinces in Southern Nigeria run as follows: Ondo,
56; Abeokuta, 74; Oyo, 94; Ijebu, 125; and the
Colony, 153; for the Ibo provinces: Ogoja, 94;
Owerri, 268; and Onitsha, 306. In 1931 the Ibo num-
bered 3,184,585, as against 3,166,164 Yoruba in
Nigeria.

and subcultures; but one may also assume that even on the level of subcultural and dialectical variation Yoruba cities were previously noncosmopolitan.

Despite the absence of industrialization and ethnic heterogeneity and despite the continued importance of kinship units, the Yoruba had cities even before European penetration. They had cities because they had large, dense, permanent communities whose inhabitants were economically independent, socially stratified, and politically unified. These cities were based on farming, craft specialization, and trading. Only Lagos represents the common type of recent growth of African cities as ports, mining and trading centers, and colonial administrative headquarters. Some Yoruba cities were metropolitan, serving as capitals and centers of the Yoruba kingdoms; others were nonmetropolitan. Some were founded as defensive or predatory centers during the wars of the last century; others undoubtedly existed when the Portuguese arrived and before the beginning of the slave wars. Although the cause of their growth is still not fully known, they were definitely a part of the traditional Yoruba pattern, providing permanent residences for farmers and' markets for trade within, as well as beyond, the city's boundaries.

It is difficult to decide whether or not the Yoruba cities were heterogeneous in Wirth's sense, because social heterogeneity is not clearly defined. At best, it is a relative criterion which is difficult to apply cross-culturally. Perhaps the answer may be to define it in terms of specialization to the extent that each individual is economically dependent on the production and the special skills of the other members of his community. It is necessary at least to distinguish between industrial and nonindustrial cities and between cosmopolitan and noncosmopolitan cities. It is also suggested that the existence of a formalized government which exercises authority over the primary groups and incorporates them into a political community may be more useful than heterogeneity when applied cross-culturally, since it is less subjective. It is hoped that these points may broaden the concept of urbanization so that it is less dependent upon the historical conditions of Western urbanization and so that it can be applied more profitably to the study of the urban centers of India and Southeast Asia.

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THE GREAT CITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA[1]

NORTON S. GINSBURG

ABSTRACT

A major characteristic of urbanization in Southeast Asia is the functional dominance, with two minor exceptions, of one great metropolis in each of the countries of the region. These cities have acted as the head-links between the West and the indigenous societies. They are in a state of rapid social change, associated with the granting of political autonomy to the former colonial nations, with the accelerated rise of nationalism, and the increasing centralization of political functions in the national capitals.

Standards for defining urban populations differ, but it can be assumed safely that no more than 15 per cent of the 175 million people of Southeast Asia belong in an urban category.[2] In contrast, in the United States, with a population somewhat smaller than that of Southeast Asia as a whole, over 64 per cent of the population is classified as urban.

Estimates for 1952 indicate only 30 cities or urban agglomerations with populations of 100,000 or more.[3] In the United States, however, there are 160 such urban areas; in the Soviet Union, with a population of 200 millions, there are about 120; and in Japan, with one-half the population of Southeast Asia, there are 64. In Southeast Asia only an estimated 7 per cent of the total population lives in cities of 100,000 or more; less in Burma, Indochina, Thailand, and Indonesia; somewhat more in the Philippines. Only Malaya, including Singapore, departs

significantly from the norm, with 18 per cent of its population living in large urban clusters. In the United States, on the other hand, nearly 30 per cent of the population lives in such large cities.

Southeast Asia retains many characteristics of a frontier region, with large areas of sparse population, and so it seems paradoxical that its population density is 95 per square mile, as compared with 50 in the United States, 23 in the Soviet Union, and 617 in Japan. Clearly there is no single correlation between densities and urbanization. The explanation lies in the structure of the urban hierarchy within the region. Whereas in the United States there is a notable gradation of cities from larger to smaller, and only 18 per cent of the urban population lives in cities of one million population or more, in Southeast Asia the urban population is most clearly associated with the largest cities. For example, in Thailand, half of the urban population lives in one metropolis, Bangkok, and the rest is distributed among a large number of smaller cities and towns, the largest of which contains no more than 35,000 people. Bangkok, therefore, may be regarded as a true Primate City, that is, a city with many times the population of the next largest city and a multiplicity of functions and attractions which give it dominance.[4] The Primate City is characteristic of the so-called "great cities" in Southeast Asia, with few exceptions.[5] Such are, in

[1] Revised from a paper read before the Far Eastern Association in Spring, 1954.

As used here, "urbanization" connotes not only mere numerical increases in the population of cities but also the development of an urban way of life and the accompanying changes in value orientation (cf. Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology,* July, 1938).

[2] Census data for Southeast Asia are notably incomplete. In Burma, Thailand, and the Associated States of Indochina the "urban" population is estimated to be little more than 10 per cent of the whole; in Indonesia still less; but in the Philippines some 24 per cent of the population is classified as urban; and in Malaya, including the Crown Colony of Singapore, about 35 per cent. Without Singapore, only 27 per cent of the Malayan population is classified as urban.

[3] *United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1952.*

[4] Mark Jefferson, "The Law of the Primate City," *Geographical Review,* April, 1939.

[5] For an excellent description of several of these great cities upon which this paper is based in part see D. W. Fryer, "The 'Million City' in Southeast Asia," *Geographical Review,* October, 1953.

SOUTHEAST ASIA
BURMA   THAILAND   INDOCHINA
PHILIPPINES   MALAYA   INDONESIA

⊚ CITIES OVER 500,000 POPULATION
(1.2) POPULATION IN MILLIONS
○ OTHER CITIES
RAILWAYS
—+— SINGLE TRACK ——— NOT IN OPERATION

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500

C   H   I   N   A

CHANG-SHA   Heng-yang
Kuei-yang   Kuei-lin   Liu-chou
Kunming   Chiu-ching
Shih-ping   Lai-pin   Nan-ning
Lang-son   Chen-nan-kuan   Pei-hai

TAI-PEI (.6)
Fu-chou
Amoy
Swatow
(CANTON (1.9))
Macao   HONG KONG (2.0)

P   H   I   L   I   P   P   I   N   E   S

MANILA (1.1)
Iloilo
Cebu
Mindanao   Davao

TONKIN
GULF OF TONKIN
HAINAN
Haiphong
Hanoi
Luangprabang
INDOCHINA
ANNAM
Hué
Tourane
MEKONG R.
TONLE L.
CAMBODIA
Phom Penh
SAIGON-CHOLON (1.2)
COCHIN CHINA

THAILAND
BANGKOK
GULF OF SIAM

B   U   R   M   A
Myitkyina
Mandalay
SALWEEN
Lashio
Chiengmai
IRRAWADDY
RANGOON (.5)
GULF OF MARTABAN
Chittagong

SOUTH   CHINA   SEA

Palawan
SULU   SEA
NORTH BORNEO
BRUNEI
SARAWAK
Kuching
B   O   R   N   E   O
(KALIMANTAN)

CELEBES   SEA
CELEBES
Makassar

MALAYA
Kuala Lumpur
SINGAPORE (1.0)
Riouw Arch.
STR. OF MALACCA
Medan
Penang
ANDAMAN   SEA

SUMATRA
Palembang
Bangka
Billiton
JAKARTA (2.0)
J   A   V   A   SEA
JAVA
Jogjakarta
SURABAYA (.5)

BANDA   SEA

N   E   W   G   U   I   N   E   A
(DUTCH)

FLORES SEA
Bali   Lombok   Sumbawa   Flores
Sumba
Timor

ARAFURA   SEA

A   U   S   T   R   A   L   I   A
Darwin

INDIAN   OCEAN

ALLEN K. PHILBRICK

Burma, Rangoon; in Thailand, Bangkok; in the Philippines, Manila; and in Malaya, Singapore. In Indochina, however, there are two major core regions, each with its regional capital, but Saigon is clearly dominant over Hanoi, which for reasons of population size alone must be regarded as a lesser city.[6] In Indonesia densely populated Java has two large cities, Jakarta and Surabaya, the first only twice the size of the second, but Jakarta is the Primate City, if less clearly than Bangkok or Rangoon. In each case, other than Indonesia, the Primate City is from five to ten times as large as the next largest city, and there is no such graded hierarchy of urbanization as in the United States and to a considerable degree in Western European countries and Japan. Secondary cities, such as Mandalay in Burma, Makassar and Jogjakarta in Indonesia, and Cebu in the Philippines, tend to be regional capitals subordinate to a great metropolis.

The rapid population growth of the six greatest metropolitan centers—Rangoon, Bangkok, Saigon, Manila, Singapore, and Jakarta—suggest that national urbanization may be proceeding as rapidly in Southeast Asia as in any other part of the world.[7] This may be true, but it can be argued also that the overwhelming dominance of the Primate City inhibits the growth of lesser cities and that the largest cities will expand more rapidly than the lesser ones.[8] There are in effect only a limited number of services to be performed by cities within a predominantly village and folk society, although it may be industrializing slowly, and the great cities continue to possess a virtual monopoly of these services. Thus, even as a society changes, new and increasingly complex functions tend to be performed by institutions

already established in the Primate cities. So, to a very large degree, in Southeast Asia growth is primarily in the great cities,[9] whereas in the United States in the last three decades at least growth has been more rapid in the small and intermediate cities.

Although the rates of urbanization are high, being, in the case of the Philippines nearly twice the rate of population growth,[10] no sudden transformation to an urbanized society can be envisaged. The percentage of total population classified as urban is in general so low and the normal rates of population increase so high that the growth of urban population *as a percentage of total population* has not been spectacular. In the Philippines, for example, the urban population increased merely from 23.3 per cent in 1939 to 24.1 per cent in 1948, largely in the Manila area. The apparent positive correlation between social change and rates of urban population growth also is exceptionally high. To illustrate with a negative example, in Thailand, where recent social change has been minimal, the rapid population growth of Bangkok has been equaled and even exceeded by that of a number of rural *changwats* in the central and southeastern parts of the country. Under at least two conditions, however, the great cities have increased their populations enormously and at shocking rates: (1) where enlarged political functions have been acquired since the war and (2) where rural unrest and insecurity have

[6] According to the *Annuaire statistique du Vietnam, 1949–50*, the population of Hanoi was 216,900 in 1950. Its port, Haiphong, had a population of 146,000. The total population of the two is only about one-fifth that of the twin cities of Saigon-Cholon.

[7] Between 1939 and 1948 the population of Greater Manila increased by 55 per cent. Between 1931 and 1947 the population of Singapore Town (now City) increased by 52.5 per cent.

[8] The only apparent major exception to this generalization is Singapore and Malaya, where the lesser towns have tended to increase their populations equally rapidly since 1931. This situation may be explained by the special political and economic status of Singapore, the entrepôt for much of archipelagic Southeast Asia, and the exceptional degree of commercialization in the Malayan economy as a whole (see M. V. del Tufo, *A Report on the 1947 Census of Population* [*Malaya, Comprising the Federation of Malaya and the Colony of Singapore*] [London, 1949]).

[9] E.g., Greater Manila accounted for 89 per cent of the 1939–48 growth of the seven largest cities in the Philippines.

[10] Between 1939 and 1948 the approximate rate of total population growth was 20 per cent; that of urban population growth, nearly 40 per cent.

caused or hastened a flight to the relative security of the city. These forces have been operating in combination particularly in Rangoon, Jakarta, Saigon, and Manila and largely are responsible for their extremely rapid postwar growth. Lesser cities in Java, for example, such as Surabaya, Jogjakarta, Semarang, and Surakarta, also have increased in population because of rural insecurity; and in Burma in several towns and cities up to 50 per cent of the population has been resident less than four years, for the same reasons. These migrations have not, however, necessarily been accompanied by greater employment opportunities and consequently cannot be regarded as indexes of more rapid urbanization and associated socioeconomic change.

The great cities of Southeast Asia possess many features in common, not the least of which is their youth. This quality they share also with several of the great cities of the United States, but there the resemblance ceases.[11] In 1800 Rangoon, Saigon, and Singapore did not yet exist in city form; Bangkok, the new capital of Thailand, was less than twenty years old; Manila and Batavia (Jakarta), though then about two hundred years old, were merely small coastal towns. They began to grow rapidly after the middle of the nineteenth century, as a consequence of the development of the treaty ports in China, the opening of Japan, the transfer of power from the East India Company to the British Crown by the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, the opening of the

[11] For the most part the growth of the Southeast Asian cities was not associated with a total transformation of society but with a strong indigenous tradition, as in the case of Bangkok, or with the juxtaposition of a segment of a new civilization alongside the old, as in the case of Rangoon. In America the cities represented the culmination of a social transformation in a virtually unoccupied frontier region. The same is true of Manchuria, the northeastern frontier of pioneer settlement in China, which is more recently, and more highly, urbanized than any other part of China. In Manchuria, as in the United States, there is a quite regular gradation of city sizes, and the Primate City cannot be clearly identified.

Suez Canal in 1869, and the consolidation of Western control, direct or indirect, over most of Southeast Asia in the 1890's, followed by American acquisition of the Philippines at the turn of the century.

More important, the great cities were, and to a large degree still are, foreign creations, essentially alien to the Southeast Asian landscape. Although several began as native settlements, they developed as foreign exclaves on the margins of Asia, in much the same way as did the plantation system and mining operations. With the exception of Bangkok, they represented and functioned as the overseas appendages of Western, not indigenous, interests, being what Spate has called "head-links"—the gates by which Western concepts entered to destroy and build and in which a new system of economic organization evolved.[12] Indeed, the concept of the Asian plural society was inspired by the contrast between the basically foreign great city and the indigenous agricultural village. The ties of the great city with its hinterland were primarily commercial and associated with foreign-controlled mining and plantation interests and with Chinese-dominated rice trade. Such direct political-administrative ties as did exist were restricted primarily to indigenous elites, small in number, which allied themselves with Western interests. Where the indigenous rural populations were affected by these urban-rural relations, it was primarily through the plantation or the mining system, both of which needed a large labor force, or through Indian or Chinese intermediaries.

On the other hand, the relations between an indigenous capital, like Bangkok in its earlier period, or Kyoto or Peking, and the agrarian society upon which it was based were of quite a different order. In these cases the capital represented the culmination of what might be termed a national ethos, the epitome of what Redfield has

[12] O. H. K. Spate, "Factors in the Development of Capital Cities," *Geographical Review*, October, 1942, p. 628.

called the "Great Tradition" in an agrarian society.[13]

The links between country and city in this basically feudal relationship were clear, consecutive, and relatively simple to define. To be sure, the villager would regard the capital as a different world from his own, but it was nevertheless a largely comprehensible world, if associated with abstractions and refinements beyond his immediate ken.[14] The modern great city of Southeast Asia, however, not only was different but was also incomprehensible to the child of the folk society, who came to regard it not merely as strange and foreign but also as hostile. The "foreignness" is reflected in their ethnic composition. Until the second World War at least the largest population group in Rangoon was Indian; Singapore is primarily a Chinese city; Bangkok is very largely Chinese, as is Saigon if Cholon, its twin city, is included; both Manila and Jakarta have large foreign and Chinese elements. To this extent the great city is more metropolitan than national. Each has its Chinese, European, and native quarters, for example, although in many instances the lines of division have become blurred, especially since the close of the war.[15] Furthermore, wherever Chinese populations are large, a predominant type of house is the so-called "shophouse," a two-or-more-story building with shops on the first floor, built to a standard width originally dictated by the length of the average fir-log lintel as used in South China, and with residential flats and

cubicles behind and above.[16] Usually constructed in continuous rows and back to back, this type of tenement is among the more conspicuous evils in Southeast Asian cities. On the urban peripheries and wherever interstices appear in the modern street and housing pattern, slum villages appear which consist of house clusters usually constructed of bamboo and atap palm, highly inflammable and unsanitary.[17] These also are found in and on the margins of the lesser cities but are most striking in juxtaposition to the sleek boulevards of Singapore, Bangkok, and Jakarta.

A further index of the cultural and economic pluralism of the great cities is their frequent division into old and new towns. In China, especially in the treaty ports, this distinction is usually between an old Chinese and a modern foreign city. The same is true of India. In Southeast Asia the contrast is most often between an old and a modern town both of Western origin, as in Jakarta, Manila, Singapore, and Rangoon. To a notable degree each of these is also a planned city. In Saigon the contrast is between predominantly Chinese Cholon and Saigon itself. In Bangkok, however, there are the old Siamese castle town, a new town of indigenous origin, though of European design, and a Chinese town or quarter nearly as old as the castle town itself. Pluralism is seen not merely in the division of a city into old and new parts or into quarters but also in the separation of the predominantly outward-oriented great city from an up-coun-

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[13] See Robert Redfield and Milton Singer, "A Cultural Role of Cities," a working paper for the Conference on the Role of Cities in Economic Growth and Cultural Change, University of Chicago, May 24–26, 1954.

[14] Cf. J. M. van der Kroef, "The Indonesian City: Its Culture and Evolution," Asia, March, 1953.

[15] In Singapore the Chinese are localized according to the various so-called "clans," e.g., Hokkien, Cantonese, Tiuchiu, Hailams, and Hakka (see B. W. Hodder, "Racial Groupings in Singapore," Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography, October, 1953).

[16] For a description of the "shophouse" see R. H. Hughes, "Hong Kong: An Urban Study," Geographical Journal, March, 1951, pp. 9–10.

[17] These areas, the so-called "kampongs," are historically enclaves of the countryside within the city. They form small social cells which together cover most of the surface area in and on the margins of the great cities. Separately, they constitute the rural villages, which in the densely settled portions of Java, for example, are so closely spaced that they collectively exhibit population densities as high as those in many cities (see photographs in J. M. Fraser, "Town Planning and Housing in Singapore," Town Planning Review, January, 1953).

try, indigenous, cultural or political sub-center. Just as Shanghai had its Nanking and Peking, so Rangoon has its Mandalay, Jakarta its Jogjakarta, Manila its Cebu, and, in a variant form, Singapore its Kuala Lumpur.

In the past these cities sited along the Asian littoral have been the funnels through which produce from the interiors have reached tidewater and the world of commerce and Western manufactures have penetrated. Through the increasingly metropolitan channels have flowed the ideas of the West as well as its material goods. In a sense they have acted both as a catalyst for social and economic change and as a cushion which modified the shock of the earlier cultural contacts.

With the exception of Singapore, the site of each of the great cities of Southeast Asia is an ill-drained riverine or coastal lowland strategically placed in relation to an exceptionally productive agricultural region. Again, with the exception of Singapore, none possesses a deep natural harbor suitable for modern ocean-going shipping. The three mainland ports are both river and ocean ports and must be reached through tortuous and shallow river channels. All are entrepôts. Jakarta and Manila are located on the most highly developed islands of the archipelagoes, for which they act as entrepôts. Only in Indonesia and Indochina are there major competitors for the two greatest ports—Haiphong, the outlet for the densely populated Tonkin delta, and Surabaya, the regional capital for the Great East of the Indies, itself an empire. Each great port virtually dominates the national import trade; all tend, however, to share some part of the national export trade with lesser ports. In spite of these great similarities, the nature and functions of the ports differ markedly. As Allen observes: "All ports are individual. History, geography, politics, and economics all contribute to making them as they are. Few universal principles apply, and attempts to force uniformity on ports which have grown up differently are bound to fail."[18] Singapore, for example, is one of the

world's great ports and the most Western of the great cities of Southeast Asia. A Crown Colony, it is the only great city without a large administrative hinterland, although it is the seat of the British High Commissioner for Southeast Asia. Since its founding by Raffles in 1819, it has been a free port and an entrepôt for much of archipelagic Southeast Asia. About half of the 5.5 million tons of cargo that pass over Singapore's modern wharves originates outside of the Malayan peninsula, and it was not until 1924 that the island of Singapore was connected by causeway with the mainland. At the same time it handles two-thirds of Malaya's exports and about three-fourths of its imports by value. Increasingly, its interests have tended to focus upon Malaya itself, as its entrepôt functions have been cut into by the other great ports within the region, especially Jakarta. What has kept Singapore the largest port in Southeast Asia (over 20 million net tons of shipping entered in 1952) is its status as a free port and its strategic location at the western entrance to the South China Sea and the Pacific Ocean basin. As a crossroad between the Pacific and Indian oceans, it attracts shipping from great distances. It also has become an important air center, and a new airfield is under construction northeast of the city. Finally, the concentration of banking, insurance, light industry, docking, repair, and outfitting facilities have fortified its dominant position.

Singapore City was originally laid out with due regard for ethnic quarters.[19] The oldest section of the city, however, has become the business center, but the rest of the older town is a densely populated Chinese section, and much of the newer town to the northeast also is Chinese. Each of these areas is in turn divided on the basis of Chinese clan categories. The European residen-

[18] D. F. Allen, *Report on the Major Ports of Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer, 1951), p. 128.

[19] For a general description of the city see E. H. G. Dobby, "Singapore: Town and Country," *Geographical Review*, January, 1940, and the *Colony of Singapore Annual Report*.

tial area is primarily on higher ground in the northern part of the city. The University of Malaya is located in Singapore, though plans are being made to move it to Johore Baru on the Malayan mainland. Being largely a Chinese city, Singapore has come to act as a center for the Nan Yang expatriate Chinese, and the city has been chosen as the site of a new Chinese-language regional university.[20] Nevertheless, its air is not that of a Chinese city, nor, for that matter, is it English. Like all great cities, it is cosmopolitan, but it is also culturally rootless, perhaps more so than any of the other great cities of the region.

At the other extreme is Bangkok, most indigenous of the great cities. Founded as the last of a series of "forward capitals"[21] by the Thai in 1783, after the destruction of Ayuthia by the Burmese, the city has never lost its native quality. The soaring rooftrees of *bot* and the spires of stupa stamp the Bangkok skyline with a character of its own. The city is located on the left bank of the Menam Chao Phya within the southern-

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behind them is one of the most striking demonstrations of cultural dualism in Southeast Asia.

Unlike the other great cities, Bangkok originated as the capital of a land-oriented agrarian state. Its proximity to tidewater was accidental. In 1822 the ship bearing the Crawfurd mission to the Thai court barely was able to cross the bar at the mouth of the Menam, then covered by only four feet of water.[22] Its poor harbor and its remoteness from the major shipping routes of the South China Sea conspired to retard the development of the city as a port until the end of the nineteenth century and to retain it as an anachronism in Southeast Asia—a growing city, nearly great, surely primate, but indigenous rather than Western. Nevertheless, since it was through Bangkok that Western influences filtered into Thailand, it is a case of an indigenous capital acting as a revolutionary medium for socioeconomic change.

Bangkok is still the least convenient port of the great cities in Southeast Asia. The bar across the mouth of the Chao Phya was dredged through only in 1952, and port facilities are modest as compared with the other cities. Indeed, most vessels still anchor in the Bight of Bangkok in the lee of the island, Kao Hsi Kang, at the mouth of the Chao Phya and transship their cargoes to and from river barges and country boats which link the island with Bangkok. Surprisingly, the freight tonnage handled at Bangkok is about one-third that of Singapore, although the volume of shipping is only one-tenth as large. The explanation lies partly in the large bulk shipments of rice which form the main export. Partly, also, there is a lower load factor at Singapore, since much of the shipping which enters its harbor is as much dependent on the local complex of service facilities as on cargo potential. At Bangkok, peripheral as it is to the main trade routes, few vessels call without assurances of sizable cargoes.

[22] See J. Crawfurd, *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China* (London: H. Colburn & R. Bentley, 1830).

On the other hand, changes in transportation have elevated Bangkok to a new importance. It lies astride the main air route between Europe and the Far East, and the Australia-Europe services also pass through it. It is now the leading international air center in Southeast Asia, with 42 international departures a week in 1953 as compared with Singapore's 27, and its airport is one of the larger commercial fields in the Orient.

The role of the Southeast Asian great city has been modified by the Pacific war and the granting of independence to Burma, the Philippines, and Indonesia, and partial independence to Vietnam. Five of the six great cities are now capitals of the independent states. Each of these merits the title "link capital"; that is, they are the media through which the newly independent states are linked with the outside world. At the same time, they have begun to assume an increasingly indigenous character. The substitution of Malay for Dutch names and street signs in Indonesia is only one evidence of cultural change. The in-migration of petty officials, tradesmen, and refugees from the beleaguered rural areas has given the urban populations a new and more homogeneous native cast. The fevers of nationalism have made the large minorities more cautious about flaunting their ethnic independence.

On the other hand, the war also brought increased American influence into the region, and the ubiquitous Coca-Cola sign is one of the symbols of change that sooner or later will be followed by changes in urban facilities and urban organization.

More important, the present period is associated with an increasing intensification of the economic activities of government and a corresponding diminution of foreign enterprise. Political and administrative functions have become increasingly important since the war. Since the main governmental organs are concentrated in the largest centers, the direct influence of the great city upon the country in which it is primate is likewise increasing. Relations between nationalized city and an increasingly money-oriented countryside are becoming more intimate, and the formerly clear-cut cultural distinctiveness of city and country is rapidly becoming blurred. Therefore, the likelihood of the great city's leading a revival of ancient value systems, as some extreme ethnocentrists hope it will, is small. Only one prediction can be made: the days of the culturally alien and ethnically distinct urban center are numbered in Southeast Asia; and a city like Singapore becomes increasingly an anomalous relict of an age now past.

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URBANISM IN INDIA

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ABSTRACT

The great recent growth of the population of India has been in cities, although the country is primarily agricultural still. Human fertility declines in the cities—a condition evidently related to differences in literacy and the distribution of castes and occupations; but cityward migration is very heavy. The migrants often form a floating population, never quite assimilated to city life and the source of various social problems; at the same time the migrants bring Western ways back with them to the country. The historical basis of metropolitan growth was administration, handicrafts, and trade, but, since the Europeans came, it has been modern industry.

According to the 1951 Census of the Republic of India, about sixty-one million people are urban dwellers—17.3 per cent of the Indian population. Thus, in a land that is thought of as being rural, city people comprise a total greater than the population of the United Kingdom.[1] Almost 18 per cent of them live in cities of more than 500,000 population.

In 1941 only 12.8 per cent of the population of India was urban and in 1921 only 10.6 per cent.[2] Between 1921 and 1941 the total urban population grew by 33.5 per cent, while in the most recent decade its rate of growth is even more rapid. Moreover, in 1951 there were five "million" cities in India, whereas there had been only two such cities in 1941.[3] Furthermore, while the urban population was growing by one-third between 1921 and 1941, the general increase of the population was only 15 per cent. Thus there is a strong trend toward urbanism, of which the most recent decade has seen the greatest development.

The census of 1951 also shows 73 cities in the Republic of India with a population of more than 100,000 each. More than 24.5 million people reside in them. Table 1

shows the growth, during recent decades, of the ten largest cities of India. In twenty years these ten cities have much more than doubled their size. Only one, Delhi, is primarily a political and administrative center; the rest are primarily commercial and industrial.

Despite recent rapid advances in the size of the urban population and in the growth of large cities, India remains predominantly rural (Table 2). India ranks well below the advanced economies and also considerably below a relatively underdeveloped nation such as Argentina in the percentage of its population resident in cities. Though the 1951 figures, if available, would show India as more urban, the change could not be anywhere near so great as to bring her within reach of any of the other nations listed.

As in most underdeveloped nations, vast rural hinterlands are relatively untouched by those important tendencies of national economic growth that would facilitate the wide distribution of industries. Hence the few existing great cities, with their social equipment for support of industrial functions (transport, communications, mechanical power sources, etc.), attract the bulk of new enterprise and continue as the only centers of modern production. This accounts for the rather sharp distinctions between "urban" and "rural" in India and in similar countries: only in the great cities are found those appurtenances of "modern" life and the modern economic system to which the bulk of the population in Western

[1] Owing to current unavailability of the final reports of the 1951 census in Chicago, this information has been taken from two sources: O. H. K. Spate, *India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography* (London: Methuen & Co., 1954), p. 116, and *The Indian and Pakistan Year Book, 1952–53* (Bombay: Times of India, 1953), XXXVIII, 13.

[2] Spate, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

POPULATION OF SOUTH ASIA

LAHORE (.6)
DELHI (.9)
KANPUR (.7)
CALCUTTA (2.5)
AHMEDABAD (.8)
KARACHI (1.0)
BOMBAY (2.8)
HYDERABAD (1.1)
BANGALORE (.7)
MADRAS (1.4)

KIRGHIZ

DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE

- LESS THAN 25
- 25 - 99
- 100 - 199
- 200 - 399
- 400 - 599
- OVER 600

URBAN PLACES

- OVER 1,000,000
- 500,000 - 1,000,000

0   MILES   400

MAJOR LANGUAGE GROUPS OF SOUTH ASIA

INDO-IRANIC GROUP

- INDO-ARYAN
- DARDIC
- IRANIC

DRAVIDIAN GROUP

AREA WITHIN WHICH
URDU OR HIGH HINDU
IS LANGUAGE OF
LITERATURE AND OF
PUBLIC LIFE

TURKISH-TARTARIC GP.

TIBETO-BURMAN GROUP

MINOR TRIBAL LANGUAGES

- DRAVIDIAN
- AUSTRIC
- INDO-ARYAN

0   MILES   200

ALLEN K. PHILBRICK

CITIES
⊛ Over 500,000
● 250,000–500,000
○ Other Cities
Ba Baroda
Bi Bilaspur
Ca Calicut
Ch Chittagong
Co Coimbatore
Cu Cuttack
Dj Darjeeling
Dr Dharwar
Gw Gwalior
Jm Jamshedpur
Jn Jhansi
Jp Jubbulpore
Ju Jullunder
Ka Katamundu
Ko Kolar
Ku Kurnool
La Lashkar
Me Meerut
Mo Moradabad
Pe Peshawar
Sa Salem
Su Surat
Tr Trivandrum
Ty Trichinopoly

TURKOMAN   UZBEK
SHINA
KAFIR
KASHMIRI
PERSIAN   TAJIK
PASHTU
PAHARI
LAHNDA   PUNJABI
HINDUSTANI
WESTERN HINDI
EASTERN HINDI
BIHARI
BENGALI
ASSAMESE
RAJASTHANI
SINDHI
GUJARATI
MARATHI
ORIYA
GOND
KORKU
KANNADA
TELEGU
MALAYALAM
TAMIL
SINGHALESE
GOA
LACCADIVE IS (MAL.)
Colombo

Herat, Kabul, Kandahar, Quetta, Kabul, Amritsar, Lahore, Srinagar, Leh, Delhi (.9), Bareilly, Lucknow, Kanpur (.7), Benares, Allahabad, Patna, Dacca, Calcutta (2.5), Agra, Gwalior, Jaipur, Ajmer, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Indore, Nagpur, Ahmadabad (.8), Karachi (1.0), Bombay (2.8), Poona, Sholapur, Hyderabad (1.1), Bangalore (.7), Mysore, Madras (1.4), Maduro

Prepared for "A New Geography of Asia" edited by Norton S. Ginsburg; to be published by Prentice-Hall, Inc., in late 1955

nations are accustomed.[4] Urban sociologists may wonder whether there is a meaningful boundary between "urban" and "rural" in Western nations, but there is no doubt about it in India.[5] Nor is the difference based on densities of population per square mile, a criterion by which much of rural India would be classed as urban. The dichotomy is based on two different ways of life.

[4] Cf. my *Aspects of Economic Development in South Asia* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1953), esp. pp. 44–46 and 63–67.

[5] M. R. Masani, in *The Communist Party of India* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1954), p. 14, notes: "By rural standards, all town dwellers, including industrial workers, were a privileged class. While the bulk of taxation was borne by the agrarian classes, the State spent most of the money in the cities and towns."

Kingsley Davis comments that a significant aspect of urban and rural differences in India is that the cities are the centers whence Western traits are diffused and social change begins.[6] Here Europe touches India.

In India and Pakistan the city has a lower rate of fertility than the country, and, as Davis remarks: "In India and Pakistan, . . . the larger the city the lower its fertility becomes, so that there is an intercity as well as a rural-urban differential. The differentials, though significant, are not so large, however, as those found in West European and American countries."[7]

[6] Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 127.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

TABLE 1*

GROWTH OF SELECTED CITIES, 1931–51

City	Population in 1951	Population in 1941	Population in 1931
Greater Calcutta	2,992,997	2,488,083	1,388,644
Bombay	2,840,011	1,489,883	1,161,383
Delhi (Old and New)	1,743,992	521,849	347,539
Madras	1,429,985	777,481	647,230
Greater Hyderabad	1,085,074	739,159	466,894
Ahmedabad	788,310	591,267	310,000
Greater Bangalore	776,170	406,760	306,470
Cawnpore (Kanpur)	704,536	487,324	243,755
Lucknow	497,594	387,177	274,659
Poona	485,486	258,197	198,078
Total	13,344,155	8,147,180	5,344,652

* Data adapted from tables found in *Indian and Pakistan Year Book, 1952–53* (Bombay, 1953), XXXVIII, 14.

TABLE 2*

PER CENT OF POPULATION IN CITIES BY SIZE CLASS FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES

Country	Year	In Cities 5,000+ (Per Cent)	In Cities 10,000+ (Per Cent)	In Cities 25,000+ (Per Cent)	In Cities 100,000+ (Per Cent)	Index
India	1941	12.3	10.5	8.1	4.2	8.8
India	1931	10.4	8.5	5.8	2.7	6.8
Great Britain	1931	81.7	73.6	63.1	45.2	65.9
Argentina	1943	48.9	46.8	42.7	34.0	43.1
United States	1940	52.7	47.6	40.1	28.8	42.3

* Adapted from a table in Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 129.

In the two decades between 1921 and 1941, Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras reported an average of 119 births per 1,000 women in the age group fifteen to thirty-nine, while the rural areas of those provinces reported an average of 154. The average of children under four per 1,000 women in the three cities in 1941 was 500, while in the rest of each province it was 663. The ratio of child to woman reveals the inverse ratio between reproduction and size of city (Table 3).

A recent study of fertility rates in Poona City shows that fertility decreases "from

lies noticeably below the expected rate, and this is also true of the Indian Christians of Poona. The studies conducted previously in the city of Kolhapur, meanwhile, discovered that fertility rates were lowest among the Brahmins and the Jains. The Jains are, of course, a community whose members are of high caste and high income and largely professional.

There is also a caste or occupational difference in fertility, the most fertile groups being residents of the rural areas and the least fertile normally being city people. Country folk are more fertile than the trad-

TABLE 3*

CHILD-WOMAN RATIOS BY SIZE OF CITY, 1931–41

SIZE OF CITIES	1931		1941	
	Number of Cities	Average Child-Woman Ratio	Number of Cities	Average Child-Woman Ratio
500,000+	3	523	4	545
100,000–500,000	33	666	11	621
50,000–100,000	45	649	3	665
Below 50,000	18	701	8	621
Rest of India		770		714

* Source: Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

manual labor to non-manual labor and from the non-manual to higher professions and salaried employment."[8] Husband's income also shows a slight influence on fertility among wives. More important, however, is the influence of education.[9] Among illiterate women a larger number of children were born than the expected rate. But among the women who had received more than a high-school education there was a marked falling-away from expected rates. Since illiteracy is much higher in rural India than in the cities, this is one aspect of the rural-urban fertility differential that is now accounted for. It is also interesting to note that the rate of reproduction for the highest caste (Brahmins)

[8] V. M. Dandekar, *Survey of Fertility and Mortality in Poona District* (Poona: Gokhale Institute of Politics, 1953), p. 64.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

ing and professional classes. But the landowners and tenants have a low fertility, while the field laborers have a high fertility[10].

To the important allied matter of rural-urban migration, unfortunately, the Indian census has paid little attention and only scattered data can be found. However, the generally accepted fact is that rates of migration into cities in India are high. Indian cities have large transitory populations of casual laborers who come in seasonally to find employment because of the pressure of poverty in the countryside but retain strong ties with their rural homes. They float back to their families either for occasional obligatory social and religious functions or because seasonal declines in urban employment force them home for a subsistence. They are widely reported as in the

[10] Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–75.

habit of working in the city just long enough to be able to remit to the family at home sufficient income to ease specific obligations, and, once a pressing debt has been met, they settle down again in the village until pecuniary necessity drives them off to the city again.

A major problem of industrialization in modern India is, in fact, precisely due to the fact that many of the factory operatives remain in the city too short a time to become skilled. The temporary and floating population also poses special problems for the urban authorities and not infrequently becomes demoralized.[11]

More than a third of the residents of major cities were born outside them (Table 4). The proportion of residents born outside tends to be higher the larger the city, even though, as Davis remarks, it takes a larger stream of migrants to outweigh the greater number of births in the larger city.

Data on Bombay City indicate historical trends in per cent of out-born in city population. In 1872 some 68.9 per cent were born outside the city. In 1891 it was 75.0 per cent, in 1911 as high as 80.4 per cent, and in 1931 back to 75.4 per cent. Regrettably, such information cannot be found for other major cities in India.

The cities of India are evidently growing in the same way that cities of the West grew in their early days, namely, through migration attracted by economic opportunity. If this is the case, industrial cities should be growing the most rapidly. A study of 87 cities to test the hypothesis is reported by Davis. They were classified by the proportion of workers, first in industry alone, then in industry, trade, and transport together. He found consistently that the cities where the proportions are high had grown more rapidly than those where they

[11] Masani (*op. cit.*, pp. 14–15) observes: "The strange environment of the cities, poor diet, hard conditions of work and living—all these factors made it difficult for a new recruit to take to his new avocation with zest and with a will to make good. Absenteeism and loitering were naturally the result."

were low.[12] In fact, cities with more than 40 per cent of all workers in industry had a rate of growth between 1921 and 1941 of 74.7 per cent, while those in which they constituted less than 30 per cent grew 55.6 per cent. Meanwhile, in cities with 70 per cent or more of all workers employed in industry, trade, and transport, the rate of growth stood at 83.8 per cent, while in cities with 50 per cent or less of all workers so employed, the rate of growth stood at 43.6 per cent.

In sum, urban centers in modern India have been growing rapidly, primarily by

TABLE 4*

PER CENT OF POPULATION OUT-BORN IN CITIES, 1931

City	Population	Per Cent Out-born
All cities, average......	180,538	37.3
Bombay..............	1,161,383	75.4
Cawnpore (Kanpur).....	243,755	41.4
Hyderabad City........	466,894	30.4
Lucknow..............	274,659	29.6
Allahabad.............	183,914	20.5

* Source: Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

migration; such growth has been even more marked for the largest of the cities, and the number of very large cities has increased sharply. Nonetheless, even today most of the people of India are distinctly rural villagers.

Because the city is a diffusion center for Western ways and because life there is relatively free from the tight social controls of the rural villages, the volume of transient labor in the large cities has special significance. Sojourners from the village carry back home with them new ideas, new attitudes, and new skills. These innovations, allied with other circumstances making for change and dislocation of the traditional ways that have for long characterized village life in India, stimulate the slow diffusion of elements of a different way of life from the cities out into the countryside.

[12] Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

Just as the economic tentacles of the city spread out to the hinterland, so too do the intellectual and cultural influences.

To a large extent the major cities have been the creation of European effort and enterprise. Each consists typically of a European and an indigenous city. Hence one may speak of two urbanisms in India.[13] Moreover, the urbanism of modern India is distinct from that of historic India.

To begin with, such major cities as Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, to mention but the most prominent examples, were, *de facto*, created by the Europeans. The Portuguese seized Bombay Island when it was virtually uninhabited and built a trading enclave and fort there. In 1661 the island passed to Charles II of England by treaty, and in 1668 the Crown transferred it to the East India Company. By 1687 the company had created a town and entrepôt that soon became the leading center of European power and trade on the west coast of India. Since that time it has risen without interruption to great importance as a commercial, industrial, and administrative center. At the same time, it has often been describd as the most Westernized of any of India's great cities.

Similarly, Calcutta is a British creation. In 1690 Job Charnock, servant of John Company, began the first factory and defensive works at the tiny village of Sutanuti on the Hooghly River, and in 1698 the company received the right to administer the affairs of two adjacent villages. Subsequently a fort was built, and the city of Calcutta began to form. From this humble beginning European enterprise created the greatest city in India. The same is true for Madras, which was a small fishing village when it passed into the hands of the English company.

Each of these was for some time during early history as much a center of European political administration and military power as of European economic activity. Each was, therefore, a distinct enclave of foreign control and of foreign customs. But, by the twentieth century, their commerce and industry had far surpassed their political or administrative role, and in the most recent times their growth has been due to their economic importance.[14] At the same time each has functioned as the point of entrance into India of Europeans and their ways.

Up until the time of Indian independence, at least, each metropolis, like the other large urban centers of India, has been divided into two sections. Usually across the railroad tracks from the Europeans large numbers of Indians crowd into some of the most densely packed quarters in the world. The railroad barrier has few crossings, and in many places it was apparently made the dividing line deliberately. Occasionally the separation is less distinct, and there is a transitional zone.

India was, comparatively speaking, a highly urbanized area, but after its own fashion, of course, when the first European travelers appeared on the scene. Travelers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries make it clear that India had a degree of urbanization unsurpassed by the Western world at that time.[15] Thus, Ralph Fitch, one of the first Englishmen to visit India, wrote in a letter in 1585:

> Agra is a very great city and populous, built with stone, having fair and large streets. . . . It hath a fair castle and a stronghold with a very fair ditch. Here be many Moors and Gentiles. . . .
> From thence we went for Fatepore, which is the place where the King kept his court. The

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[13] For accounts of Indian cities cf. R. C. Majumdar, H. Raychaudhuri, and K. Datta, *An Advanced History of India* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1950), pp. 634 ff.; G. W. Forrest, *Cities of India* (Westminster: Archibald Constable Co., 1903), pp. 1–6, for an interesting, descriptive account of the early days of Bombay, and pp. 275–76 for Calcutta.

[14] For a detailed study of the growth of industry in such centers see S. D. Mehta, *The Cotton Mills of India, 1854 to 1954* (Bombay: Textile Association, 1954), pp. 3–4, 13–19, 40–42, 114–45.

[15] For an account of Indian cities in the tenth and eleventh centuries see T. C. Das Gupta, *Aspects of Bengali Society from Old Bengali Literature* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1935), pp. 123–36.

town is greater than Agra, but the houses and streets not so fair. . . .

Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous. Between Agra and Fatepore are twelve miles, and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in town and so many people as if a man were in a market. . . .

Hither is much resort of merchants from Persia and out of India, and very much merchandise of silk and cloth and of precious stones. . . .[16]

Nor were these towns unique. In 1419 Nicolo de' Conti referred to large and flourishing port cities on the Malabar Coast, such as Cambay and Calicut, and the accounts given by subsequent visitors make it clear that these towns were the equal of any commercial entrepôt of Europe.[17] Conti also describes the great inland city of Vijayanagar in South India as the largest city in the world: it had "90,000 people living within it capable of bearing arms." His description of Vijayanagar was in the early days of the century, long before that city had reached its acme of power and wealth. The Persian ambassador at Vijayanagar corroborates it: "The city of Vidjanagar is such that the pupils of the eye have never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world."

However, Nikitin, a Russian traveler in India at about the same time, describes Bidar as the chief city in India, not Vijayanagar. For that matter, when Vasco da Gama reached India in 1498, he found that Calicut was the greatest commercial city South India, as well as one of the most powerful. In 1608 an English party landed at Surat, one of the leading trade marts of the west coast of India, and journeyed inland to Agra, the Moghul capital. On the

way they passed through Burhanpur in northern India, which one of the travelers, Robert Coverte, recorded was larger than London and enjoyed a most flourishing commerce. But other travelers reported that Thatta, in Sind, was the most populous city in northern India.

Still another account, by Johannes de Laet, published in 1631, reported that Lahore was the greatest city in India. To justify the claim, he went on to say:

The circumferance of its ditch and wall is 24 cos. [The Indian *cos* equaled $2\frac{1}{2}$ English miles.] . . . The city suburbs are 6 cos long. . . . There are twelve gates, 9 of which lead into the suburbs, whilst 3 open on the river. The streets of the city are fine, and are paved with stone. The buildings are . . . constructed of bricks. The inhabitants are chiefly Banians [merchants.] and artisans. . . .[18]

Another European traveler of note, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who reached India in 1665, has left numerous accounts of flourishing urban centers, such as the following:

Sironj is a large town, of which the majority of the inhabitants are Banian merchants and artisans, who have dwealt there from father to son. . . . There is a large trade there in all kinds of colored calicoes, with which all the common people of Persia and Turkey are clad, and which are used in several countries for bedcovers and tablecloths. They make similar calicoes in other places besides Sironj, but the colors are not so lively. . . .[19]

The cities of historic India rested on three things. In the first place, many were primarily administrative centers. India contained numerous states and principalities, each potentate of which established a capital city to which thronged bureaucrats, military leaders, and the nobles of the land. These, complemented by the assemblage of

[16] J. C. Locke, *The First Englishmen in India* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1930), pp. 102–3.

[17] The accounts here referred to appear in E. F. Oaten, *European Travellers in India* (London: Kegan Paul, 1909), pp. 29–30, 38, 72, and 159.

[18] J. S. Hoyland (trans.), *The Empire of the Great Mogol: A Translation of De Laet's "Description of India"* (Bombay: Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1928), p. 51.

[19] V. Ball (trans.), *Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Tavernier* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1889), I, 56–57. Chapters iv–vii of this book contain much detail on a number of Indian cities and towns.

Brahmin priests or Muslim mullahs, comprised a sizable consuming community. Thither flocked artisans and skilled craftsmen who catered to their wants. Thus the capital was at once a major center of population and, usually, of fine craft. In some cases there was even a "putting-out" system similar to that of early modern Europe and in a few cases large *kharkanas*, or factory-like workshops, had been established. But the fall of a dynasty might bring the virtual end of the city, or the whim of a monarch might cause its removal to a different location.

In addition, numbers of Indian cities were primarily handicraft centers, with substantial populations of artisans. Each craft was a caste, and each caste resided in its own quarter. They produced for the ruling classes and for the extensive export trade to the Middle East and to Southeast Asia. So long as trade routes were not seriously interdicted or domestic peace not too seriously disturbed, these cities continued, from generation to generation, to produce the same specialties. Many, however, lost their position with the advent of European power in India. The Europeans acquired the trade routes and used them as they saw fit. Early in the nineteenth century, British imports of finished goods into India undermined the position of the local handicraftsmen,[20] and by 1825 a large number of formerly thriving towns had dwindled and grown dormant.[21]

Finally, there were the major trade emporiums of pre-modern India, many of which were most thriving. The coming of the Europeans, however, brought about their steady decline, if not virtual abandonment. This was true both because the Europeans captured from the indigenous merchants, Arab and other, the extensive trade in the Indian Ocean and because the Europeans confined importing and exporting to their own port towns such as Surat, Bombay, Cochin, Madras, and Calcutta. This meant the decay of the numerous ports and trade centers that were not either under European domination or convenient to the new avenues of trade developed by the Europeans. Thus it was that the great entrepôt of Thatta, in Sind, declined rapidly and became a provincial village.

By the mid-nineteenth century the new urbanism, based on European incentive, had begun, and by 1900 the great cities of the present day had begun to reach noteworthy size. But it was different. For even when the new towns grew up on the site of older Indian ones—many of which had been more populous in the fifteenth century than at any time until 1921—they were European, with separate sections for the European population and the new appurtenances of modern industry. Here the old section is inhabited by factory workers, clerks in British offices, petty shopkeepers, menials, sweepers, coolies, and other servants attached to the European community.

The major change is that the new urbanism in India is founded on a new, power-based, production system.

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[20] For the decline of Indian industry under European competition see B. D. Basu, *The Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries* (Calcutta: R. Chatterjee, n.d.).

[21] Cf. the monumental account of India in 1820 contained in Walter Hamilton, *A Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan* (2 vols.; London: John Murray, 1820).

URBANISM IN THE UNITED STATES, 1950[1]

DONALD J. BOGUE

ABSTRACT

Between 1940 and 1950 the urban population of the United States grew rapidly as the result of change in the definition of "urban," natural increase, net in-migration, and reclassification of places. There has been a long-term trend toward concentration of the total population and urban population in larger places. The metropolis stimulates growth and economic development over a broad zone and promotes general interest in metropolitan areas. Urban populations differ from rural populations in several major socioeconomic character- istics, now somewhat modified from earlier measurements.

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD URBANISM

The 1950 Census of Population reported that 64 per cent of the inhabitants of the United States live in urban places. Even though differences in national definitions make exact comparisons difficult, this figure indicates that the United States is now one of the most urbanized nations of the world. Of the larger nations (those with twenty million or more inhabitants), only Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany are clearly more urban.[2] Although the United States has only about one-sixteenth of the world's population, it may have as much as one-tenth or more of the world's urban population. Moreover, it is quite probable that at the present time no other nation has an urban population as large as that of the United States. Certainly, no nation has so large an industrial-commercial population.

Much of the 36 per cent of the population classed as rural is also directly tied to urban

agglomerations. By 1950 the rural-farm population had declined to 15.5 per cent of the total population (43 per cent of the total rural); a population equaling it could be found in just the four largest urban agglomerations. Moreover, approximately 29 per cent of the employed workers living on rural farms were working in nonagricultural industries in 1950, many being employed in cities. Many workers in cities supplement their income with part-time farming or gardening in the suburbs.[3]

Few of the settlements of rural-nonfarm population are village or crossroad shopping centers for farmers, as was the case a genera- tion ago. Instead, a very large proportion of the rural-nonfarm population is located just outside the urban fringes of cities and along major highways. A part of this population serves the huge flow of traffic between major metropolitan centers. Much of it is subur- ban: living in the country and commuting to work in the city is now a common arrange- ment for factory and craft workers and no longer uniquely a middle-class and upper- class white-collar trait. Hence from both an international and a domestic perspective, an urbanism which spreads out to nonagricul-

[1] This article reports research which is part of a long-range study of population distribution, the funds for which were granted by the Rockefeller Foundation. Detailed explanations and data will be found in my monograph, *The People of the United States: Trends in Their Number, Distribution, and Characteristics* ("Scripps Foundation Studies in Population Distribution" [Oxford, Ohio, 1955]).

Gracie Van Winkle, Dorothy Harris, and Jane Hartley, statisticians of the Scripps Foundation staff, computed the many adjustments and esti- mates required to achieve comparability between the urban-rural data for 1950 with those for earlier censuses.

[2] See *United Nations Demographic Yearbook: 1952*, chap. i and Table 6.

[3] The 1950 Census of Agriculture reports that, of 5,379,250 farms, 1,029,392 were "residential farms" (those with a total value of sales of farm products in 1949 less than $250) and 639,230 were "part-time" farms (those with a value of sales of farm products of $250–$1,199, provided the farm operator reported one hundred or more days of work off the farm in 1949 or the nonfarm income received by him and members of his family was greater than the value of farm products sold). Only 69 per cent of all farms were commercial farms where agriculture was clearly the principal source of livelihood.
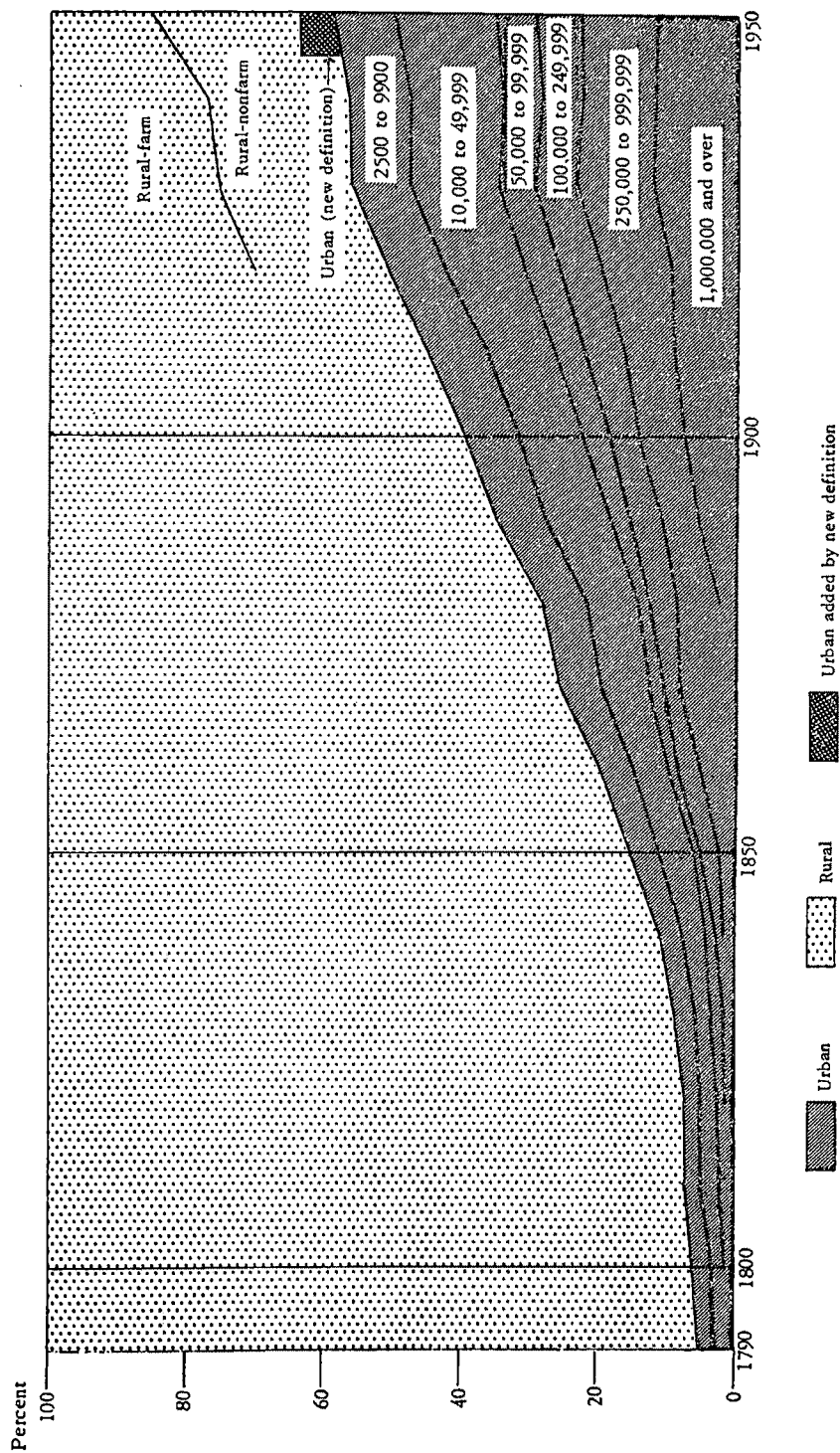
Fig. 1.—Population of the United States by size of place of habitation, 1790–1950

Percent

Rural-farm

Rural-nonfarm

Urban (new definition)

2500 to 9900

10,000 to 49,999

50,000 to 99,999

100,000 to 249,999

250,000 to 999,999

1,000,000 and over

Urban   Rural   Urban added by new definition

tural economic institutions centered in and about cities is now one of the outstanding attributes of American life.

The present state of intense urbanism was achieved by rapid city growth during the past one and a half centuries. Although the American colonists and frontiersmen were intent upon developing the natural resources of unsettled areas, they were the offspring of a city-building culture and worked for urban markets within a system of interregional and international trade, improving local production through adopting new machines manufactured elsewhere. At the time of the American Revolution cities were growing at a rapid rate, and this situation has persisted through all but one or two decades. Figure 1 illustrates the rapid urbanization of the population in the last one hundred and sixty years. In 1790, at the time of the first census, 95 per cent of the people lived in rural areas. By the end of the Civil War at least one-fourth was urban. World War I stimulated the urbanization process even further, and by 1920 more than one-half was living in cities. The trend continued with great rapidity between 1920 and 1930 but slackened almost to a standstill during the depression years 1930–40. It enjoyed a renewed upsurge between 1940 and 1950, undoubtedly stimulated by World War II. In broad perspective the urban development of the United States may be viewed as the gradual extension of elements present in the culture from the beginning, hastened by three wars and retarded by depressions, which were, however, only fluctuations in a long-term trend. Meanwhile, the parent-countries, sources of the culture, have followed a parallel development.

RECENT URBAN GROWTH: URBAN DEFINITIONS

At the 1940 census only 56.5 per cent of the population had been defined as urban (Table 1). This shifting of 7.5 percentage points (56.5–64.0) from rural to urban within a single decade denotes a very great change. Not all the change resulted from a mass cityward migration, however. About one-third of it is due to a change in the defi-

nition of "urban population" employed by the Bureau of the Census, and about two-thirds to further concentration of the population in urban centers. The urban population showed an impressive gain of 22.0 million persons between 1940 and 1950. Of this, 7.5 million is due to urban growth resulting from the change in definitions (Table 2). Thus recent urbanization must be partly explained by the change in census definitions.

TABLE 1

URBAN AND RURAL COMPOSITION AND RATE OF URBAN AND RURAL GROWTH
1790–1950

YEAR	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION CLASSED AS			PERCENTAGE CHANGE OVER PRECEDING DECADE		
	Urban	Rural		Urban	Rural	
		Non-farm	Farm		Non-farm	Farm
New urban defini-tion:						
1950....	64.0	20.7	15.3	22.0*	23.0*	−19.3*
Old urban defini-tion:						
1950....	59.0	25.7	15.3	19.5	43.2	−23.6
1940....	56.5	20.5	22.9	7.9	14.2	0.2
1930....	56.2	19.3	24.6	27.3		
					4.4	
1920....	51.2	48.8		29.0	3.2	
1910....	45.7	54.3		39.3	9.0	
1900....	39.7	60.3		36.4	12.2	
1870....	28.2	71.8		42.7	25.7	
1860....	19.8	80.2		75.4	28.4	
1840....	10.8	89.2		63.7	29.7	
1800....	6.1	93.9		59.9	33.8	
1790....	5.1	94.9		......	....	

* Estimated.

plained by the change in census definitions.

The new definition of urban places used in the 1950 census undoubtedly has given rise to some confusion and caused comparisons with the past to be inexact. The old definitions were badly out of focus, but the new definitions divide the population along lines that more nearly coincide with theoretical conceptions.

Until 1950 the Bureau of the Census defined as urban all places incorporated as municipalities—as cities, boroughs, villages, or towns (except towns in New England, New York, and Wisconsin)—provided they had a population of 2,500 or more. Certain minor civil divisions (townships and towns in New England, New York, and Wis-

consin) that were populous and very densely settled but not incorporated as cities were defined as urban under special rules; in 1940 there were 141 such areas. A major advantage of this definition was its simplicity. It could be applied retrospectively to previous census totals, thereby providing a picture of the progressive urbanization of the nation from the first census to the present. However, it had two imperfections that eventually forced its modification. First, it presupposed (with the few exceptions handled by special rules) that any agglomeration would voluntarily incorporate itself as a municipality sometime before it attained the minimum of 2,500 inhabitants. Second, it presupposed that in the act of growing each

city would succeed in enlarging its area through annexation of all urban growth that might occur by outgrowing its boundaries. For the most part, these assumptions were realistic and satisfactory in the past. In recent decades they became increasingly inadequate. Automobile transportation and rapid transit made it possible for many thousands of people to live at a considerable distance from their work and to commute into the city each day. Large residential developments sprang up around the perimeters of large cities. Many such settlements remained unincorporated—sometimes as a tax-saving device, and sometimes because state laws and constitutions presented difficulties. Resistance by the population to be

TABLE 2

COMPONENTS OF URBAN GROWTH, BY SEX AND COLOR, 1940–50

COMPONENT OF GROWTH	TOTAL	WHITE			NONWHITE		
		Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Number (Millions)							
Total urban increase, 1940–50.	22.0	18.8	8.9	9.8	3.3	1.6	1.7
Change in urban definition....	7.5	7.1	3.6	3.5	0.5	0.2	0.2
Urban increase, 1940–50, old definition.................	14.5	11.7	5.4	6.3	2.8	1.4	1.4
Natural increase.............	8.4	7.5	3.5	4.0	0.9	0.5	0.4
Net migration..............	3.9	2.2	0.9	1.3	1.7	0.8	0.9
Change in classification......	2.1	2.0	1.0	1.0	0.2	0.1	0.1
Component Composition							
Total......................	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Change in definition.........	34	38	40	36	14	14	14
Natural increase............	38	40	39	41	28	29	27
Net migration..............	18	12	10	13	54	52	55
Reclassification.............	10	11	11	10	5	5	5
Color and Sex Composition							
Change in definition.........	100	94	47	47	6	3	3
Natural increase............	100	89	42	47	11	5	5
Net migration..............	100	56	22	33	44	21	23
Reclassification.............	100	93	46	47	7	3	4

annexed and legal problems defeated the ef-
forts of the central cities at annexation. As
a consequence, the larger cities gradually
overflowed their boundaries and became
ringed with an urban fringe which had the
characteristics of built-up residential areas
inside the city. This was in addition to nu-
merous settlements which sprang up about
the larger city and incorporated themselves
as separate cities. By census definitions, this
unincorporated and unannexed urban-like
settlement was defined as rural.

Another deficiency in the old urban defini-
tion manifested itself as numerous small and
unincorporated places located at some dis-
tance from other centers grew until they at-
tained the size and characteristics that
would permit them to be termed "urban"
save for their lack of a municipal charter.
(In many cases the growth was very slow
and spanned several decades.) Thus, insist-
ence upon municipal incorporation and the
use of city boundaries to identify and de-
limit urban population caused the census to
misclassify as rural a large and rapidly
growing urban population. Moreover, there
was every prospect that this situation would
become progressively worse at future
censuses.

At least three alternative solutions to the
problem of enumerating separately the ur-
ban population presented themselves: (a)
Minor civil division boundaries (townships
or their equivalent) could have been used to
delimit, as nearly as possible, the actual
limits of urban settlement. A disadvantage
of this procedure is that in numerous in-
stances it requires the inclusion of a consid-
erable amount of low-density population
(most of it rural-nonfarm) in the urban
category. (b) The "special rules" could have
been modified to include more areas, while
retaining the basic definition. This would
seem to be only a temporary, not a long-
range, solution to the problem. (c) The pres-
ent actual limits of urban settlement could
be determined, their boundaries established
without reference to legal or administrative
lines, and the boundaries used to define the
urban population. This third, most precise,

solution was adopted by the Bureau of the
Census for the 1950 enumeration.

The details of the new urban definition
and how the boundaries were established are
reported in the Introduction to all pub-
lished volumes of the 1950 Census of Popu-
lation.[4]

In brief, three kinds of areas are defined
as urban: (a) all places of 2,500 or more in-
corporated as municipalities—the basic ele-
ment of the old definition; (b) the densely
settled "urban fringe," including both incor-
porated and unincorporated areas, around
cities of 50,000 or more; and (c) unincorpo-
rated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more
outside any urban fringe. ("Urban fringes"
were defined as continuously built-up areas
outside the major city which comprise terri-
tory having an average density of about
2,000 persons per square mile.) Elements (b)
and (c) in this definition required that the
Census geographer establish, in advance of
the enumeration, boundaries for urban
fringes around cities of 50,000 or more and
for unincorporated places outside urban
fringes. A city of 50,000, together with its
urban fringe, is termed an "urbanized area."
A total of 157 of the large urbanized areas
was recognized under element (b) of the
definition. This element of the new defini-
tion added a net increase of 6.2 million per-
sons to the urban category.

Element (c) of the new definition led to
the inclusion of the population of 401 unin-
corporated places in the urban category.
After allowing for population that would
have been defined as urban under special
rule by the old definition, the net gain for
the urban population was 1.3 million per-
sons. Together, elements (b) and (c) led to a
net gain of 8.5 per cent for the urban popu-
lation and a loss of 12.2 per cent for the
rural.

If this mode of defining the urban popula-
tion is continued in the future, the bound-
aries of the major urban agglomerations
must be redefined in advance of each census.

[4] See, e.g., Bureau of the Census, *United States
Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. I: *Number of In-
habitants, U.S. Summary*, pp. xviii and xxiv.

Thus, the boundaries will not remain fixed but will change to follow the pattern of actual urban settlement. This definition has the following features which recommend it for social research:

1. It is probably as close an approximation to the truly urban population, as generally conceptualized, as has been achieved by any census and establishes a major precedent for the Bureau of the Census to abandon legal boundaries for delimiting statistical areas where to do so will improve the quality of the data.

2. It recognizes large built-up agglomerations (urbanized areas) as single urban entities instead of treating the many satellite cities within urbanized areas as separate.

3. It is flexible and can be adapted easily to future needs. Not only does it permit the future adjustment of boundaries of present urbanized areas but it also provides for the recognition of new urbanized areas at each census. If it proves necessary, urbanized areas contiguous to places of less than 50,000 inhabitants may be recognized. Also, if desired, the minimum average density may be either raised or lowered.

4. It makes individual urban clusters much more comparable. In the past, comparisons of cities or the urban-rural composition of states or regions has been complicated by differences in the location of their respective legal boundaries in relation to actual urban settlement as well as by differences in the effect of state laws upon the incorporation of small settlements.

The new definition has the following drawbacks for social research:

1. It is much more difficult than before for organizations other than the Bureau of the Census to collect and tabulate their own statistics by urban and rural areas. The private research worker or survey organization cannot classify data by urban and rural residence without performing the painstaking task of coding street addresses and mapping locations of residences. Informants no longer know whether they live inside or outside the boundaries used to define the urban population and can supply only an address or mapped location which must then be coded

from maps and listings of street addresses. This restriction includes the National Office of Vital Statistics, which now finds it virtually impossible and prohibitively expensive to allocate births and deaths by urban and rural residence as now defined.

2. Decennial rates of urban growth can be computed only with difficulty. Much of the income in urban population at each census actually will consist of people who have resided in the same area throughout the decade but who merely will be shifted from the rural to the urban category. This same situation has existed in the past, but the populations that were reclassified as urban were all the residents of individual incorporated places or minor civil divisions, for which data from previous censuses were available.

3. A great deal of expensive advance preparation is necessary. In the event of a wave of exceptionally stringent economy in government at some future date, the expense of determining urban boundaries in advance of a census might cause the urban definition to be dropped.

In order to bridge the gap between the old and the new definitions, the Bureau of the Census has published a few basic tabulations of data according to both definitions. With these data it is possible to arrive at estimates of the detailed changes which occurred between 1940 and 1950.

Table 1 presents rates of growth according to the old definition and estimated rates using the new definition. (These estimated rates are only rough approximations and may be in error by as much as 10 per cent.) Between 1940 and 1950 the urban population, as defined in 1950, grew by an estimated 22 per cent. This rate was 50 per cent greater than the average for the nation. The rural-nonfarm population (primarily suburban) is estimated to have grown at about the same rate. By the old definition the urban population is reported as growing at a rate only 35 per cent above the national average and less than one-half as fast as the rural-nonfarm population. The differences demonstrate the failure of the old definition to encompass new urban growth; instead, it

was attributing the added growth to rural-nonfarm areas. In retrospect, it appears that the slow growth of cities between 1940 and 1950, paralleled by a much higher rate of rural-nonfarm increase, may have been due in part to the definitions then current.

COMPONENTS OF URBAN GROWTH

The 22 million people gained by urban places between 1940 and 1950 has already been subdivided into a component of 7.5 million persons attributable to the change in definition and a component of 14.5 million attributable to growth according to old definitions. In turn, this latter figure should be broken into three major components to learn the sources from which cities are now drawing their growth.

Between 1940 and 1950 the urban population (old definition) increased in three ways:

a) Natural increase. Families residing in cities bore more children than persons were lost through death.

b) Net in-migration. More persons took up residence within cities than left cities for rural areas.

c) Reclassification of territory from rural to urban. At each new census several incorporated places are found to have attained a population of 2,500 or more, which permits their classification as urban. This procedure, normal under both the old as well as the new definition, can be a major source of growth, for the entire population resident in these areas (not merely the growth during the past decade) is removed from the rural and added to the urban classification. Between 1940 and 1950 a net total of 559 urban places, averaging 3,750 inhabitants each in 1950, passed from the rural to the urban category, by old definitions.

By population estimation procedures the urban and rural population changes between 1940 and 1950 have been subdivided into the above three components. Because the change in definition makes the task extraordinarily imprecise, estimates of the components of growth for the 1940-50 decade were made by two independent methods and the results compared. Table 2 presents what appears to be the best single estimate. Although the figures should be interpreted with caution, the following conclusions seem warranted:

a) The largest single component of urban growth between 1940 and 1950 was natural increase. Because of an upsurge in fertility, urban population produced unusually large annual crops of infants. Of the 22.0 million total increase, 8.4 millions, or 38 per cent of the total increase, is from this source.

b) In-migration, the second source, was comparatively much smaller. It has generally been supposed that cities have grown largely by in-migration from rural areas. During the past decade 3.9 million, or only 18 per cent of the total, came from this source. The rural population has diminished to a point where it can no longer be the major source of supply of urban growth. If cities are to grow in the future, natural increase probably must contribute by far the major share of the increase.

c) The reclassification of places from rural to urban added 2.1 million, or 10 per cent of the total urban increase. Although this is the smallest of the sources of growth, it is more than one-half as important as migration.

d) Of the net in-migration, a very large disproportion was nonwhite. Although one-tenth of the population of cities is nonwhite, over two-fifths (44 per cent) of the net in-migration was of nonwhite population. The urbanization of nonwhite population was one of the major changes of the 1940-50 decade.

e) The change in definition and reclassification tended to add white population in disproportion to their share of all urban population.

URBANISM AND SIZE OF PLACE

It might be supposed that there is some optimum or maximum size of city, beyond which growth stops because the place has become highly inefficient and undesirable as a place for living or carrying on economic activities. If such a maximum exists, either cities have not as yet surpassed it, or else exceeding it has not caused sufficient ill ef-

fects to prevent growth. In either event many cities in the United States are enormous. The New York urbanized area contained 12.2 million persons in 1950; the Chicago urbanized area contained 4.9 million, and ten other urbanized areas contained a million or more. Twenty-five of the urbanized areas had a 1950 population of 500,000 or more (Table 3). With decreasing size of cities the number of urban places increases. At the lower extreme there were

TABLE 3

POPULATION OF URBANIZED AREAS AND OTHER
URBAN AREAS, BY SIZE OF PLACE, 1950

Type of Area and Size of Place	Num-ber of Places	Per Cent of Total Popu-lation	Per Cent of Ur-ban Popu-lation
Total...........................	......	64.0	100.0
Urban, within urbanized areas, total.	157*	46.0	71.8
Areas of 1,000,000 or more.......	12	25.1	39.2
Areas of 500,000 to 1,000,000.....	13	5.8	9.1
Areas of 250,000 to 500,000.......	24	5.8	9.0
Areas of 100,000 to 250,000.......	70	7.2	11.3
Areas of 50,000 to 100,000........	38	2.1	3.2
Urban, outside urbanized areas, total.	3,253	18.1	28.2
Places of 50,000 or more.........	21	0.8	1.2
Places of 25,000 to 50,000........	172	3.9	6.2
Places of 10,000 to 25,000........	547	5.5	8.5
Places of 5,000 to 10,000.........	908	4.1	6.5
Places of 2,500 to 5,000..........	1,605	3.7	5.8

* Comprises central city, satellite cities, and unincorporated urban fringe.

1,605 urban places containing 2,500–5,000 inhabitants in 1950. Table 3 shows that the 157 urbanized areas contained 46 per cent of the nation's population and 71.8 per cent of its urban population. The 3,253 other urban places contained only 18.1 per cent of the total population and 28.2 per cent of the urban population. Hence, a large proportion not only of the urban population but of all population is concentrated in large urban agglomerations.

Figure 1 traces the rise of the big cities from 1790 to 1950. This illustration fails to show the full extent of the present concentration in large urban places, however, because in it the populations of satellite cities within urbanized areas are classified according to their independent size. It also reports the urban population added by the new ur-

ban definition as a separate entity, instead of distributing it among the size classes of cities. This was necessary in order to achieve comparability with the preceding censuses. Nevertheless, the figure illustrates in a general way the speed with which the population has become concentrated in the larger places.

The characteristics of the urban population tend to vary in several significant ways with changes in the size of the urban place. In other words, the concentration of population into larger agglomerations appears to have an independent effect upon population composition, in addition to the fact of residence. What these effects and conditions are can be learned by examining the population characteristics in terms of the size-of-place continuum.[5]

URBANISM AND METROPOLITANISM

The phenomenon of growth of cities to large size and the fact that large cities acquire unique attributes have given rise to a theory that major cities are focal points in the economic and social organization of modern industrial-commercial nations. From piecemeal evidence it appears that, as a nation becomes highly industrialized and committed to a system of interregional commerce and industry, its economic activities tend to be located with reference to large urban centers, or metropolises, as well as to natural resources and available raw materials. The specific forces and factors that produce a concentration of population and economic activities in metropolitan centers and distribute the remainder in a metropolitan hinterland have not been measured or studied in detail. Among its advantages are, one may say tentatively, low transportation costs, a concentrated market, a joint location for several industries, a large and varied labor supply, a large and varied supply of employment opportunities, and the opportunity for wholesalers and manufacturers to assemble a wide range of items. Also, busi-

[5] Otis Dudley Duncan and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *Urban and Rural Communities of the United States: A Study in Social Morphology*, "Monograph Series of the United States Census Bureau," to be published by John Wiley & Sons.

ness management tends to locate sales offices and its home office in large centers to have ready access to other business management, financial institutions, and good transportation and communication facilities. The term "dominance" has been used as a class name to refer to the combined force of these factors in determining location. New economic units seeking to establish themselves, or old ones seeking to expand their activities, find that these forces are integral parts of the environment over which they have no control and to which they must adjust. Since they emanate from the metropolis and tend to locate activities with respect to the latter, large metropolitan centers are said to be dominant in determining the distribution of population and economic activities. Not an insignificant aspect of the dominant role of the metropolitan centers is the fact that medium-size and small cities, as well as dispersed rural populations, appear to perform their functions with reference to the metropolitan centers, while they themselves exert a more limited and integrative influence upon the territory about them. Thus metropolitan centers are dominant conditioners of the physical environment in the modern industrial-commercial society, while the smaller urban places are subdominant environmental conditioners.

A most familiar aspect of metropolitan dominance is the fact that a large territory outside the metropolis is directly under the influence of the metropolitan center. This territory corresponds approximately to what one would regard as the combined labor market and retail trade area of the metropolis. Since transportation facilities now make it possible to live several miles distant from the place of work, a broad ring outside the urban fringe but adjacent to it is growing rapidly. A high proportion of the population in this ring is rural-nonfarm. Many new factories and other business establishments are locating themselves there. Even the rural-farm population in this zone differs from the farm population elsewhere, for there are numerous residential farms, part-time farms, and specialized farms. After all these aspects

are considered, it is evident that the economic and social entity that may be termed "the metropolis and its immediate environs" or "metropolitan area" is much greater in scope than either the central city or even the urbanized area.

In order to provide separate statistics for these areas under direct and daily metropolitan influence, the Bureau of the Census recognized, at the 1950 census, 168 large population clusters that were termed "standard metropolitan areas." They consist of whole counties. In brief, a standard metropolitan area consists of the county containing a central city of 50,000 or more inhabitants plus any adjacent counties that also appear to be metropolitan in character and socially and economically integrated with the central city.[6] The delimitation of standard metropolitan areas was made with the co-operation of several agencies of the federal government. It is based upon a great amount of research, inquiry, and consultation with local authorities. Like the new urban and rural definitions, the use of standard metropolitan areas as statistical areas was an innovation of the 1950 census. However, by combining county statistics from each census since 1900, a recent monograph carries the standard metropolitan area definition back to cover the last half-century of population growth.[7] In order to accomplish this, 16 of the standard metropolitan areas of New England, which had been delimited along town lines by the Bureau of the Census, were redelimited along county lines. In some instances two or more New England standard metropolitan areas fall in the same county. For this reason it was necessary to combine some S.M.A.'s (the common abbreviation) while forming the county equivalent areas. This reduced the total number of

[6] For the full definition, including rules for determining whether adjacent counties are integrated, see U.S. Bureau of the Census, *United States Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. I: *Number of Inhabitants, U.S. Summary*, pp. xxxi–xxxiii.

[7] Donald J. Bogue, *Population Growth in Standard Metropolitan Areas, 1900–1950, with an Explanatory Analysis of Urbanized Areas* (Washington, D.C.: Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1953).

S.M.A.'s to 162. The S.M.A. definition was extended to earlier censuses only for "principal S.M.A.'s," those with 100,000 or more total population at a given census. Tables 4 and 5 present data for the S.M.A.'s as thus modified for the half-century, 1900–1950.

In 1950, 56.8 per cent of the population of the United States lived in the 162 S.M.A.'s.

These areas covered only 7.1 per cent of the total land area of the nation. Thus, considerably more than one-half of the total population was concentrated in one-fourteenth of the land area.

In the past half-century there has been a trend toward an increase in the number of S.M.A.'s and toward a rising proportion of

TABLE 4*

GROWTH DATA FOR STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREAS, RETRO-
JECTED TO EARLIER CENSUSES, 1900–1950

CENSUS YEAR	NUMBER OF S.M.A.'s	POPULATION (MILLIONS)	PER CENT OF U.S. POPULATION	RATE OF GROWTH DURING PRECEDING DECADE			PER CENT OF TOTAL U.S. POPULATION GROWTH CLAIMED BY S.M.A.'s DURING PRECEDING DECADE
				U.S. Total	Standard Metropolitan Areas	Nonmetropolitan Areas	
All S.M.A.'s, 1950..	162	85.6	56.8	14.5	21.8	6.0	80.6
Principal S.M.A.'s:							
1950............	147	84.3	56.0	14.5	21.8	6.3	79.3
1940............	125	67.1	51.1	7.2	8.3	6.2	57.7
1930............	115	61.0	49.8	16.1	27.0	7.1	76.2
1920............	94	46.1	43.7	14.9	25.2	8.1	67.6
1910............	71	34.5	37.6	21.0	32.6	15.0	53.1
1900............	52	24.1	31.9	20.7	....	....	....

* Source: Bogue, *Population Growth in Standard Metropolitan Areas, 1900–1950* (Washington, D.C., 1953).

TABLE 5*

GROWTH DATA FOR CENTRAL CITIES AND RINGS OF STANDARD METRO-
POLITAN AREAS, RETROJECTED TO EARLIER CENSUSES, 1900–1950

CENSUS YEAR	NUMBER OF S.M.A.'s	PER CENT OF U.S. POPULATION		RATE OF GROWTH DURING PRECEDING DECADE			PER CENT OF TOTAL U.S. POPULATION GROWTH CLAIMED BY S.M.A.'s DURING PRECEDING DECADE	
		Central Cities	Rings	Metropolitan Areas, Total	Central Cities	Rings	Central Cities	Rings
All S.M,A.'s, 1950.	162	32.8	24.0	21.8	13.9	34.7	31.6	49.0
Principal S.M.A.'s:								
1950..........	147	32.3	23.8	21.8	13.7	34.8	30.7	48.6
1940..........	125	31.6	19.5	8.3	5.1	13.8	22.8	34.9
1930..........	115	31.8	18.0	27.0	23.3	34.2	43.3	32.9
1920..........	94	28.9	14.8	25.2	26.7	22.4	46.8	20.8
1910..........	71	25.0	12.7	32.6	35.3	27.6	37.4	15.7
1900..........	52	21.2	10.7	....	....	....	....	....

* Source: Bogue, *op. cit.*

the total population residing in the areas. The record of this trend is contained in Table 4. Had the S.M.A. delimitation been in effect in 1900, there would have been an estimated 52 areas. They would have contained less than one-third of the total population. At each succeeding census from 10 to 23 new S.M.A.'s would have been added. This, together with the better than average growth rate of S.M.A.'s already defined for earlier censuses, results in a steady rise in the proportion of the total United States population living in metropolitan areas. During every decade except one, the S.M.A.'s as defined for a particular time have grown 50 per cent faster than non-metropolitan areas and have claimed a disproportionately large share of the total national growth.

The band lying outside the central city but within the S.M.A. is generally termed the "metropolitan ring." During the 1900–1910 and the 1910–20 decades, central cities were growing faster than their rings (Table 5). However, in each decade since 1920, rings have been growing faster than the central cities. Early in the present century, rings had only about one-ninth of the population of the nation; they now have about one-fourth of the national population. Between 1900 and 1910 the rings claimed only about one-sixth of the total national population growth; in 1940–50 they claimed almost one-half. The gap between the growth rate of central cities and the growth rate of rings has become very large; between 1940 and 1950 rings grew almost two and one-half times as fast as central cities. This rapid growth is not confined to the band lying immediately outside the central city (the urban fringe). It is characteristic of a much broader area, much of which has a fairly low population density at the present. (The new urban definition excludes much of the area at the periphery of the city where new growth will occur during succeeding decades.)

To summarize: The larger metropolitan centers are poles to which a very large share of the new population and economic growth

are attracted. The sphere of this growth-stimulating influence is quite large. The number of metropolitan centers which exert such an influence is increasing. Meanwhile, except for a few isolated centers that will eventually become metropolitan centers, most of the nonmetropolitan territory grows much more slowly. The progressive urbanization of the population has been, from one point of view, a progressive metropolitanization of the population.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN POPULATION

A discussion of modern urbanism in the United States should include a listing of some of the principal ways in which urban populations differ from the present rural populations. While making such comparisons (using the old definition of urban population), it will be well to check some of our conceptions of the typical urban resident against the facts (Table 6).

Sex composition.—For many years the city has been noted for containing a preponderance of women. By failing to include suburban areas with their family groupings, the old urban definition tended to exaggerate this characteristic. In 1950, cities had a small (1.4 percentage-point) imbalance (51.4 minus 50.0 per cent) toward a deficiency of men. When allowance is made for armed forces overseas, for the tendency of the census to undercount young men in cities, and for the tendency for women to outlive men, the small sex differential reported in 1950 for urban areas loses much of its portentous significance.

Color, race, and nativity.—About 10 per cent of the urban population is nonwhite. As was indicated earlier, one of the most drastic compositional as well as growth changes that occurred during the 1940–50 decade was an extraordinary large increase in the nonwhite population (43 per cent, as compared with only 17.2 per cent for the white). This increase was characteristic for both Negroes and other nonwhite races. For many years cities have played the role of "melting pot" and have contained large pro-

TABLE 6

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION, BY URBAN AND RURAL
RESIDENCE, 1950, AND PER CENT CHANGE, 1940–50

CHARACTERISTIC	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION 1950			ESTIMATED PER CENT CHANGE 1940–50		
	Urban	Rural-Nonfarm	Rural-Farm	Urban	Rural-Nonfarm	Rural-Farm
Total................	100.0	100.0	100.0	19.5	43.2	−23.6
Sex, total population:						
Male.................	48.6	50.9	52.4	18.6	42.6	−24.1
Female...............	51.4	49.1	47.6	20.4	43.7	−23.1
Color, total population:						
White...............	89.9	91.3	85.5	17.2	43.4	−22.5
Nonwhite.............	10.1	8.7	14.5	43.5	40.4	−29.8
Race and nativity, total population:						
Native white..........	81.1	87.7	83.1	22.6	45.3	−21.8
Foreign-born white......	8.8	3.6	2.4	− 7.1	−18.3	−39.5
Negro................	9.7	8.0	13.7	43.2	38.0	−29.8
Other races...........	0.3	0.7	0.8	....	....	....
Marital status, population fourteen years and over:						
Single...............	22.7	22.3	26.1	−18.7	12.6	−41.1
Married..............	66.1	68.1	67.2	31.2	48.5	−16.6
Widowed and divorced..	11.5	9.6	6.7	29.5	43.9	−28.4
Age, total population:						
Under 5 years........	10.1	12.1	11.4	75.8	87.9	−12.9
5–9 years............	7.8	10.0	11.1	33.7	56.8	−18.7
10–14 years...........	6.3	8.2	10.7	− 5.5	24.3	−26.9
15–19 years...........	6.4	7.5	9.2	−12.3	13.0	−37.0
20–24 years...........	8.0	7.6	6.1	5.9	25.8	−43.7
25–29 years...........	8.7	7.9	5.9	14.5	38.5	−34.5
30–34 years...........	8.1	7.4	6.0	13.5	40.4	−23.9
35–39 years...........	7.8	7.0	6.5	17.5	47.9	−13.8
40–44 years...........	7.1	6.1	6.1	15.9	47.6	−14.6
45–49 years...........	6.4	5.2	5.6	12.1	36.3	−21.3
50–54 years...........	5.8	4.6	5.2	19.5	36.5	−21.5
55–59 years...........	5.0	4.1	4.7	32.2	44.9	−16.4
60–64 years...........	4.2	3.6	3.9	37.9	48.8	−15.0
65–69 years...........	3.4	3.3	3.2	42.3	51.9	−14.2
70–74 years...........	2.3	2.4	2.1	41.5	54.5	−12.3
75 years or older.......	2.5	2.9	2.3	56.7	67.4	− 6.3
Educational attainment, population twenty-five years and over:						
No school completed....	2.3	2.7	3.1	−24.8	20.2	−46.9
Grade school (1–8 years).	39.5	49.3	62.5	− 8.3	28.0	−28.4
High school (1–4 years)..	40.2	33.9	26.6	51.5	66.7	9.5
College (1–4 years)......	15.2	10.9	6.3	59.0	54.8	6.6
Education not reported..	2.7	3.2	1.5	....	....	....
Labor force status, population fourteen years and over (percentage in the labor force):						
White males..........	79.6	74.7	82.7	11.9	36.5	−23.5
White females.........	32.2	22.2	14.9	24.9	54.6	11.5
Nonwhite males...:....	76.4	67.4	82.8	31.3	22.7	−34.8
Nonwhite females.......	42.5	29.0	21.5	25.1	16.5	−37.4

TABLE 6—*Continued*

CHARACTERISTIC	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION 1950			ESTIMATED PER CENT CHANGE 1940–50		
	Urban	Rural-Nonfarm	Rural-Farm	Urban	Rural-Nonfarm	Rural-Farm
Major industry group, employed labor force:						
Agriculture.............	1.1	9.1	71.0	....	72.7	−25.1
Mining.................	0.9	4.9	1.3	....	19.5	....
Construction...........	6.0	8.9	3.1	63.3	89.6	28.7
Manufacturing.........	29.4	25.6	9.4	31.4	57.1	30.0
Transportation.........	9.0	7.4	2.1	35.5	54.5	24.9
Trade.................	21.9	18.0	4.3	33.7	57.3	23.6
Finance...............	4.4	1.9	0.5	22.8	....	....
Business services........	2.7	3.1	0.8	55.1	74.8	....
Personal services........	7.2	5.9	1.7	−15.5	6.3	....
Entertainment services..	1.2	0.8	0.1	....	....	....
Professional services.....	9.5	8.4	2.7	44.8	47.8	−12.0
Public administration...	5.2	4.0	1.2	74.8	81.4	....
Industry not reported...	1.3	1.9	1.8	....	....	....

portions of the foreign-born. In 1950 one resident in twelve was of foreign birth. Between 1940 and 1950 the foreign-born white population declined in all residence groups. It declined least among the urban population, however, for two reasons: First, a high proportion of the older immigrant groups that are dying out at the fastest rates had settled in rural territories. Second, a high proportion of the immigrants to the United States between 1940 and 1950 settled in urban areas.

Marital status.—Throughout the nation there was a very sharp decline in the proportion of single people in the population and a rise in the proportion of married people. This change occurred primarily through a higher proportion of persons marrying in their late teens and early twenties. Cities lead this very significant change. When allowance is made for differences in total growth rate, the recent tendency toward marriage at younger ages appears considerably greater in urban areas than in rural. In 1950 there were almost one-fifth fewer unmarried persons living in cities than in 1940, in spite of the net cityward migration of young adults. In the city a greater proportion of persons are widowed or divorced than in rural areas.

Age.—City populations also have been noted for their youthful age composition. Although the tendency has been to have small proportions of children, by virtue of low birth rates, they have tended to have a larger than average proportion of young adults in comparison with older adults. However, this characteristic has now largely disappeared, and elderly people are comprising an increasing proportion of the total urban population. In 1950, for example, the ratio of persons twenty to forty to persons forty and over in urban and rural areas was as follows: urban .89; rural-nonfarm .93; rural-farm .74. The most youthful population (excluding children) is now the rural-farm population. Although the rural-nonfarm population has the oldest age composition, it is only slightly different from the urban. Between 1940 and 1950 the older age groups in the urban population grew at extraordinarily rapid rates, while the population in young adult ages grew at only average rates or below.

The explanation for this aging is evident. The youthful generations of in-migrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which created a great urban expansion have remained and are now aged. Meanwhile, the rate of in-migration has slackened

sharply, as has been shown. This combination of events can lead only to a rapid advance in the proportion of aged people in the urban population. The process will continue for at least three more decades, barring very high urban fertility that would counteract it. The large streams of migrants that arrived in cities between 1900 and 1930 will be entering the older ages during these decades.

During the depression years between 1930 and 1940, the urban birth rate fell to a very low level. It rose again after 1940 and became very high in the middle and later years of the decade (see below). This trough and crest have left their imprint on the urban age structure. Between 1940 and 1950 there was an actual decline in the number of young people ten to nineteen years of age and an increase of 75 per cent in children under five years of age.

Educational attainment.—The urban population has a considerably higher average educational attainment than the rural population. The proportion of the population twenty-five years of age or older that had not graduated from grade school was only about two-fifths of the urban population, whereas it was about two-thirds of the rural-farm, and more than one-half of the rural-nonfarm. On the other hand, the proportion of inhabitants with college training was about 50 per cent greater among the urban population than among the rural-nonfarm. It was two and one-half times that of the rural-farm population. Between 1940 and 1950 urban growth was highly selective of persons with high-school or college training.

Labor-force participation.—In urban areas women are participants in the labor force to a much greater extent than they are in rural areas. This is especially true of nonwhite women. Between 1940 and 1950 the labor force of urban areas underwent an extraordinary sex-color change. The number of white female participants increased at a rate more than twice that for white males. The number of nonwhite male participants increased at a rate almost three times that for white males. By 1950 the female and the

nonwhite segments of the urban labor force were very important and grew rapidly.

Industry.—Cities have a unique industrial and commercial composition that distinguishes them from both rural-farm and rural-nonfarm areas. Manufacturing is the largest single type of activity and occupies almost 30 per cent of the breadwinners (it does not differ greatly from the rural-nonfarm population in this respect). Types of manufacturing concentrated in urban areas differ considerably from those in rural areas. The proportions of employed workers engaged in transportation, trade, finance, personal services, entertainment services, professional services, and public administration are relatively greater in urban areas. On the other hand, the fact that all these specialized functions are performed in rural areas to some degree should not be overlooked. The significance of the statistics for rural areas is not clear at this point, however. Since the data are for workers classified by *place of residence* rather than by *place of work*, the data for the rural-nonfarm and the rural-farm population may reflect in part the custom of commuting to work in the central cities from the outer parts of standard metropolitan areas.

Fertility.—For more than a century before 1930, the general trend of fertility in the United States had been downward. City populations were considerably less fertile than rural populations. In the mid-1930's urban birth rates had sunk below the replacement level on a long-term basis. The crude birth rates (births per 1,000 population) for the nation began to rise in the late 1930's, and in the 1940's it rose to a peak well above the low point of the 1930's. After some fluctuation, associated with sending armed forces overseas and later demobilization, the birth rate remained high in 1950 (24.1 per thousand). For the year 1954 the rate will be at about its 1950 level, or roughly 30 per cent above its lowest point.

Because cities paced the long-run decline of fertility, it is of extraordinary interest to consider the urban populations during this interruption of the historic trend (Table 7).

The urban population experienced the same rise in fertility rates as the nation and appears to have experienced a greater percentage increase in fertility rates than the rural population. This is true for both the white and the nonwhite population. But the traditional urban-rural differential has remained. On a ratio basis, the differential is about as large in 1950 as it was in 1940 or 1930, but urban fertility ratios have fallen fewer points between 1930 and 1950 than the rural. This implies that the absolute size of the urban-rural differential has decreased. Urban fertility in 1950 was well above long-run replacement needs. Adverse effects attributable directly to the depression and disruptions created by World War II had largely been equalized by this time. The high rate of fertility for the nation in 1954 indicates that urban fertility also has remained at about its 1950 level. How long this higher-than-expected level of fertility,

and especially of urban fertility, will continue cannot be predicted with assurance now. In view of the earlier age at marriage, there is some indication that families are being started earlier and that these families will be completed younger in life. If this is true, urban families of the future may not be so large as it might otherwise appear. A half-dozen or more years will be required before the full implications of the fertility upsurge can be stated. Meanwhile, urban fertility is currently at a much higher level than appeared probable twenty years ago, and there is a good prospect that this situation will persist for some time. However, it should be remembered that urban births, even more than rural births, are subject to planning—both as to ultimate size of family and timing of the arrival of children. In an economic crisis urban fertility may drop precipitously.

TABLE 7

NATALITY IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1930–50

MEASURE OF NATALITY AND YEAR	UNITED STATES TOTAL	URBAN*			RURAL*		
		Total	White	Nonwhite	Total	White	Nonwhite
Crude birth rate:†							
1950	24.1	22.9	22.0	30.6	25.8	24.5	37.1
1940	19.4	17.1	16.7	20.5	22.5	21.1	32.5
Per cent change, 1940–50	24	34	32	49	15	16	14
Fertility rate:‡							
1950	106.2	95.6	93.2	114.2	123.7	117.1	180.5
1940	79.9	65.1	64.7	69.0	102.8	97.0	143.0
Per cent change, 1940–50	33	47	44	66	20	21	26
Ratio of children to women:§							
1950	587	504	499	541	732	701	1,016
1940	441	334	333	349	618	589	825
1930	517	404	407	369	708	691	813
Per cent change, 1940–50	33	51	50	55	18	19	23
Per cent change, 1930–40	−15	−17	−18	− 5	−13	−15	1
Per cent change, 1930–50	14	25	23	47	3	1	25

* Crude birth rates and fertility rates adjusted for underregistration and misreporting residence, 1940 and 1950.

† Live births per 1,000 population, corrected for underregistration, enumerated as of April 1, for 1940 and 1950.

‡ Live births corrected for underregistration per 1,000 female population aged fifteen to forty-four years, enumerated a: o April 1, 1940 and 1950.

§ Ratio of children zero to five years, corrected for underenumeration, to women twenty to forty-four years of age a of census date.

QUALIFICATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The above quick picture of urbanism in the United States is seriously deficient in one major respect; it neglects distribution. The changes and trends noted for the nation are merely averages of changes and trends in individual urban places. Recent research on this topic has shown that what appears to be a consistent and orderly change at the national or regional level actually is a combination of local changes which frequently run counter to each other and are responsive to forces very different from those considered at the national level. Therefore, the material presented here should be taken as description but not as explanation.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the significance for all social science of certain elements of the broad picture of urbanism presented here. In the United States the cultural milieu is now predominantly an urbanized and metropolitanized one, and attitude climates are, for the most part, urban climates. Social institutions are, by and large, urban institutions: family life and religious activity are not withering away in the urban milieu but are adapting to it. In a high percentage of cases the socialization and personality-formation process now occurs in an urban setting. People in cities make friends and engage in face-to-face interaction. Unfortunately, much sociological theory and research tends to overlook these facts.

The older research in urban communities is sometimes incomplete if not misleading. Much of the data employed in older studies was unrepresentative in two ways. First, many urban studies have concentrated on the area of lowest incomes and greatest social nonconformity. Second, a high proportion of samples were drawn from immigrants and other newly arrived groups in young and rapidly growing cities. In addition, the rural society was frequently used as a control group. Many accepted sociological assertions about cities in general are based upon social studies which together do not represent all phases of urbanism and which were not arrived at by careful use of modern research techniques.

The urban environment is a setting for a series of social problems, such as crime or delinquency and hostile race relations. To attribute these as inevitable results of urbanism and to specify that disorganization is necessarily the predominant characteristic of urban social process is to commit the same methodological mistake geographers made a generation ago when they attempted to relate climatic conditions to personality types. Within the next century the present built-up urban territory of the nation will probably double or treble in size. Meanwhile, at least one-half of what now exists will be torn down and replaced. Present physical structures will constitute a small portion of the cities of the year 2050. Planning for this building and rebuilding and long-range social work based on scientific research should be able to reduce present inadequacies of the urban environment. Renewed social research upon the urban community, from an objective point of view, using representative samples of data and modern research techniques, should produce much of the knowledge that social engineers will need in order to handle social problems which, in the nature of the case, will be largely urban problems.

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LAND VALUE PATTERNS IN OKAYAMA, JAPAN, 1940 AND 1952[1]

AMOS H. HAWLEY

ABSTRACT

Although 63 per cent of Okayama's buildings were destroyed by bombing, the center of population in 1952 was at the same point as in 1939, but more widely scattered. The land-value distribution exhibited a fairly smooth gradient in both 1940 and 1952, with very slight differences: the postwar city appears to have essentially the same pattern of land use as the prewar city. The effects on values of frontage on major thoroughfares and of proximity to secondary points of traffic flow are similar to those in Western cities.

The city of Okayama offers an interesting opportunity to observe urban structure in Japan. A provincial city, Okayama is located in the Inland Sea region of western Japan. Developed as a castle town during the Tokugawa shogunate its situation at a convenient and defensible crossing of the Asahi River and near the point where the Asahi empties into the Inland Sea has made it in recent years an important service center.

The growth of the city until World War II was largely an unguided accretion of settlement around the original grid of narrow streets and passageways laid down by the Daimyo two hundred and fifty or more years ago. Growth was pulled first westward in 1891 by the building of the railroad station on the then western edge of the city, but since the early years of the twentieth century the city seems to have expanded fairly uniformly in all directions. By 1940 Okayama possessed a disorderly array of streets, many only two meters in width, and buildings ill adapted to the requirements of a modern city. That condition changed abruptly on the night of June 29, 1945. In a single air raid 63 per cent of the built-up section of the city was destroyed. Thus Okayama was presented, as were many other Japanese cities, with an unusual opportunity for redevelopment.

This paper attempts to answer two questions. First, to what extent are certain land-value patterns that characterize Western

cities also observable in a Japanese city? Second, what changes in the land-value patterns have occurred between 1940 and 1952?

A most striking fact is that the center' or median points in the distribution of population were identical (Fig. 1) in 1939 and 1953.[2] In other words, despite the extensive destruction sustained by the city during the war, population after the war had resumed its prewar distribution by quadrants.

That fact gains in interest when the percentage changes of population within 0.5-km. distance zones from the population center are observed. Between 1939 and 1948 (Table 1), population in the area within 2 km. of the center declined sharply, while, in the area beyond, 2.5 km. from the center, very large increases occurred. The redistribution resulting from war damage was doubtless greater than that shown, for by 1948 a considerable amount of reconstruction had been accomplished. From 1948 to 1953 there was a large return of population to the inner zones of the city, which seems to have occurred at the expense of zones beyond 1.5 km. of the center. But as late as 1953 the inner zones still showed population deficits as compared to 1939. In fact, the concentration of population was considerably less in 1953 than it had been in the prewar year (Table 2). Whereas, for example, 62.2 per cent of the population resided within 1.5 km. of the demographic center in

[2] These are the most proximate years to the dates selected for land-value observations for which population data were available by *cho*. The *cho* is a name for an administrative subdivision of a city. It has an average population of about 1,200.

1939, the percentage within that radius in 1953 was 52.6.

It seems improbable that population will ever return to its prewar density, particularly in the inner zones of the city. The ambitious planning program which was joined with reconstruction in the postwar years more than doubled the amount of land de-

I. CASTLE SITE	3. HIGH VALUE POINT, 1940
2. RAILWAY STATION	4. HIGH VALUE POINT, 1952
5. POPULATION CENTER, 1939 AND 1953	

FIG. 1.—Interior section of Okayama, Japan

voted to streets and roads. Virtually all the shift of land from residential and business to street and road uses occurred in the interior portion of the city, i.e., within 1.5 km. of the center. Motor-vehicle registrations in Okayama Prefecture increased fivefold between 1940 and 1952, and, though the number is still comparatively small[3] by American standards, the greatly increased range and volume of daily circulations cannot fail to have a scattering effect on population and its activities.

Whether the wider spread of Okayama's population was accompanied by changes in the land-value pattern of the city remains to be seen. The prior question, however, concerns the kind of land-value pattern that

[3] Motor-vehicle registrations numbered approximately 10,400 in a population of 260,000.

existed in Okayama prior to World War II.

Land values, at least so far as the study of urban structure is concerned, are significant as indexes of the intensity of land use. Presumably, the value of a unit of land at any moment in time results from competition among alternative uses of it, the value being fixed by the use with the largest rent- or interest-paying capacity. Intensity of use

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE CHANGE OF POPULATION, BY DISTANCE FROM POPULATION CENTER *

Kilometers from Population Center	1939–48	1948–53	1939–53
Total city...	−19.4	15.4	− 7.0
0.0–0.4.......	−45.0	30.4	−28.3
0.5–0.9.......	−41.2	28.8	−24.3
1.0–1.4.......	−33.0	25.9	−15.9
1.5–1.9.......	−15.9	7.4	− 6.9
2.0–2.4.......	3.3	0.4	3.7
2.5–2.9.......	38.7	6.6	47.8
3.0–3.4.......	43.8	−10.6	18.9
3.5–3.9.......	40.3	33.0	86.6
4.0–4.4.......	25.1	4.0	26.6
4.5 and over..	30.7	−27.2	−22.3

* Area of 1939 employed in 1948 and 1953.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY DISTANCE FROM POPULATION CENTER*

KILOMETERS FROM POPULATION CENTER	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION			CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION		
	1939	1948	1953	1939	1948	1953
Total city .	100.0	100.0	100.0	.....	.....	.....
0.0–0.4.....	10.4	7.1	8.0	10.4	7.1	8.0
0.5–0.9.....	24.8	18.1	20.2	35.2	25.2	28.2
1.0–1.4.....	27.0	22.4	24.4	62.2	47.6	52.6
1.5–1.9.....	13.2	13.8	13.2	75.4	61.4	65.8
2.0–2.4.....	8.1	10.4	9.0	83.5	71.8	74.8
2.5–2.9.....	9.9	17.0	15.7	93.4	88.8	90.5
3.0–3.4.....	1.1	1.4	1.0	94.5	90.2	91.5
3.5–3.9.....	2.8	4.8	5.6	97.3	95.0	97.1
4.0–4.4.....	0.4	0.6	0.6	97.7	95.6	97.7
4.5 and over.	2.3	4.4	2.3	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Area of 1939 employed in 1948 and 1953.

and rent- or interest-paying capacity are treated here as virtually synonymous concepts. It follows, therefore, that the distribution of land values may be regarded as describing the variations of land-use intensity.

In lieu of actual market values of land, the data employed here are the assessed valuations recorded in the Okayama municipal tax office. Such an alternative presents no difficulties, if it may be assumed that all assessed values of a given year bear a uniform relationship to the respective market values of that year. That assumption is more tenable in connection with the 1952 data than it is with the 1940 data. Assessments in 1940 were based on the estimated annual rental values of land in 1936. The estimates, however, were not systematically derived. In contrast, all property in the city was reassessed in 1951 on the basis of a formula patterned on procedures currently in use in United States cities.[4] The increases in assessments from 1940 to 1952, even when the 1952 assessed values are adjusted to the 1940 value of the yen, averaged 776.12 per cent.[5] In view of this extraordinary increase, comparisons of absolute values for the two years are almost meaningless. But, since the concern in the present paper is with land-value patterns rather than with values as such, relative measures of value are adequate.

The data employed in the following analysis include a one-tenth of 1 per cent sample of all parcels in the city in 1940 and in 1950 and a 10 per cent sample of selected business sites for each of the two years.

In 1940 the point of highest land value[6] was located on the northeast corner of the intersection of F and K streets, as shown in Figure 1.[7] By 1950 the maximum-value

[4] The 1952 assessments are said to represent about 50 per cent of the market value.

[5] Average assessed values in 1940 and 1952 (adjusted) were 1.55 and 13.58 yen per tsubo (3.4 square meters).

[6] The point of highest value is defined as the midpoint between the three highest value locations found in a 10 per cent sample of the business-district properties.

point had shifted 200 meters northward along Street K, which is a pedestrian arcade and the principal retail shopping street of the city. The maximum-value point has been moving toward the center of the population: in the latter year the two points were less than 100 meters apart (Fig. 1). If the center of population identifies the most ac-

TABLE 3

MEAN LAND VALUE AND DISPERSION, BY
DISTANCE FROM HIGHEST VALUE POINT

KILOMETERS FROM POINT OF HIGHEST VALUE	MEAN VALUE PER TSUBO* (YEN)		STANDARD DEVIATION		COEFFICIENT OF VARIATION	
	1940	1952†	1940	1952	1940	1952
Total sample.	1.55	13.58	2.35	19.38	151.5	142.7
Point of highest value....	24.67	355.20	.....	.....	.....	....
0.0–0.4..	5.12	114.17	4.19	77.64	81.9	68.0
0.5–0.9..	3.76	49.87	4.37	41.99	116.2	84.2
1.0–1.4..	1.53	23.24	1.40	23.70	98.1	102.0
1.5–1.9..	1.03	16.22	0.86	7.75	83.8	47.8
2.0–2.4..	0.59	10.42	0.25	6.34	42.3	60.9
2.5–2.9..	0.37	6.73	0.19	3.77	51.3	56.0
3.0–3.4..	0.24	4.99	0.06	1.26	26.7	25.2
3.5–3.9..	0.29	6.34	0.08	1.20	28.1	18.9
4.0–4.4..	0.26	4.04	0.08	0.59	31.0	14.5
4.5 and over...	0.28	2.49	0.05	1.00	19.4	▓40.0

* A tsubo is equivalent to 3.4 square meters.

† 1952 values are adjusted to the 1940 value of the yen, on the basis of the ratio supplied by the Bank of Japan.

cessible site from the standpoint of intramural traffic in Okayama, then it may be said that the maximum-value point has tended to move toward a location of greater accessibility.

When all land values in the 1940 and 1952 samples are tabulated by 0.5-km. distance, zones from their respective points of highest values and the means for each 0.5-km. distance zone are computed (Table 3), it becomes clear that average values decline con-

[7] Okayama streets, as is characteristic of many Japanese cities, are not named. Hence the letter designations are supplied arbitrarily to aid the discussion.

tinuously and smoothly with distance from the maximum-value point in both years, except in the 3.5–3.9-km. zone. As in Western cities, the greater the distance from the most accessible site, the lower the value of land and presumably the fewer are its alternative uses. The gradients for the two years exhibit no significant difference in that respect.

TABLE 4

RATIOS OF MEAN VALUES IN DISTANCE ZONES TO SAMPLE MEANS AND TO HIGHEST VALUES

KILOMETERS FROM POINT OF HIGHEST VALUE	PERCENTAGE RATIO OF MEAN VALUE IN ZONE			
	To Mean Value of Sample		To Highest Value	
	1940	1952	1940	1952
Highest value	1,591.6	2,615.6	100.0	100.0
0.0–0.4...	330.3	840.7	20.8	32.1
0.5–0.9...	242.6	367.2	15.2	14.0
1.0–1.4...	98.7	171.1	6.2	6.5
1.5–1.9...	66.4	119.4	4.2	4.6
2.0–2.4...	38.1	76.7	2.4	2.9
2.5–2.9...	23.9	49.5	1.5	1.9
3.0–3.4...	15.5	36.7	1.0	1.4
3.5–3.9...	18.7	46.7	1.2	1.8
4.0–4.4...	16.8	29.7	1.0	1.1
4.5 and over...	18.1	18.3	1.1	0.7

Deviations from the mean values of land are highest in the inner zones (Table 3) and tend to diminish with increasing distances from the central points. The largest deviation in 1940 occurred in the 0.5–0.9-km. zone, and in 1952 the largest deviation was found in the 1.0–1.4-km. zone. No satisfactory explanation of that shift is at hand; it may mean that the area devoted primarily to business use has expanded, pushing outward the zone in which land speculation is most prevalent. The 1952 values, for example, bear a higher ratio to the average value for that year, especially near the center, than was the case in 1940 (Table 4).

The variations of land value within zones are probably in part a result of the transportation advantages enjoyed by lots fronting on the principal traffic arteries leading from the interior to the outer sections of the city (Table 5).[8] In 1940 difference attributable to transportation ended about 2 km. from the center. In 1952, on the other hand, the influence of transportation was exerted in all distance zones.

The irregularities of values within zones may also be due partly to the presence of other centers of attraction for population and therefore for business activity, such as the railway station. A value gradient is evident both in 1940 and in 1952 (Table 6),

TABLE 5

RATIOS OF MEAN VALUES TO HIGHEST VALUES BY TRANSPORTATION LOCATION AND DISTANCE

KILOMETERS FROM POINT OF HIGHEST VALUE	1940		1952	
	Radial Thoroughfares	All Others	Radial Thoroughfares	All Others
0.0–0.4....	31.7	19.7	33.7	31.6
0.5–0.9....	13.7	15.6	18.2	13.3
1.0–1.4....	11.5	5.7	10.1	6.1
1.5–1.9....	6.6	3.8	7.2	4.1
2.0–2.4....	2.7	2.3	3.7	2.5
2.5 and over	1.4	1.4	1.7	0.9

TABLE 6

RATIOS OF MEAN VALUES, BY DISTANCE FROM RAILWAY STATION, TO AVERAGE CITY LAND VALUES

Kilometers from Railway Station	1940	1952
0.00–0.24..........	452.25	813.49
.25– .49..........	342.58	524.47
.50– .74..........	196.12	272.62
0.75–0.99..........	60.00	128.51

[8] The radial routes, though defined as the principal routes leading from the interior of the city into the hinterland, are used preponderantly for intracity traffic. There is relatively little intercity highway traffic in western Japan, and even the commuter and other traffic with the immediately surrounding area moves almost entirely by rail.

being, however, somewhat steeper in 1940 than in 1952. That change suggests increased importance of the railway station as a focal point for traffic.

Another area of attraction is a secondary business district in Hokancho (Street B in Fig. 1), located 1.5–2.5 km. from the point of highest land value. Land abutting on this single-street business district had an average value in 1940 of 4.86 yen per tsubo and in 1952 of 54.12 yen per tsubo, or, expressed as percentage ratios to the city averages, the relative values were 240.65 and 340.96, respectively. These measures are considerably higher than those shown in Table 4 for all land at comparable distances from the highest value points.

The difference between the Hokancho relatives for 1940 and those for 1952 is less than that for equivalent distances from the center. In other words, it appears that Hokancho values have not kept pace with other values in their respective zones, despite the fact that the temporary location of the prefectural offices (Kencho) on the west side of the city has created a large amount of pedestrian traffic through the Hokancho. Perhaps the very temporariness of that location has tended to discourage land speculation where it might otherwise have occurred.

From the data presented it is clear that the distribution of land values in Okayama is similar to that obtaining in Western cities. There is in both instances a fairly uniform decline of land values with distance from the focal point in the central business district. Apparently, a centripetal tendency toward maximum accessibility, with the resultant competition for sites, operates in Okayama as in cities in the United States and Europe. Moreover, land values in Okayama are also sensitive to other conditions, such as frontage on principal thoroughfares and proximity to secondary points of traffic convergence. This is not to say, however, that there are no important differences between the distribution of land use in Okayama and that in Western cities. The intensity of occupancy, the intermingling of agricultural and

urban uses, and the absence of clearly marked areas of segregation are but a few seemingly distinctive features of Okayama and other comparable Japanese cities.

Between 1940 and 1952 the point of highest land value moved northward some 200 meters, drawing closer to the center of the population, and there was a noticeable diffusion of high values to outer zones of the city, perhaps induced by the scattering of population from the congested interior. But these changes did not alter the essential patterns that obtained in 1940, notwithstanding the extensive destruction and reconstruction that intervened.[9] In all probability the observed changes would have occurred in the absence of war damage as normal consequences of city growth.

The failure of the nearly complete destruction of Okayama's physical structure to have wrought any significant alterations in the land-value patterns, despite the attempt at planned reconstruction, was due in large part to the fact that landownership remained intact. The existence of 170,000 ownership claims to parcels arranged upon a grid of established streets and avenues creates a formidable inertia to any tendency toward radical change. There was, nevertheless, a fairly successful program of street-widening. But that effort was limited mainly to selected streets and included only a few minor alterations of the prewar system. Thus the persistence of the original framework in which population and land use were distributed seems to have permitted an almost complete restoration of the pre-existing distribution.

Planning appears to have provided no deterrent to the re-establishment of prewar patterns, even though it found support in comprehensive legislation and substantial appropriations for the maintenance of planning staffs. There are doubtless several reasons for this, foremost being the inadequacy of funds. Japan's impoverished economy

[9] A similar finding pertaining to European cities has been reported by Fred Ikle in "The Effect of War Destruction upon the Ecology of Cities," *Social Forces*, XXIX (May, 1951), 383–91.

could ill afford the huge financial outlays required for the enormous redevelopment task confronting it, a condition that became even more stringent with the advance of inflation.

Of equal importance, perhaps, is the inexperience of the Japanese in matters of city and regional planning. Although much of their planning legislation was of prewar origin, some enacted as early as 1919, relatively little use was made of it. Thus the reconstruction efforts of the postwar years disclosed a general lack of understanding of planning and considerable confusion in its organization. As late as 1952, for example, no decision had been reached on the city of Okayama's share of the compensation to be paid to the former owners of land appropriated for public use. Again, in the construction of streets the city is responsible for the leveling and clearing of ground and related legal matters, and the prefectural government is responsible for filling and grading, gutters, and graveling, but the responsibility for paving is still unassigned. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the years following the war many uses of land reasserted themselves before planning agencies were able to exercise necessary controls.

These observations do not apply uniformly to all Japanese cities. Differences in local political conditions, in the amount of damage sustained, and in other related matters have placed some cities well ahead of others in recovery, and Okayama's redevelopment has been less rapid than that of some others. There is no evidence as yet, however, that war damage has significantly altered the pattern of land use in any city in Japan.

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RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION AND OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION[1]

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN AND BEVERLY DUNCAN

ABSTRACT

Ecological analysis is a promising approach to the study of urban social stratification, for differences in the residential distributions of occupation groups are found to parallel the differences among them in socioeconomic status and recruitment. The occupation groups at the extremes of the socioeconomic scale are the most segregated. Residential concentration in low-rent areas and residential centralization are inversely related to socioeconomic status. Inconsistencies in the ranking of occupation groups according to residential patterns occur at points where there is evidence of status disequilibrium.

The idea behind this paper was forcibly stated—in fact, somewhat overstated—by Robert E. Park: "It is because social relations are so frequently and so inevitably correlated with spatial relations; because physical distances so frequently are, or seem to be, the indexes of social distances, that statistics have any significance whatever for sociology. And this is true, finally, because it is only as social and psychical facts can be reduced to, or correlated with, spatial facts that they can be measured at all."[2]

This study finds a close relationship between spatial and social distances in a metropolitan community. It suggests that a systematic consideration of the spatial aspect of stratification phenomena, though relatively neglected by students of the subject,[3] should be a primary focus of urban stratification studies. Aside from demonstrating the relevance of human ecology to the theory of social organization, the study offers further evidence for the suitability of a particular set of methodological techniques for research in comparative urban ecology.[4] These techniques are adaptable to a wide variety of problems in urban ecological structure, permit economical and objective comparisons among communities, and thus overcome some of the indeterminacy of a strictly cartographic approach. The techniques are here applied to only one metropolitan community, Chicago; however, comparative studies, conducted on an exploratory basis, indicate their ability to produce significant results.

DATA AND METHOD

The sources of data for this study, except as noted otherwise, were the published volume of 1950 census tract statistics for Chicago and adjacent areas[5] (coextensive with the Chicago Metropolitan District, as delineated in 1940), and the census-tract summary punch cards for this area obtained from the Bureau of the Census. The ecological analysis pertains to employed males fourteen years old and over, classified into the eight major occupation groups listed in

[2] "The Urban Community as a Spatial Pattern and a Moral Order," in *The Urban Community*, ed. Ernest W. Burgess (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), p. 18.

[3] See, however, the discussion of "dwelling area" by W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *Social Class in America* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949), pp. 151–54.

[4] Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes," forthcoming in *American Sociological Review;* Donald J. Bogue, *The Structure of the Metropolitan Community* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1949), p. 72; Richard W. Redick, "A Study of Differential Rates of Population Growth and Patterns of Population Distribution in Central Cities in the United States: 1940–1950" (paper presented at the 1954 annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Urbana, Illinois).

[5] *1950 United States Census of Population*, Bulletin P-D10.

the tables below. The occupation groups disregarded in this analysis (farmers and farm managers, farm laborers, private household workers, and occupation not reported) include only twenty-one thousand of the one and a half million employed males in the Metropolitan District.

A portion of the analysis is carried through with the census tract as the area unit. There are 1,178 census tracts in the Metropolitan District, of which 935 are in the city of Chicago and 243 in the adjacent area. The remainder of the analysis rests on a scheme of zones and sectors, delineated rather arbitrarily. Tracts were assigned to circular zones, concentric to the center of the city at State and Madison streets, with one-mile intervals up to fourteen miles, two-mile intervals up to twenty-eight miles, and with residual categories of tracts more than twenty-eight miles from the city center and tracts in the adjacent area too large to be classified by zones. The latter category contains only 1.4 per cent of the employed males. Five sectors were established, with boundaries approximating radial lines drawn from the city center. The North Shore sector runs along Lake Michigan through such suburbs as Skokie, Evanston, Lake Forest, and Waukegan; the Northwest sector extends through Park Ridge and Des Plaines to Arlington Heights; the West sector includes the suburbs of Cicero, Oak Park, and Berwyn, running out as far as Wheaton and Naperville; the Southwest sector is approximately bisected by a line running through Blue Island, Harvey, and Chicago Heights to Park Forest; and the South Shore sector runs along Lake Michigan through the Indiana suburbs of East Chicago, Hammond, Gary, and East Gary. Combining the zone and sector schemes yielded a set of 104 zone-sector segments; that is, area units averaging about ten times the size of a census tract, though with considerable variation in area and population.

The spatial "distance" between occupation groups, or more precisely the difference between their areal distributions, is measured by the *index of dissimilarity*.[6] To compute this index, one calculates for each

occupation group the percentage of all workers in that group residing in each area unit (tract or zone-sector segment). The index of dissimilarity between two occupation groups is then one-half the sum of the absolute values of the differences between the respective distributions, taken area by area. In the accompanying hypothetical example the index of dissimilarity between

Area	A	B	Diff.
1.......	10%	15%	5%
2.......	20	15	5
3.......	40	25	15
4.......	30	45	15
Total.	100%	100%	40%

occupations A and B is 20 per cent (i.e., 40/2). This may be interpreted as a measure of displacement: 20 per cent of the workers in occupation A would have to move to a different area in order to make their distribution identical with that of occupation B.

When the index of dissimilarity is computed between one occupation group and all other occupations combined (i.e., total employed males except those in the given occupation group), it is referred to as an *index of segregation*.[7] An equivalent and more convenient means of computing the segregation index is to compute the index of dissimilarity between the given occupation group and total employed males (i.e., all occupations), "adjusting" the result by dividing by one minus the proportion of the total male employed labor force included in that occupation group.

The indexes of segregation and dissimilarity were computed on both a tract basis and a zone-sector segment basis to determine the effect of the size of the area unit

[6] For the use of the index of dissimilarity as a "coefficient of geographic association" see National Resources Planning Board, *Industrial Location and National Resources* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 118.

[7] For discussion of the index of dissimilarity as a segregation index see Duncan and Duncan, *op. cit.*, and the literature there cited.

on the results. While the indexes for tracts are uniformly higher than for zone-sector segments, this effect can be disregarded for purposes of determining the relative positions of the occupation groups. The product-moment correlation between the two sets of segregation indexes in Table 2 is .96. The correlation between the two sets of dissimilarity indexes in Table 3 is .98, with the segment-based index (s) related to the tract-based index (t) by the regression equation, $s = .8t - 1.3$. These results indicate that for the kind of problem dealt with here the larger, and hence less homogeneous, unit is as serviceable as the smaller one. This suggests that some of the recent concern about census-tract homogeneity may be misplaced.[8]

The *index of low-rent concentration* is obtained by (1) classifying tracts into intervals according to the median monthly rental of tenant-occupied dwelling units; (2) computing the percentage distribution by rent intervals for each occupation group and for all occupations combined; (3) cumulating the distributions, from low to high rent; (4) calculating the quantity $\Sigma X_{i-1} Y_i - \Sigma X_i Y_{i-1}$, where X_i is the cumulated percentage of the given occupation through the ith rent interval, Y_i is the cumulated percentage of all occupations combined, and the summation is over all rent intervals; and, finally, (5) "adjusting" the result (as for the segregation index) to obtain an index equivalent to the one obtained by comparing the given occupation group with all other occupations combined. This index varies between 100 and -100, with positive values indicating a tendency for residences of the given occupation group to be in areas of relatively low rent and with negative values indicating relative concentration in high-rent areas.

The *index of centralization* is computed in the same fashion, except that tracts are

[8] Jerome K. Myers, "Note on the Homogeneity of Census Tracts: A Methodological Problem in Urban Ecological Research," *Social Forces*, XXXII (May, 1954), 364–66; Joel Smith, "A Method for the Classification of Areas on the Basis of Demographically Homogeneous Populations," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (April, 1954), 201–7.

ordered by distance from the center of the city, that is, are classified according to the zonal scheme. A negative index of centralization signifies that the given occupation group tends to be "decentralized," or on the average located farther away from the city center than all other occupations, while a positive index is obtained for a relatively "centralized" occupation.[9]

OCCUPATION AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Selected nonecological indicators of the relative socioeconomic status of the major occupation groups are shown in Table 1. The professional and managerial groups clearly have the highest socioeconomic rank, while operatives, service workers, and laborers are clearly lowest in socioeconomic status. The ranking by socioeconomic level would probably be agreed on by most social scientists. The major occupation groups correspond roughly with the Alba Edwards scheme of "social-economic groups." Edwards does not separate sales workers and clerical workers by "social-economic group," and the group of service workers, except private household, contains individual occupations variously classified by Edwards as skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled, predominantly the latter two.

A ranking in terms of median income results in two reversals in rank. The 1949 median income of male managerial workers in the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Area was about $500 greater than that of professional workers, although both were substantially above that for sales workers. The median income for the craftsmen-foremen group was about $500 higher than that for clerical workers. In fact, the median income for the craftsmen-foremen group was only slightly below that for sales workers, whereas the median income for clerical workers was only slightly above that for operatives.

[9] The indexes of low-rent concentration and of centralization are formally identical with the index of urbanization proposed in Otis Dudley Duncan, "Urbanization and Retail Specialization," *Social Forces*, XXX (March, 1952), 267–71. The formula given here is a simplification of the one presented there; and the area units and principle of ordering are, of course, different.

However, in median school years com-
pleted, professional workers clearly rank
first, while there is little difference in the
medians for the managerial, sales, and cleri-
cal groups. The median drops sharply, over
2.5 years, for the craftsmen-foremen group
and declines further for each group in the
order of the initial listing.

In the Chicago Metropolitan District the
proportion of nonwhites in an occupation
group appears to be closely related to its

low prestige rating of sales workers obtained
by the NORC. Furthermore, their data do
not differentiate prestige ratings by sex.
Particularly in a metropolitan area, the
male sales worker group is more heavily
weighted with such occupations as advertis-
ing, insurance, and real estate agents and
sales representatives of wholesale and manu-
facturing concerns than is the case for fe-
male sales workers, among whom retail sales
clerks are the large majority.

TABLE 1

SELECTED INDICATORS OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF
THE MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS

Major Occupation Group*	Median Income in 1949†	Median School Years Com- pleted‡	Edwards' Socio- economic Group§	Per Cent Nonwhite‖
Professional, technical, and kindred workers.	$4,387	16+	1	2.7
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm................................	4,831	12.2	2	2.2
Sales workers...........................	3,698	12.4⎫	⎰3	⎧2.8
Clerical and kindred workers.............	3,132	12.2⎭		⎩7.4
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers...	3,648	9.5	4	4.9
Operatives and kindred workers...........	3,115	8.9	5	12.4
Service workers, except private household...	2,635	8.8	5–6	23.0
Laborers, except farm and mine..........	2,580	8.4	6	27.4

* Does not include farmers and farm managers, private household workers, farm laborers, and occupation not reported.

† For males in the experienced labor force of the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Area, 1950. Source: *1950 U.S. Census of Population*, Bulletin P-C13, Table 78.

‡ For employed males twenty-five years old and over, in the North and West, 1950. Source: *1950 U.S. Census of Population*, Special Report P-E No. 5B, Table 11.

§ Approximate equivalents. Source: Alba M. Edwards, *Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States, 1870 to 1940* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943).

‖ For employed males in the Chicago Metropolitan District, 1950. Based on nonwhites residing in census tracts containing 250 or more nonwhite population in 1950. These tracts include 95.8 per cent of all nonwhite males in the Metropolitan District.

socioeconomic status. The proportion is very
low in the professional, managerial, and
sales groups, but it is somewhat higher for
clerical workers than for the craftsmen-fore-
men group. Increasing proportions are ob-
served for operatives, service workers, and
laborers, in order.

The suggested ranking is in general con-
formity with the National Opinion Research
Center's data on popular attitudes toward
occupations, except that sales occupations
appear to rank below clerical and craft occu-
pations in the NORC results.[10] An inade-
quate sampling of occupational titles within
the sales group may account in part for the

The failure of different bases of ranking to
give identical results has been discussed by
writers on stratification in terms of "dis-
affinity of strata" and "status disequilib-
rium."[11] The reversals in rank between the

[10] National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs
and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," *Opinion
News*, IX (September 1, 1947), 3–13.

[11] Cf. Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and
Personality* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947),
pp. 289–94, on disaffinity of strata. On status dis-
equilibrium cf. Émile Benoit-Smullyan, "Status,
Status Types, and Status Interrelations," *American
Sociological Review*, IX (April, 1944), 154–61;
Harold F. Kaufman, *Defining Prestige in a Rural
Community* ("Sociometry Monograph," No. 10
[New York: Beacon House, 1946]).

professional and managerial groups and the clerical and crafts workers are most frequent. The upshot seems to be that no one ranking can be accepted as sufficient for all purposes. The examination of residential patterns discloses other instances of disequilibrium, which are of interest both in themselves and as clues to the interpretation of those already noted.

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

Four aspects of the residential patterning of occupation groups are considered. The first is the degree of residential segregation of each major occupation group with respect to all others, that is, the extent to which an occupation group is separated residentially from the remainder of the employed labor force. The second is the degree of dissimilarity in residential distribution among major occupation groups, that is, the extent to which pairs of occupation groups isolate themselves from one another. The third aspect is the degree of residential concentration of each occupation group in areas characterized by relatively low rents. Finally, the degree of centralization of each major occupation group (i.e., the extent to which an occupation group is concentrated toward the center of the metropolitan community) is examined. In each case the spatial patterning of the residences is considered in relation to socioeconomic level.

A clear relationship of the ranking of major occupation groups by socioeconomic status and by degree of residential segregation is shown in Table 2. Listed in the order given there, the indexes of residential segregation form a U-shaped pattern. The highest values are observed for the professionals and the laborers and the lowest value for the clerical workers. The degree of residential segregation varies only slightly among the professional, managerial, and sales groups; however, it declines markedly for the clerical workers and then increases regularly for each successive group.

This finding suggests that residential segregation is greater for those occupation groups with clearly defined status than for those groups whose status is ambiguous.

The latter groups are necessarily subject to cross-pressures from the determinants of residential selection; for example, the clerical group has an income equivalent to that of operatives but the educational level of managerial workers.

To check the hypothesis that spatial distances among occupation groups parallel their social distances, the indexes of dissimilarity in residential distribution among major

TABLE 2

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION OF EACH MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP, FOR EMPLOYED MALES IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN DISTRICT, 1950

Major Occupation Group*	By Census Tracts	By Zone-Sector Segments
Professional, technical, and kindred workers................	30	21
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm............	29	20
Sales workers..................	29	20
Clerical and kindred workers.....	13	9
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers...................	19	14
Operatives and kindred workers..	22	16
Service workers, except private household..................	24	20
Laborers, except farm and mine..	35	29

* Does not include farmers and farm managers, private household workers, farm laborers, and occupation not reported.

occupation groups are shown in Table 3. As previously indicated, a listing of major occupation groups by socioeconomic level can at best only roughly approximate a social distance scale. Similarly, a measure of dissimilarity in residential distribution can only approximate the spatial distance between groups—the index measures only the dissimilarity of the residential distributions with respect to a particular set of areas and is insensitive to other important aspects of the spatial pattern such as proximity of areas of concentration.

Nonetheless, the data in Table 3 indicate the essential correspondence of social and spatial distance among occupation groups. If it is assumed that the ordering of major occupation groups corresponds with increas-

ing social distance (e.g., the social distance between professional and sales workers is greater than that between professional and managerial workers), and if it is assumed that the index of residential dissimilarity approximates the spatial distance between the two groups, the expected pattern would be the following: Starting at any point on the diagonal, the indexes would increase reading up or to the right (down or to the left, in the case of the indexes below the

group and sales workers; that is, the residential dissimilarity of sales workers with craftsmen-foremen, operatives, and laborers is slightly greater than that of the managerial group, although their difference in terms of socioeconomic level is presumably less.

The residential distribution of clerical workers is more dissimilar to the distribution of sales workers, professional, and managerial workers than to that of the craftsmen or the operatives. Hence, although

TABLE 3

INDEXES OF DISSIMILARITY IN RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION AMONG MAJOR OCCUPATION
GROUPS, FOR EMPLOYED MALES IN THE CHICAGO
METROPOLITAN DISTRICT, 1950

(Above diagonal, by census tracts; below diagonal, by zone-sector segments)

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP*	MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP*							
	Prof., Tech., Kindred	Mgrs., Offs., Props.	Sales Wkrs.	Clerical, Kindred	Crafts-men, Fore-men	Oper-atives, Kindred	Service, exc. Priv. Hshld.	Labor-ers, exc. Farm and Mine
Professional, technical, kindred workers	....	13	15	28	35	44	41	54
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	8	....	13	28	33	41	40	52
Sales workers	11	7	....	27	35	42	38	54
Clerical and kindred workers	20	18	17	....	16	21	24	38
Craftsmen, foremen, kindred workers	26	23	25	12	....	17	35	35
Operatives, kindred workers	31	29	30	16	14	....	26	25
Service workers, except private household	31	31	30	19	25	19	....	28
Laborers, except farm and mine	42	41	42	32	30	21	24	....

* Does not include farmers and farm managers, private household workers, farm laborers, and occupation not reported.

diagonal, based on zone-sector segments). It is clear that the expected pattern, though not perfectly reproduced, essentially describes the observed pattern. The exceptions are few and for the most part can be explained hypothetically; such hypotheses provide clues for additional research.

The least dissimilarity is observed between professional and managerial workers, managerial and sales workers, and professional and sales workers. Furthermore, the dissimilarity of each of these groups with each other occupation group is of approximately the same degree. In fact, three of the inversions of the expected pattern concern the comparison between the managerial

clerical workers are often grouped with professional, managerial, and sales workers as "white-collar," in terms of residential distribution they are more similar to the craftsmen and operatives than to the other white-collar groups.

The remaining inversions of the expected pattern involve service workers, except private household. One-fifth of these are "janitors and sextons." Presumably a substantial proportion of the janitors live at their place of work in apartment buildings housing workers in the higher status occupation groups.[12] It is hypothesized that this special

[12] Cf. Ray Gold, "Janitors versus Tenants: A Status-Income Dilemma," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (March, 1952), 486–93.

circumstance accounts for the tendency of service workers to be less dissimilar to the higher status groups than expected on the basis of socioeconomic status.[13] At the same time the color composition of the service group presumably acts in the opposite direction. In so far as residential segregation on basis of color, cutting across occupational lines, exists within the metropolitan community, occupational status is rendered at

the indexes had to be computed for total employed persons rather than males. It is clear, nonetheless, that the degree of low-rent concentration is inversely related to the socioeconomic status of the occupation groups. All four of the white-collar occupation groups have negative indexes, signifying relative concentration in high-rent areas, whereas all four of the blue-collar groups have positive indexes. Again, there is

TABLE 4

INDEXES OF LOW-RENT CONCENTRATION AND OF CENTRALIZATION FOR MAJOR
OCCUPATION GROUPS, CHICAGO METROPOLITAN DISTRICT, 1950

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP*	INDEX OF LOW-RENT CONCENTRA-TION (TOTAL EMPLOYED PERSONS)	INDEX OF CENTRALIZATION (EMPLOYED MALES)					
		Metro-politan District	Sector				
			North Shore	North-west	West	South-west	South Shore
Professional, technical, and kindred workers........................	−32	−14	−15	−20	−29	−20	5
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm...................	−30	−12	−20	−16	−19	−15	1
Sales workers.....................	−25	− 5	−15	−12	−12	− 9	8
Clerical and kindred workers.......	− 9	5	7	2	1	5	9
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers........................	11	− 8	6	− 6	− 7	− 5	−26
Operatives, kindred workers.......	29	10	21	16	18	8	− 4
Service workers, except private household......................	7	21	16	18	20	16	36
Laborers, except farm and mine....	32	7	9	21	30	16	− 1

* Does not include farmers and farm managers, private household workers, farm laborers, and occupation not reported.

least partially ineffective as a determinant of residential location. These factors, however, probably do not wholly explain the largest single deviation from the expected pattern, the much larger index of dissimilarity between craftsmen-foremen and service workers than between clerical and service workers.

The first column of Table 4 shows the indexes of low-rent concentration of the occupation groups. Some caution must be exercised in interpreting them, since the tabulation on which they are based did not distinguish between male and female workers, and

[13] This effect has been definitely noted in data, not shown here, for female private household workers, about one-fourth of whom "live in."

a relatively sharp break between the clerical and the other three white-collar groups. The managerial group has a slightly greater index of low-rent concentration than the professional group, despite the higher income level of the former. It is even more striking that the low-rent concentration of craftsmen-foremen is substantially higher than for clerical workers, again the reverse of the relative positions on income. It can be shown that in 1940 the combined clerical and sales group tended to spend a larger proportion of its income for rent than did the group of craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers. For example, for tenant families with wage and salary incomes between

$2,000 and $3,000 in 1939, and without other income, 63 per cent of the families headed by a clerical or sales worker paid $40 per month or more rent, as compared with only 38 per cent of families whose heads were craftsmen, foremen, or kindred workers.[14]

The index of low-rent concentration for service workers, although positive, is low compared to the other blue-collar groups. This exception to the expected pattern no doubt has the same explanation as advanced above; that is, that a substantial proportion of service workers live in comparatively high status areas in connection with their place of employment.

The indexes of centralization of the occupation groups are given in Table 4, both for the Metropolitan District as a whole and within each of the five sectors. According to the Burgess zonal hypothesis, there is an upward gradient in the socioeconomic status of the population as one proceeds from the center to the periphery of the city. Hence one would expect the degree of residential centralization of an occupation group to be inversely related to its socioeconomic status. The data provide general support for this hypothesis, although there are some significant exceptions. Thus, for the Metropolitan District as a whole, three of the four white-collar indexes are negative (indicating relative decentralization), and three of the four blue-collar indexes are positive (indicating relative centralization). The exceptional cases are again the clerical and craftsmen-foremen groups.

In three of the five sectors (Northwest, West, and Southwest), the hypothesized pattern of centralization indexes is perfectly reproduced, except for the inversion between clerical workers and the craftsmen-foremen group, which appears in all sectors. For the North Shore sector the principal deviation from the pattern is the comparatively low degree of centralization of service workers and laborers. In this sector the managerial group is somewhat more decentralized than

[14] Data for the Chicago Metropolitan District, 1940, from Table 11, *Families: Income and Rent, Population and Housing, 16th Census of the United States: 1940.*

the professional group, as is also true in the South Shore sector. The latter sector exhibits a quite marked departure from the expected pattern, in that the only decentralized occupations are those in the blue-collar category. There is a small measure of confirmation for the hypothesized pattern, in that within the white-collar category the least centralized groups are the professional and managerial, and within the blue-collar category the most decentralized is the craftsmen-foremen group. The high index for service workers is doubtless due to the relatively high proportion of nonwhites in this occupation, and the relatively central location of the South Side "Black Belt," a large portion of which falls in the South Shore sector. The decentralization of the other blue-collar groups is attributable to the presence of the Indiana industrial suburbs on the periphery of the South Shore sector. A similar effect of some industrial suburbs at the northern end of the North Shore sector is observable in the low centralization index for laborers in that sector. It is apparent that expectations based on the zonal hypothesis must be qualified by recognizing distortions of the zonal pattern produced by peripheral industrial concentrations. Such concentrations appear only in certain sectors, and, where they are absent, the zonal hypothesis leads to a realistic expectation concerning the pattern of residential centralization by socioeconomic status.

RESIDENTIAL SEPARATION AND DISSIMILARITY OF OCCUPATIONAL ORIGINS

There are good reasons for supposing that residential patterns are related to occupational mobility. For example, ecologists have noted a tendency for advances in socioeconomic status to be accompanied by migration toward the city's periphery. Residential segregation is doubtless one of the barriers to upward mobility, in so far as such mobility is affected by the opportunity to observe and imitate the way of life of higher social strata. Among the findings reported above, at least one may have an explanation that involves mobility. It is surprising that the residential patterns of sales workers do

not differ more than they do from those of professional and managerial workers; since the income of sales workers is well below that of either, they rank lower in prestige, and their educational attainment is substantially less than that of professional workers. But there are data which suggest that a sizable proportion of sales workers are moving to a higher occupational level, or aspire to such a move, anticipating it by following the residential pattern of the higher group. The Occupational Mobility Survey found

is illuminated by the data in Table 5, which shows indexes of dissimilarity among the major occupation groups with respect to the distribution of each group by major occupation group of the employed male's father.[16] These indexes, therefore, pertain to differences among the major occupation groups in background, origin, or recruitment. The hypothesis to be tested is that, the greater the dissimilarity between a pair of occupation groups in occupational origins, the greater is their dissimilarity in residential distribution.

TABLE 5*

INDEXES OF DISSIMILARITY IN DISTRIBUTION BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION AMONG MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS, FOR EMPLOYED MALES IN SIX CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1950

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP†	MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP†						
	Mgrs., Offs., Props.	Sales Wkrs.	Clerical, Kindred	Crafts- men, Foremen	Opera- tives, Kindred	Service, Incl. Priv. Hshld.	Laborers, exc. Mine
Professional, technical, and kindred workers..........................	20	16	27	38	39	34	46
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm..........................	....	11	28	31	34	30	42
Sales workers........................	....	....	26	35	37	35	47
Clerical and kindred workers.........	....	....	....	18	29	28	39
Craftsmen, foremen, kindred workers..	....	....	....	....	14	25	31
Operatives, kindred workers.........	....	....	....	....	....	22	23
Service workers, including private household......................	....	....	....	....	....	....	20

* Source: Unpublished data from Occupational Mobility Survey, Table W-9. For description of sampling and enumeration procedures see Gladys L. Palmer, *Labor Mobility in Six Cities* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1954).

† Does not include farmers and farm managers and occupation not reported. A small number of private household workers are included with service workers, and a small number of farm laborers with laborers, except mine.

that for males employed in both 1940 and 1950 there was a movement of 23 per cent of the men employed as sales workers in 1940 into the group of managers, proprietors, and officials by 1950. This is the largest single interoccupational movement in the mobility table, except that 23 per cent of laborers moved into the group of operatives and kindred workers.[15]

Another aspect of occupational mobility

[15] Based on unpublished Table W-56 of the Occupational Mobility Survey, taken in six cities in 1951. For description of the sampling and enumeration procedures see Gladys L. Palmer, *Labor Mobility in Six Cities* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1954), chap. i and Appendix B.

The pattern of Table 5 is clearly like that of Table 3. The indexes of dissimilarity with respect to residence, computed on the zone-sector segment basis, correlate .91 with the

[16] These indexes are based on the aggregated results of sample surveys in six cities in 1951. Although separate data are available for Chicago, these were not used here, because the sample was too small to produce reliable frequencies in most of the cells of the 8 × 9 table from which the dissimilarity indexes were computed. (In the intergeneration mobility table the classification of fathers' occupations included the group "farmers and farm managers" as well as the eight major occupation groups listed in Table 5. This was desirable, since a significant proportion of fathers—though very few of the sons in this urban sample—were farmers.)

indexes for occupational origin. The correlation is .94 for the residential indexes based on census tracts, with the regression of the tract-based index (t) on the index of dissimilarity in occupational origin (u) being $t = 1.2u - 1.8$. The hypothesis is thereby definitely substantiated.

In Table 5 all but one of the inversions of the pattern expected on the assumption of an unequivocal ranking of the occupation groups involve the sales and service workers. Sales workers are closer to professional workers with respect to occupational background than are the managerial workers and farther from each of the blue-collar groups. Actually, a more consistent pattern would be produced by ranking sales workers second in place of the managerial group. In this respect the data on occupational origins are more consistent with the ecological data than are the data on socioeconomic status in Table 1. In terms of the indexes of dissimilarity in occupational origins, service workers are closer to the first three white-collar groups than are any of the other blue-collar groups. However, in comparisons among the clerical and blue-collar groups, service workers clearly rank next to last, or between operatives and laborers. Again, the factor of occupational origins is more closely related to residential separation than are the indicators of socioeconomic status.

The last point deserves emphasis. Not only do the indexes of dissimilarity on an area basis have the same general pattern as those on an occupational origin basis but also the deviations from that pattern occur at the same points and in the same direction. This cannot be said regarding the several indicators of socioeconomic status. If income determined residential separation, managers would outrank professionals, and clerical workers would be virtually identical with operatives in their separation from other groups. If education determined residential separation, there would be substantial differences between the indexes for professional workers and managerial workers. Neither of these hypotheses is borne out by the data, whereas differences in occupational back-

ground lead to accurate, specific predictions of the pattern of differences in residential distribution.

The ecological analysis has provided strong support for the proposition that spatial distances between occupation groups are closely related to their social distances, measured either in terms of conventional indicators of socioeconomic status or in terms of differences in occupational origins; that the most segregated occupation groups are those at the extremes of the socioeconomic scale; that concentration of residence in low-rent areas is inversely related to socioeconomic status; and that centralization of residence is likewise inversely related to socioeconomic status. These results are in accord with accepted ecological theory, provide support for it, and demonstrate the relevance of ecological research to the theory of social stratification.

These generalizations, however, are perhaps no more significant to the advancement of knowledge than are the instances in which they do not hold and the additional hypotheses advanced to account for the exceptions. Conventional measures of socioeconomic status do not agree perfectly as to the rank order of the major occupation groups, nor do the several ecological indexes. The prime case in point occurs at the middle of the socioeconomic scale, at the conventional juncture of white-collar and blue-collar occupations. Clerical and kindred workers have substantially more education than craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers, and the clerical occupations are usually considered of greater prestige than the craft and related occupations. However, craftsmen-foremen have considerably higher incomes on the average, and, among males, their nonwhite proportion is smaller. The pattern of the indexes of dissimilarity in residential distribution clearly places the clerical group closer to the other white-collar groups than the craftsmen-foremen are, and the clerical workers' index of low-rent concentration is less than that of the craftsmen and foremen. But in terms of residential

centralization the clerical group tends to fall with the lower blue-collar groups, and the craftsmen-foremen group with the other white-collar groups. In general, it would appear that "social status" or prestige is more important in determining the residential association of clerical with other white-collar groups than is income, although the latter sets up a powerful cross-pressure, as evidenced by the comparatively high rent-income ratio of clerical families. To account fully for the failure of clerical workers to be residentially decentralized like the other white-collar groups, one would have to consider work-residence relationships. Data on work-residence separation for a 1951 Chicago sample show that clerical workers resemble craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers in the degree of separation much more than they do sales, managerial, or professional workers.[17]

Perhaps the most suggestive finding of the study is that dissimilarity in occupational origins is more closely associated with dissimilarity in residential distribution than is any of the usual indicators of socioeconomic status. This result can only be interpreted speculatively. But one may suppose that preferences and aspirations concerning housing and residential patterns are largely formed by childhood and adolescent experiences in a milieu of which the father's occupation is an important aspect.

The discovery that "status disequilibria" are reflected in inconsistencies in the ordering of occupation groups according to their residential patterns provides a further reason for distinguishing "class" from "social status" elements[18] within the complex con-

[17] Beverly Duncan, "Factors in Work-Residence Separation: Wage and Salary Workers, Chicago, 1951" (paper presented at the annual institute of the Society for Social Research, Chicago, June 5, 1953).

[18] See "Class, Status, Party," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946).

ventionally designated as "socioeconomic status." Apparently, attempts to compound these two can at best produce a partially ordered scale; at worst, they may obscure significant differences in life-style, consumption patterns, and social mobility.

There is one important qualification of the results reported. Like census tracts, broad occupation groups are not perfectly homogeneous. The managerial group includes proprietors of peanut stands as well as corporation executives, and night-club singers are classified as professional workers along with surgeons. One would therefore expect to find a much sharper differentiation of residential patterns if more detailed occupational classifications were available. In particular, the points at which cross-pressures on residential location develop should be more clearly identified.

Further research should seek other forces producing residential segregation. Ethnic categorizations other than race are doubtless relevant though difficult to study directly for lack of data. In general, the patterns described here would be expected to hold for females, but significant deviations might also occur, in part because the residence of married females is probably determined more by their husbands' occupation than by their own, and in part because the occupations that compose each of the major occupation groups are different for females from those for males (as mentioned above in regard to sales workers). Both race and sex would bear upon residential patterns of private household workers, who are predominantly female and nonwhite. A final class of especially important factors is the effect of the location of workplaces on residence. There is evidence that residences are not distributed randomly with respect to places of work. If location of work is controlled, an even sharper differentiation of residential patterns than that described here may be revealed.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

IN MEMORIAM

HOWARD WASHINGTON ODUM, 1884-1954

Sociology lost one of its outstanding leaders in the death of Howard W. Odum on November 8, 1954. An adequate appraisal of Dr. Odum should view him as administrator, teacher, researcher, writer, farmer, and, above all, as a human personality.

Howard Odum was born on a farm near Bethlehem, Georgia, on May 24, 1884. In his youth the family moved near Oxford, Georgia, for the better education of the children. There he received his undergraduate degree at Emory College in 1904. First he engaged in high-school teaching in Mississippi. Later he taught classics and received the Master of Arts degree in that field at the University of Mississippi. But he was already beginning studies of the social scene around him and, by 1908, had decided to go into the relatively new field of sociology. In 1909 he took a doctorate in psychology at Clark University under G. Stanley Hall, and in 1910 another doctorate in sociology at Columbia University under Franklin H. Giddings.

After two years with the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, he returned South to the University of Georgia in educational sociology and later as director of the summer school. In 1919 he became liberal arts dean and professor of sociology at Emory University. In 1920 he came to the University of North Carolina as Kenan Professor of Sociology, where he remained until his retirement in 1954. In 1953 he received the O. Max Gardner Award as the faculty member of the Consolidated University of North Carolina who "in the current scholastic year has made the greatest contribution to the welfare of the human race." He held honorary degrees from Emory, the College of the Ozarks, Harvard, and Clark.

During his years at Chapel Hill, Dr. Odum established the department of sociology (later expanded to include anthropology), the Institute for Research in Social Science, the School of Public Welfare, and the scholarly journal, *Social Forces*. As an administrator he was characterized by vision and drive. As soon as he could, he had others take over his administrative responsibilities, thus assuring continuity after he was gone.

Whatever else he was doing, Dr. Odum maintained a deeply personal interest in his students. He was able to the end to identify himself with their problems and aspirations; the door to his office was always open, for he had opened it. Through his force as a great teacher, students and scholars, many of whom were to do distinguished work, were attracted to this area of the university's work.

Dr. Odum's research and writing covered a wide variety of subjects. Perhaps his greatest contribution to sociology will be recorded in his theories of the folk and regionalism. His *American Regionalism*, with Harry E. Moore, *Understanding Society*, numerous articles on regionalism, beginning in 1924, and numerous articles on folk sociology, beginning in 1931 and especially in *Social Forces*, March, 1953, were major theoretical contributions. In grappling with universal processes in the development of human society and in the structure of the region he developed the continuum, folk culture to state civilization, and his concept of the "technicways." Unfortunately, a major work on folk sociology had not been completed at the time of his death. How much of this may eventually be published is yet to be determined.

Another segment of his work was on southern culture and race relations. *An American Epoch, Southern Regions of the United States, The Way of the South*, "The

Midcentury South" (yet to be published), the "Black Ulysses" trilogy, and *Race and Rumors of Race* were some of his more significant books in this field. With objectivity and affection he brought to bear the cumulation of years of work and study to the analysis of the South at a time when the region was in dire need of help and understanding. He centered both the South's and the nation's attention upon southern problems and much of the progress of the region in the last two decades is to be traced to his understanding and stimulation. His contribution to the improvement of race relations was recognized by his being given the Catholic Conference of the South Award in 1943 and the Bernays Award in 1945.

Other fields in sociology are, of course, represented among his 23 books, 12 monographs, 11 chapters in as many symposiums, and 182 articles. But folk sociology, regionalism, the Negro, and the South stand out as his chief centers of scientific interest. The interrelationships between these fields are apparent as one studies the man at work.

Dr. Odum was widely recognized as one of the leading breeders of Jersey cows in the South, even though his operation was relatively modest. He was one of the few men designated Master Breeder by the American Jersey Cattle Association. From 1942 to 1946 he was president of the North Carolina Jersey Cattle Club.

But it was as a human personality of tremendous proportions that he will best be remembered by his host of students, colleagues, and other friends. Human values always took precedence with him. Modesty, humility, and genuine human kindness marked everything he did.

GORDON W. BLACKWELL

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

NEWS AND NOTES

Wladimir G. Eliasberg, M.D., who is investigating moral attitudes toward works of art and literature, wishes to circulate a questionnaire designed to elicit current standards. Questionnaire blanks and franks may be obtained from him at 151 Central Park West, New York 23, N.Y.

Bulletin of the Research Exchange on the Prevention of War.—The *Bulletin*, which will appear in printed form beginning with the January, 1955, issue, is intended to stimulate and facilitate social science research on the problem of war. It publishes research proposals and critical discussions, bibliographies and literature reviews, and articles on theoretical and methodological problems. The two main articles in the January issue are "Psychological Literature on the Prevention of War," by Joseph Cooper, of the department of psychology, San Jose State College, and "Sources of International Tensions," by Ely Chertok, of the sociology department, University of California at Los Angeles.

Material for publication should be submitted to the editor, Arthur Gladstone, Psychology Department, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. Sample copies and subscriptions for the current year may be obtained by writing to James Russell, Centenary Junior College, Hackettstown, New Jersey. The minimum subscription is $1.00, and those who can afford it are asked to pay more.

University of California, Berkeley.—Four teaching and research assistantships are available for qualified graduate students in family sociology for 1955–56. Teaching assistantships pay $1,500 and research assistantships $2,000 for the year, out-of-state tuition waived. Inquiry should be directed to Judson T. Landis.

Clark Vincent has received a grant from the Rosenberg Foundation to complete his study of unwed mothers in Alameda County.

Herbert Blumer, chairman of the department of sociology, will deliver an address on "The Nature of Race Prejudice" on March 31 at the dedication of the new social science building at Fisk University, named in honor of the late Robert E. Park.

Wolfram Eberhard has been elected to the editorial board of the *Central Asiatic Journal,* a new scholarly journal to be published at The Hague, Netherlands.

Reinhard Bendix, associate professor of sociology, has returned to the department after a year's leave of absence on a Fulbright Research Grant. He has completed a book on ideologies and' industrialization based on research sponsored jointly by the Institute of Industrial Relations and a grant from the Ford Foundation.

Philip Selznick, associate professor, will be on leave during the spring semester to begin research in the sociology of law under a faculty research fellowship from the Social Science Research Council.

Kenneth Bock, assistant professor, has resumed his duties in the department following a year's leave on a faculty fellowship under the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation.

William Kornhauser, assistant professor, is on leave during the current academic year as a fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Palo Alto under the auspices of the Ford Foundation.

Centre d'Études radiophoniques.—The first international congress dealing with the sociological aspects of radio music was held at UNESCO-House in Paris, directed by Dr. Alphons Silbermann (Sydney). The congress, organized by the Centre d'Études radiophoniques of the French Radio in collaboration with the International Music Council (UNESCO), was attended by over two hundred musicians, sociologists, and radio specialists of many countries of the world. The main themes of discussion were the transformation of social structures through radio music; continuance and cultural value of radio music; evolution of social and cultural rules through radio music; nature and development of musical programs and their fields of influence; and the processes through which organizers and interpreters arrive at the establishment of their specific programs.

Among the resolutions adopted by the congress is the creation of an International Study Center, whose principal task will be to unite and

develop research methods and to promote the spread of musical culture by means of the mass medium. Further meetings.of experts are proposed of an international character.

The new book by the Australian sociologist, Dr. Alphons Silbermann, *La Musique, la radio et l'auditeur: Étude sociologique*, was recently published by the Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.

University of Chicago.—The program of the department of sociology in the summer quarter will feature concentrated work on the family, social psychology and communication, and population.

In addition to a basic course on the family, a workshop on Family Life Education and Evaluation will be given August 1–19. It will acquaint participants with the product of a three-year research program on procedures for teaching functional family courses, as well as with theories of interpersonal competence. Nelson N. Foote will direct the workshop. Admission is by invitation only, but inquiries are welcomed and should be addressed to Eugene Litwak, assistant director, Family Study Center, University of Chicago, 5757 Drexel Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Six courses in social psychology and communication will be offered by Donald Horton, Elihu Katz, and Anselm Strauss. Topics to be covered include introductory social psychology, urban modes of life, the symbolic process in social interaction, the flow of influence, the function and effects of mass communication, and aspects of the institutional structure of mass communication.

Two workshops on methods of research in population will be given, one in each half of the summer quarter, by Philip Hauser and Donald Bogue. Workshop I will cover basic techniques of demographic analysis, and Workshop II their application in population research. Inquiries may be directed to the Population Research and Training Center, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

Leo Goodman has been elected to the Council of the Institute of Mathematical Statistics.

The third and final volume of the collected papers of Robert E. Park will appear in May under the title *Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press). This volume contains Dr. Park's papers on collective behavior, news and opinions, and sociology and modern societies. The two volumes already published are entitled *Race and Culture* and *Human Communities*. The three were edited by Everett C. Hughes.

The City College of New York.—A program of graduate work in New York Area Studies has been set up, leading to the degree of Master of Arts. It is supported by a research grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and a teaching grant from the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation. The departments of art, economics, education, English, government, history, music, philosophy, psychology, and sociology and anthropology are participating. A limited number of fellowships is available for the academic year beginning September, 1955. For information apply to Oscar I. Janowsky (director of graduate studies), Convent Avenue and 139th Street, New York 31, New York.

Fisk University.—Visiting professors during the second semester will be Morris Ginsberg, Martin White professor of sociology of the London School of Economics and editor of the *British Journal of Sociology;* S. Ralph Harlow, emeritus professor of sociology of Smith College; and Kali Prasad, professor and chairman of the department of psychology and philosophy of Lucknow University, India.

The department of social sciences has occupied a new three-story, air-conditioned building, named "Robert E. Park Hall" in honor of the late Dr. Park, who was guest professor at Fisk from 1936 until his death in 1944. The building will be dedicated at ceremonies held March 31–April 2. The Southern Sociological Society will hold its eighteenth annual meeting in Nashville at the same time.

The dedication exercises will include addresses by Herbert Blumer, chairman of the department of sociology, University of California, Berkeley; by Everett C. Hughes, chairman of the department of sociology, University of Chicago, on race prejudice and race relations; and by Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago, on race relations and social planning.

Helen MacGill Hughes, managing editor of the *American Journal of Sociology*, will speak as representative of Dr. Park's students at the University of Chicago.

The following seminars are scheduled: Thursday, March 31: morning, "Emergent Civilization and Race Relations"; afternoon, "The Racial Frontiers"; evening, "Research and Social Action in Race Relations." Friday,

April 1: morning, "Multigroup Association and Dissociation"; afternoon, Dedication Exercises.

Among the persons scheduled to participate in the seminars and exercises connected with the dedication are the following: Inez Adams, Howard Becker, Bernard Berelson, Herbert Blumer, Ernest W. Burgess, Louis Copeland, Bingham Dai, John P. Dean, Charles Dollard, Joseph H. Douglass, E. Franklin Frazier, Morris Ginsberg, Mozell Hill, Everett C. Hughes, Helen MacGill Hughes, Charles S. Johnson, Guy B. Johnson, Lewis W. Jones, Herman Long, J. Masuoka, William F. Ogburn, Kali Prasad, Robert Redfield, Margaret Park Redfield, Ira De A. Reid, Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Elbridge Sibley, Samuel A. Stouffer, Edgar T. Thompson, Preston Valien, R. L. Yokley, and Donald Young.

During January the university sponsored a south-wide interorganizational conference of representatives of organizations which have promoted desegregation. The purpose of the conference is to mobilize constructive forces in the region, and plans are being made under the leadership of President Charles S. Johnson, Preston Valien, chairman of the social science department, and Herman Long, director of the race relations department of the American Missionary Association.

The research staff of the department is engaged on a project concerning attitudes, opinions, and practices related to the Supreme Court decision on segregation. Bonita Valien is serving as research consultant on the staff of the Southern Education Reporting Service.

Under the direction of Inez Adams, associate professor of sociology and anthropology, who spent the summer touring the South studying reactions to the Supreme Court's decision on segregation, the Sociology Club is sponsoring a series of discussions during the year on integration of the schools.

The research staff of the department is developing a "Factual Source Book of Southern Counties," on which preliminary work is already in progress.

Institute of Human Communication, Inc.—Leaders in business and industry, education, and the social sciences have founded a new organization in New York City to encourage the application of new scientific developments to the problems of human communication.

William Exton of New York, consultant, author, and speaker, has been elected president; E. DeAlton Partridge, president, Montclair State Teachers' College, vice-president for education; and Lawrence Edwin Abt, psychologist, vice-president for the social sciences; John F. Wharton, lawyer, secretary; and W. Benton Harrison, a vice-president of Sylvania Electric Products, Inc., treasurer. In addition to the foregoing, the following, all incorporators of the institute, have been elected directors: Robert G. Allen (Cleveland) president, Pesco Pump Division, Borg-Warner Corporation; Conrad Arensberg, Ph.D. (New York City), professor of anthropology at Columbia University; and David B. Hertz, Ph.D. (Newark, N.J.), assistant to the president, Popular Merchandise Co.

A committee headed by Dr. Partridge was appointed to plan the organization of clinics on communication problems for industry, with the assistance of Mr. Harrison, Mr. Hertz, and the president.

A committee, to be headed by Mr. Allen, was appointed to plan a program of awards in recognition of outstanding examples of successful communication in many fields and of contributions to knowledge and understanding of communication principles. The awards will be offered in co-operation with leading organizations in business, science, and the professions.

Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa.—The institute, a Belgian research organization, was established in 1947 to promote and co-ordinate research in the physical, biological, and social sciences in the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi. Five research centers, built in the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi at a total cost of $4,000,000, are open to Belgian and foreign scientists.

The organization has been particularly concerned with problems resulting from rapid social change. A center of sociological research under the direction of J. Macquet, a social anthropologist who studied in Brussels, London, and at Harvard, has been established at Astrida, Ruanda-Urundi. Studies now under way there include the African's physical characteristics, his languages, the varied aspects of his culture and society, problems of nutrition, population, migration, land tenure, and economic development. In addition to the work conducted at Astrida, nutrition specialists and medical sociologists are working on problems of nutrition at other centers. Such studies are designed to

contribute both to basic knowledge and to the economic and social development of Belgian Africa.

The Belgian headquarters of the Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa are in Brussels, 42 rue Montoyer. The mailing address of the institute in the Belgian Congo is Boite Postale 217, Bukavu. The actual headquarters are at Lwiro, some thirty miles from Bukavu, where Louis van den Berghe is the director. Professor E. de Bruyne is president of the Administrative Council of the institute in Brussels, and Jean-Paul Harroy is the secretary-general. American scientists who are interested may reach Professor van den Berghe in the Congo, the Brussels headquarters, or the Belgian American Educational Foundation, Inc., 420 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, New York.

International Council for Research in the Sociology of Co-operation.—The first general assembly held on September 4 and 5 in Paris was attended by thirty participants from nine countries—Canada, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Switzerland, and the United States. Papers on research activities were presented by: Henri Desroche, Bureau d'Études coopératives et communautaires, Paris, France; G. Weisser, Sektion für die Soziologie des Genossenschaftswesens, Cologne, Germany; Adriano Olivetti, Movimento comunità, Ivrea, Italy; and I. Guelfat, College of Law and Economics, Tel-Aviv, Israel. H. F. Infield, Group Farming Research Institute, Poughkeepsie, New York, as acting president of the council, gave the opening address. The proposed constitution and by-laws were accepted, and the following officers were elected: president, H. F. Infield (U.S.A.); vice-presidents: I. Guelfat (Israel) and G. Weisser (Germany); general secretary, H. Desroche (France); treasurer: A. Meister (Switzerland).

The main activity of the council, the International Library of the Sociology of Cooperation, has secured the support of the following publishers: Frederick A. Praeger, New York; Les Éditions de Minuit, Paris, France; the Edizoni di Comunità, Milano, Italy: and the Verlag Otto Schwartz & Co., Göttingen, Germany. The first two volumes in the American series have just been published. They are: H. F. Infield, *Utopia and experiment: Essays in the Sociology of Cooperation,* and H. F. Infield and Koka Freier, *People in Ejidos: A Visit to the Co-operative Farms of Mexico.* The French, German, and Italian versions of *Utopia and Experiment* are being prepared for publication.

University of Kansas.—E. Gordon Ericksen has been granted a leave of absence to serve as a sociological consultant on public housing in the Foreign Operations Administration of the State Department. He is to organize self-help public housing programs in Caribbean areas not controlled or administered by the United States government. His headquarters are at St. James, Barbados, British West Indies.

University of Michigan.—For the eighth consecutive year, the Survey Research Center will hold its annual summer institute in survey research techniques. A special program is designed to illustrate the theory and application of survey research to such fields as business and human relations, psychology and sociology, political behavior, public affairs, economics, and statistics. The regular session will be from July 18 to August 12, with introductory courses offered from June 20 to July 15.

For further information apply to the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Michigan State College.—The Area Research Center of the department of sociology and anthropology has been awarded a $150,000 grant for research on social factors involved in technological diffusion across the Mexican border. William H. Form and Roy A. Clifford are now carrying on studies of institutional integration in El Paso and Juarez and in the lower Rio Grande Valley.

As part of the more general study the department is co-operating with the department of sociology of the University of Texas in a study of the human aspects of the disaster resulting from the recent flood on the Rio Grande. Harry Moore and Charles Loomis are co-directors of this project, which is financed by Carnegie Corporation and National Research Council funds.

Graduate research assistantships are available for students desiring to participate in this program as well as other projects carried on in Latin America by the Area Research Center.

For the academic year 1955–56 the department again offers half-time assistantships in teaching and research. Applications and inquiries should be addressed to Charles P. Loomis.

The pilot study in the Michigan Communica-

tion Study has been completed by the Social Research Service and the findings on what citizens know and think about their public schools in one community have been summarized. A limited number of reports are available on application to Leo A. Haak. A second phase of this study, an experimental communications-effects study, is now being undertaken in five communities in Michigan, led by Leo A. Haak and Wilbur Brookover.

The Social Research Service in the department of sociology and anthropology has received a grant of $12,500 from the Michigan State Board of Alcoholism to make a study of drinking and nondrinking of high-school students. Christopher Sower is chairman of the Social Research Service committee in charge.

A bulletin, *Youth in the Suburb*, by Christopher Sower, has been published by the Social Research Service. This reports the findings of a study of the aspirations, interests, activities, and problems of the seventh- and eleventh-grade students in the suburban schools immediately surrounding the city limits of Flint, Michigan.

The Agricultural Experiment Station has recently provided additional funds for a study of part-time farming, community-county relationships, and problems of social organization in the rural-urban fringe, under the chairmanship of Glen Taggart.

The department is co-operating with the Co-operative Extension Service as consultant in a state-wide survey of the members of home demonstration study groups, considering family characteristics, organizational participation, and types of interest.

Paul Miller has been appointed deputy director of the Agricultural Extension Service at Michigan State College.

As a part of the centennial celebration of the college, the School of Home Economics is presenting a symposium, "Potentialities of Women in the Middle Years," to be held April 18-20. Emphasis will be placed on problems of the changing role of women and on the related research findings.

Joel Smith has been appointed assistant professor of sociology.

State College and University of Mississippi.— The co-operative graduate program initiated last year is being continued. Other co-operative efforts linking the departments at the two institutions include research in health and the Mississippi population.

Mississippi Life Tables, 1950-51: By Sex, Race, and Residence, by Morton B. King, Jr. (university), John N. Burrus (Mississippi Southern College), and Harald A. Pedersen (State College) was published in November by the university's Bureau of Public Administration. *Mississippi's People, 1950*, by the same authors, will soon be released.

Staff changes at State College include the appointment of Walter E. Freeman as assistant professor of sociology and Herbert A. Aurbach and Luther Swords as assistant sociologist. Gerald Windham has been appointed graduate assistant.

Recent publications of the State College staff include those on community research by Harold F. Kaufman; mechanization and labor force studies and demographic studies by Harald A. Pedersen; health practices of rural families by Marion T. Loftin; and community case studies by A. Alexander Fanelli.

Recent publications of members of the university department include those on changing roles of medical personnel by Julien R. Tatum and Meso-American archeology by Robert L. Rands.

Alfred C. Schur, who is studying the population of the Mississippi State Penitentiary, is preparing a report on disciplinary practices in American prisons, using data secured from state and federal prison administrators.

Morton B. King, Jr., is the current president of the Southern Sociological Society.

Harald A. Pedersen has been awarded a Fulbright grant and is at present rural sociologist on the research staff of the Royal College of Agriculture and Veterinary Science in Copenhagen.

William Paul Carter is the president of the Mississippi Council on Family Relations.

Dorris W. Rivers has returned from a semester's leave at Duke University to resume his duties in the extension division and resident teaching.

National Academy of Sciences.—The Committee on Disaster Studies is interested in the effects of disaster upon individuals, groups, communities, and societies; human response to the threat and impact of disaster, ranging from the individual to the national level; the human aspects of such problems as communications, warning organization, rescue, welfare, medical care, evacuation, and logistics; and the long-term effects and recovery problems of disaster.

The committee will provide financial assistance for investigations and analyses, which will be similar to grants-in-aid ranging from $200 to $2,000. Projects requiring larger sums, if especially meritorious and pertinent to the committee's interests, will be considered. Proposals from graduate students, faculty members, and other qualified investigators will be entertained.

Inquiries should be directed to the Committee on Disaster Studies, Division of Anthropology and Psychology, National Academy of Science–National Research Council, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington, D.C.

National Training Laboratory in Group Development.—Two three-week summer laboratory sessions will be held at Gould Academy, Bethel, Maine, June 19–July 8 and July 17–August 5. About 125 applicants will be accepted for each of these two sessions from among applicants who should be leaders, trainers, or advisers of groups.

The program is sponsored, among others, by the Division of Adult Education Service of the National Education Association and by the Research Center for Group Dynamics of the University of Michigan, with the Co-operation of faculty members from Boston University, the universities of California, Chicago, and Colorado, Cornell University, the University of Illinois, Ohio State University, the University of Texas, Wayne University, Grinnell College, Michigan State College, and Teachers College at Columbia University.

Northwestern University.—Kimball Young, chairman of the department of sociology, will be on leave of absence during the winter quarter. He plans to spend some of his time completing certain manuscripts and the balance at the Huntington Library, gathering material on religious communal societies, in preparation for a cross-cultural study.

Wendell Bell has joined the department as associate professor.

Raymond W. Mack has received a second grant from the Graduate School of the university to continue his research on social mobility in several occupations.

A $235,000 Ford Foundation grant was received for support and expansion of the African Study Program, whose director is Melville J. Herskovits, chairman of the anthropology department. The program, inaugurated in 1949 with aid from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, was the first integrated African area-study program in America. The Ford Foundation grant is for a five-year period and will be used primarily for faculty field studies in Africa and for fellowships and scholarships for students preparing for African research. Other expenditures will be made for faculty publications, visiting lecturers, and seminars bringing together the world's outstanding experts on Africa.

College of the Pacific.—Harold S. Jacoby, chairman of the sociology department, has received a grant from the Columbia Foundation of San Francisco to study the East Indian population on the Pacific Coast.

Jesse F. Steiner, professor emeritus at the University of Washington, has joined the sociology faculty to teach during the fall semester.

Princeton University.—Gresham Sykes has been appointed assistant professor of sociology.

Rural Sociological Society.—The society will hold its annual meeting on the campus of the University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland, on August 29 and 30, with joint sessions at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C., with the American Sociological Society on August 31, 1955. The theme of the annual meeting will be "Research in Rural Sociology." The program is organized about the following subjects: social institutions; community and neighborhood; peasant societies; technological change; social psychology; research methods; application of research findings to action programs; the suburban community; social stratification; and population—the latter three sessions jointly . with the American Sociological Society.

All sociologists are invited to participate. For further information write to William H. Sewell, president, the Rural Sociological Society, 314 Agricultural Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison 6, Wisconsin; for information about lodging, to Wayne Rohrer, Department of Sociology, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland.

Russell Sage Foundation.—Eugene Weinstein has been appointed research fellow in the foundation's internship program.

San Francisco State College.—A study tour of Africa will be held in connection with the 1955 summer session. Under the direction of Alfred

G. Fisk, professor of philosophy, the group will leave New York on June 28 for an all-air trip, returning on September 1. The itinerary begins in Morocco and includes the west side of Africa to the Cape, with return through central and eastern sections. Interviews with prominent persons, including representatives of the African peoples, will be held in all the countries visited. The group travels on a co-operative, nonprofit basis, and college credit is available. Address inquiries to Alfred G. Fisk, San Francisco State College, San Francisco 27, California.

Third International Congress on Criminology. —The congress will meet in London, September 12–18, 1955.

The British Organizing Committee consists of Dr. Denis Carroll, president of the International Society for Criminology, chairman; Sir Cyril Burt, professor emeritus of psychology, University of London; Lord Chorley, chairman of the council of the Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency; Miss Margery Fry, former principal of Somerville College, Oxford; Dr. T. C. N. Gibbens, senior lecturer in forensic psychiatry, University of London; Dr. Edward Glover, chairman of the Scientific Committee, Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency, London; Dr. Max Grunhut, reader in criminology, Oxford; Dr. R. Sessions Hodge, clinical and research psychiatrist of the Burden Neurological Institute, Bristol; Hugh J. Klare, secretary of the Howard League for Penal Reform; Aubrey Lewis, professor of psychiatry, Maudsley Hospital, University of London; Dr. Hermann Mannheim, reader in criminology, University of London; Lord Merthyr, chairman of the Council Magistrates Association; and Dr. Leon Radzinowicz, director of the department of criminal science, Cambridge.

The subject is recidivism, which will be studied under five headings reported in the January issue of this *Journal* (p. 397).

Membership is open to all scientists, medical men, judges, magistrates, lawyers, officials dealing with crime and criminals, penal administrators and officers, police and police scientists, probation officers, social workers, and others who are seriously interested in, or concerned with, the subject of criminology in general or recidivism in particular.

The fee for full membership is £7.70 sterling and for associate membership (wives and husbands of members) £2.20 sterling. All checks should be crossed and made payable to the Third International Congress on Criminology.

All communications concerning the congress should be addressed to: The Organizing Secretary, Third International Congress on Criminology, 28 Weymouth Street, London, W.I., England.

Yale University.—The department of sociology, in co-operation with the School of Medicine, announces the establishment of a training program in medical sociology leading to the Ph.D. degree. It is designed to prepare sociologists for teaching, research, and administrative positions that involve training in the social aspects of medicine and public health and is a two-year program for students who have already completed two years of graduate work in sociology in an approved graduate school. It will begin on August 1, 1955, with an orientation seminar and in-service training in the Yale–New Haven Medical Center, to be followed during the academic year with course work and other training experience. Four fellowships, paying $1,500 the first year and $2,000 the second, have been made available by a Commonwealth Fund grant. They will be supplemented by tuition scholarships ($600 per academic year) from Yale University.

For further information, write to A. B. Hollingshead, 1965 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut.

BOOK REVIEWS

Living in Towns. Edited by LEO KUPER. London: Cresset Press, 1953. Pp. xi+370. 21s.

This book, initiating a promising series projected by the Research Board of the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science in the University of Birmingham, consists of five recent case studies, the first being a 200-page monograph by Leo Kuper. The four shorter essays are reports on more specialized problems in other localities. The book is a contribution to urban sociology, especially in its style of formulating hypotheses pointing toward a general theory of social relations and spatial arrangements in contemporary industrial civilization. The research program which brings the five authors together seeks a "judicious balance" between the extensive social survey and the small-sample case study concentrating on selected social factors, making use of both to secure enriched conceptual analyses.

In the monograph, "Blueprint for Living Together," Kuper analyzes the effects of a planned environment on the social life of residents of a newly built ninety-family unit in a working-class suburb of Coventry. The report contains house plans, which supplement his lively description. "Siting arrangements" caused the families to live in varying degrees of intimate physical proximity. The study shows that planning for people categorically grouped according to occupation and similar considerations does not necessarily make for compatibility or even tolerance. Kuper finds a tendency to polarization, even within a limited socioeconomic range, between families with "reserved-respectable" and those with "sociable-rough" tendencies (a distinction he traces to that of Tönnies between *Gesellschaft* and *Gemeinschaft*).

The monograph includes an interesting appendix containing tables examining "proximity" (types of "siting relationships") in relation to social behavior, particularly attitudes regarding neighbors and neighboring, and a careful discussion of methods, both in the field and in the statistical laboratory. In the concluding chapter, Kuper raises the question whether urbanization and the reduction of class differences in England involve a general diffusion of higher-class attitudes to privacy so that increasing re-serve and predominantly secondary relationships will prevail in neighborhoods. If so, the planners should take account of the fact as a trend operating against the development of "community spirit."

Like the first, each of the other studies in this book concentrates on a cluster of social factors and activities in a selected small sample of people in real or potential interconnectedness and seeks, through direct observation and interviewing, to illuminate topics that call for integrated, factual case studies.

One of the advantages of research so designed is that it promises to make effective use of more, and more diversified, perspectives than one large program less imaginatively conceived and more monolithically administered. Nothing within the purview of science is more complex than the modern city: no longer simply the many-faceted cultural capital but something spreading across the entire land; no longer simply "The Big Town," a tool for limited purposes, but something that is becoming the nation-city or the urban-state. The British term, "conurbation," marks out the colossus that even now calls for comprehension: the method of study they are developing deserves our closest attention and warmest support. It is well represented in this book, which demonstrates how to supplement the grand strategy of the extensive social survey with the fine tactics of the focused case study in an effort to solve selected problems that affect a whole nation but which require many local experiments, much local initiative, and a vast increase in communications about such matters.

Winifred M. Whiteley's "Littletown-in-Overspill" briefly examines an old market town in process of "dormitorisation," that is, changing from village to sururban life. The author, active in a workers' education program, in an informal study traces the apathy prevalent in the village to a kind of collusion among middle-class commuters, "immigrants" (ex-citizens of Bigtown), and a handful of "locals," all of them interested in preserving local charm and blind to changing local needs.

"The Outdoor Play of Children Living in Flats," by L. E. White, includes informal covert

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observations from the vantage point of his ground-floor apartment overlooking the court-yard in a new Council housing block in South London. The author had been warden of a play-ground near by and indicates an interest in re-ducing delinquency and vandalism.

In "Some Aspects of Social Mixing in Worcester," Janet H. Madge examines the so-cial status of Worcester members of certain as-sociations and clubs. She also reports a small house-to-house inquiry into the interclass rela-tions of persons occupying "big houses" and dwellings of lower taxation values. She under-took to discover how far the very considerable mixing of larger and smaller houses throughout the city—a product of many decades of develop-ment—reflected actual social mixing and how far the planner should provide for this in new construction. She finds that sheer proximity does not of itself develop very much interclass association.

In "Spare Time in the Black Country," Doris Rich reports on fifteen months of field work in the Coseley Urban District lying between Bir-mingham and Wolverhampton, an industrial but not a metropolitan area. Her study had no direct connection with a town-planning pro-gram but points instead to a general theory of leisure; for which comparative studies are urged. She gives a good account of the methods used, including some ingenious techniques for getting accurate data on leisure activities in family in-terviews in homes as well as interviews with members in clubs. "Logs" or profiles of four rep-resentative families: "The Family Who Go to the Public House," "The Husband Who Goes to the Social Club," "The Husband Who Goes to the Public House and the Wife Who Goes to Church," and "The Family Who Go to Church" provide interesting documentation, as do inter-view materials and a brief summary of "An Evening at Home in Coseley" based upon the author's experiences as participant-observer in three families of different social status situated in different parts of town. The piling-up of im-pressive evidence of routinized lives in this sec-tor of industrial civilization perhaps accounts for the author's protest that Coseley people "are not at all dull" (p. 362), but the summary offers little evidence to the contrary.

The composition of this book, prefaced by Professors Florence and Madge, reveals a dialec-tic that may be fundamental to the comprehen-sion of contemporary society: that between forces making for cohesion and those making for

social differentiation—e.g., the struggles of groups for survival, the drives of individuals for autonomy; the exigencies of large-scale planning and the persistent demand for individual priva-cy; the public welfare and the family secret. A role for social scientists is suggested: that of ac-tive participation of civilized intellects in the endless search for clarification, statement, and restatement, as required to maintain the deli-cate balance between security and liberty, sta-bility and social change. This report of British experience is most heartening.

BUFORD H. JUNKER

University of Chicago

Freedom and Control in Modern Society. By MORROE BERGER, THEODORE ABEL, and CHARLES H. PAGE. New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1954. Pp. xii+326. $6.00.

This volume was written in honor of Robert M. MacIver by his friends, students, and col-leagues. It contains fourteen contributions by sociologists and political scientists. As is usual in such volumes, the essays are of varying quality and interest and deal with a great variety of sub-ject matter; a few that seem of special interest to sociologists will be considered here.

The first part of the book groups a series of essays under the general title "Social Control, the Group, and the Individual." Paul F. Lazars-feld and Robert K. Merton contribute to this section a joint paper on "Friendship as a Social Process." Their analysis has intrinsic and sub-stantive value, but it is chiefly of note as exem-plifying in detail a fruitful interplay of theoreti-cal and formal analysis of a common research problem. Robert Bierstedt discusses "The Prob-lem of Authority" and makes a number of en-lightening distinctions, e.g., between compe-tence, leadership, and authority, which We-berian analysis of the problem has tended to neg-lect. Milton M. Gordon, in a paper on "Social Structure and Goals in Group Relations," ar-gues for closer attention to subcultural differen-tiations in the analysis of American social struc-ture and outlines suggestive leads for a theory of pluralistic integration of various subcultures. Gardner Murphy contributes a useful summary of social-psychological work on "The Internali-zation of Social Control."

Among the papers grouped under the general heading "The State and Society," the contribu-

tions of Kingsley Davis and Alex Inkeles are especially noteworthy. The former, writing about "The Demographic Foundations of National Power," concludes that a large population, a rich and extensive territory, a high proportion of people in nonagricultural pursuits, a high degree of industrialization and urbanization, a low agricultural density, a great amount of public education, and a balance of low fertility and low mortality are some key attributes of great-power status. Alex Inkeles discusses some of the social changes that have taken place in the Soviet Union from the "heroic" revolutionary to the present totalitarian period. He suggests that there exists a differential adaptability of various parts of the social structure to consciously directed social change, so that, while certain elements of the old structure were swept away almost at once, others required a longer process of change; in other areas, again, transformation was resisted more strongly and successfully. Kinship and family structure, in particular, seem to him to have successfully withstood many of the innovating policy decisions of the totalitarian leadership. Finally, Inkeles outlines some areas in which Communist social engineers failed to realize how their treatment of one particular institution would affect other institutions and the total system. This accounts, he feels, for "the failure of their propaganda efforts against abortion when it was legal and free, and when the individuals concerned had strong desires to avoid having children in the face of the pressures of inadequate income, housing, and other requirements of stable family life."

Seymour M. Lipset's "The Political Process in Trade Unions" alone would be worth the price of the book. Lipset provides a theoretical framework for the analysis of the internal structure of trade-unions and for the investigation of union bureaucracy. Taking Michels' classic analysis as a point of departure, he pushes far beyond him in specifying factors likely to affect the emergence of democratic or oligarchic trends. He sets up significant hypotheses bearing upon the probability of the emergence of oligarchic patterns in the union structure, examining, in turn, factors endemic in large-scale organizations, attributes of union membership, and the consequences of functional adaptation of the union structure to its social environment. The status of union leaders, the internal system of communication, the degree of membership participation in union affairs, the values of union leaders, the stages in the organizational

history, are examined in turn as to their effect in fostering or inhibiting the democratic process.

Lipset's general conclusions are that "the functional requirements for democracy cannot be met most of the time in most unions," but he holds with the political pluralists that unions, even if they may show tendencies toward oligarchic leadership within, serve to sustain political democracy in the larger body politic. One might perhaps quarrel with some of his specific hypotheses, and question, for example, whether in some cases what seems to him inherent in the structure of unions is not, rather, temporary phenomena associated with the prosperity of an economy geared in part to war production. Thus recent reports from Detroit suggest that layoffs, shorter hours, and other results of a recession in the automobile industry have led to significant increases in membership participation in UAW locals. But it remains that no student concerned with the problems of labor unions and the sociology of political processes can afford to ignore this paper.

LEWIS A. COSER

Brandeis University

The Role of Cities in Economic Development and Cultural Change: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the University of Chicago, May 24–26, 1954. (Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. III, No. 1 [October, 1954]).

This item consists of three papers: "Urbanization and the Development of Pre-industrial Areas," by Kingsley Davis and Hilda Hertz Golden; "The Social Structure and Function of Cities," by William L. Kolb; and "The Cultural Role of Cities," by Robert Redfield and Milton B. Singer. They comprise the first half of a multidisciplinary symposium jointly sponsored by the Committee on Economic Growth of the Social Science Research Council and the Research Center in Economic Development and Cultural Change of the University of Chicago. The remainder is to be published in the January, 1955, issue of the Center's recently established journal, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*.

The common ground of the three papers is their agreement that currently accepted propositions about cities are of too limited validity to be applicable to the less developed countries of the world. Davis and Golden contend that this limitation arises from a lack of study of non-

Western cities and that a general science of cities can only emerge from research on representative samples of all cities in the world. Kolb argues that what urban sociologists have considered to be the effects of urbanism are rather to be explained by the system of predominantly universalistic and achievement-oriented values associated with the rise of the city in the West; whereas urbanization occurs in a setting of different value in underdeveloped lands. Redfield and Singer lay stress on the city's role in the development extension, and systematization of an indigenous culture. This supplements the conventional view of the city as the site of innovation and center of dispersion for economic and technological transformations and as a force disrupting traditional culture patterns.

So much for the common element in the diagnoses of our present knowledge of urbanism. What do the respective papers contribute toward the improvement of that knowledge? Redfield and Singer offer a "scheme of constructs," principally the distinction between the "orthogenetic" and "heterogenetic" roles of cities, illustrated with historical examples. Kolb bids the urban sociologist attend to the "conditioning effect of a system of value-orientations" and apparently regards Parsons' system of "pattern-variables" as the appropriate set of tools for this task. Davis and Golden present data from Columbia University's "World Urban Resources Index" to illustrate the possibilities of comparative statistical analysis. The symposium thus has something to offer most students of urbanism who are dissatisfied with the state of knowledge, whether they prefer to proceed by seeking historical insight and coining neologisms, by deductively elaborating formalistic theory, or by analyzing quantitative data.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN

University of Chicago

Cultural Patterns and Technical Change: A Manual Prepared by the World Federation for Mental Health. Edited by MARGARET MEAD. Washington, D.C.: United States National Commission for UNESCO, 1953. Pp. 348. $1.75.

This volume represents a survey made by the World Federation for Mental Health on the problems of technical changes as they relate to the culture of a given people and the resultant implications for their mental health. It was done under the direction of Dr. Margaret Mead, in co-operation with a group of anthropologists, economists, educators, psychologists, sociologists, and medical personnel and under the authority of two resolutions of 1951 and 1952 concerning UNESCO programs to bring up-to-date knowledge to bear upon the problems of tensions caused by the introduction of modern techniques in nonindustrialized countries.

The volume itself is thoughtfully planned to make available to the reader a variety of situations relating to the central problem in five very different cultures: Burma, Greece, the Tiv of Nigeria, Palau, and the Spanish Americans of New Mexico.

The authors are careful to point out the areas in which they have little data. The materials themselves will be of the greatest interest to sociologists and will perhaps raise some questions again as to the reliability of the descriptive technique of the anthropologist in the absence of a more rigid methodology to test the validity of interpretation.

The Introduction states the hope that the materials will sensitize the technical expert, who may be called in by a specific government for aid in technical assistance and may be far removed from the field of mental health, to problems that arise as by-products of the new technology he will introduce. But in this area the book may be least successful. It is increasingly clear that the social scientist is failing to communicate effectively with the engineer, the agriculturist, and other specialized, scientific personnel. But this is not an insurmountable obstacle if we give it serious attention.

The volume is unquestionably valuable and will be useful to the sociologist. It would be exceedingly interesting to ascertain how and by whom it is actually being used.

JOSEPH B. GITTLER

University of Rochester

Needed Urban and Metropolitan Research. Edited by DONALD J. BOGUE. Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, Miami University; Chicago: Population Research and Training Center, University of Chicago, 1953. Pp. x+88. $1.25.

This volume is a product of a seminar in population, urbanism, and ecology at the University of Chicago whose topic was "Needed Urban

and Metropolitan Research." Among the contributors are practical professionals, as well as social scientists. Among the former are Harvey S. Perloff, Joseph D. Lohman, Elizabeth Wood, Walter H. Blucher, and Robert E. Merriam. Among the social scientists are Harold M. Mayer, Donald J. Bogue, and two distinguished professors emeriti of the University of Chicago, Ernest W. Burgess and William F. Ogburn.

As a manual for the social scientist interested in urban and metropolitan research, it is a good introduction to a number of concrete problems which confront the practitioner and constitutes a fertile source of urban research ideas as well—with two reservations. First, Donald Bogue states in his Introduction that priority should be given to studies with theoretical implications, which are also capable of providing some of the knowledge needed to achieve immediate practical ends, in preference to those studies which have theoretical implications only or those which have practical implications only. No one certainly would quarrel with such a priority, but how many of the research topics proposed by Professor Bogue fall into this category? In the majority of instances the theoretical implications of the research topics, especially those topics appended to the chapters written by "practical" persons, are not at all clear. In addition, many of the research questions raised by the "practical" persons merely demonstrate again that questions designed to answer practical questions are often framed in terms which make it difficult, if at times not impossible, to derive any information which can be brought to bear directly on theory. The value relevance of a piece of research is important, but it should not substitute for theoretical relevance.

Second, it is difficult to resist commenting on Professor Bogue's estimates of the extent to which his larger research topics can be executed by a student operating as a one-man research agency. These estimates are apparently based upon a person's interviewing in the daytime and then coding in the evenings and on the week ends. Even the most dedicated and industrious graduate student may spend a few evenings or a week end reading a good novel, chatting with his family, going to a party or a motion picture, and not consider himself a slacker in the forward march of science.

WENDELL BELL

Northwestern University

The Rural-Urban Fringe: A Study of Adjustment to Residence Location. By WALTER T. MARTIN. Eugene, Ore.: University of Oregon Press, 1953. Pp. v+109. $1.25.

Ever since contemporary intellectuals had to decide where to raise their children, much emotional energy has been expended on the writings comparing city and suburban life. This study is a sociological contribution to this problem and an interesting addition to the behavior-oriented work on suburbs done by the ecologists.

The study deals with the fringe of Eugene and Springfield, two small adjacent towns in Oregon. But from the description of the area it is difficult to determine whether Martin is studying the suburbs that have sprung up in recent years or whether he is venturing into the real fringe where urban antiurbanites hide among farmers and small-towners.

The conclusions of the study range from the obvious to the interesting. The population studied is well satisfied with its form of residence, but this should be expected as the natural consequence of a decision based on free choice. More important, little dissatisfaction was voiced about the inaccessibility of the city center, and Martin uses this finding to reject a hypothesis of accessibility based on the friction-of-space theory of traditional urban ecology and Marshallian land economics. Although the center studied is that of two small towns, Martin repeats previous findings and should suggest to sociologists and city planners alike that the hazards of commuting and the lack of contact with the urban center seem to be of little importance to those not seeking or supplying its cultural and intellectual attractions. However, Martin also found that men, who do not have to spend all their time in the fringe, are better adjusted than women. While he does not explain which women were least happy, experience seems to suggest that, for those with higher education, the suburb provides isolation as well as a preferred environment for raising children.

Fringe residents of higher income and higher social status and those who exhibit such related characteristics as ownership of larger lots and better-equipped houses and greater community participation are also better adjusted. This may simply be a function of a higher standard of living rather than of the attractiveness of the fringe itself.

An interesting finding which deserves further attention is that residents brought up in nonurban surroundings are better adjusted. If this

conclusion were based on a sociopsychological definition of urban and nonurban rather than on size of city of origin and were found also among residents in the fringes and suburbs of larger cities, it might mean that the descendants of the rural and small-town migrants to the city have not become urbanized but are today re-creating the parental home in more middle-class surroundings. The similarity of suburban and small-town social organization adds further ground for the hypothesis.

Martin has made a rigorous study, testing a small number of hypotheses, taking extraordinary care to prove his findings by the refutation of the null hypothesis at the .05 level of significance. But his methodological sophistication is accompanied by such primitive practices as the failure to define or discuss the concept of adjustment or to consider which variables and categories might be most relevant to a theory of residential adjustment. Consequently, no attempt is made to explain or account for the descriptive generalizations (many of them quite useful) which the study has unearthed. Until this is done, the conclusions so carefully tested here cannot be applied to other fringe areas.

The study would have been much better if the author had added a final chapter or appendix in which he let down his methodological guards and offered explanations and other generalizations which can be drawn from his data. An alternative suggests itself in the practice of anthropologists, who frequently call in the psychologists to check and add to their data by Rorschach tests. Martin's study shows once again that sociology will not mature unless it continually hacks away at the gap that seems to exist between rigorous methodology and meaningful and, we hope, causal analysis.

HERBERT J. GANS

University of Pennsylvania

Transportation and the Growth of Cities. By HARLAN W. GILMORE. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953. Pp. vi+170. $3.00.

The frustrating task of classifying cities is undertaken by a Tulane sociologist under the auspices of that university's Urban Life Research Institute.

The author finds the existing systems of classification inadequate. He asserts that a classification scheme must be constructed on the basis of both the economic and the social functions of a community. These functions depend on the type of economic and social system of which the community is a part and on the community's role in the division of labor. Transportation systems are taken as the best key to socioeconomic systems.

The author discusses in a readable, if elementary, fashion materials already available elsewhere on the evolution of transportation. He takes pains to note when transportation facilities reach stages where two-way traffic becomes practicable on a large scale. The use of different media and the development of three economic systems—the ancient, the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries, and the nineteenth and twentieth centuries— are made clear, as well as the social systems associated with each. Standards of living, urban-rural relations, power structure and status system, value system, occupational structure, and skills are described for each economic system. In the course of analyzing the pattern for division of labor (functions) between communities in the socioeconomic systems, the author differentiates between towns resulting primarily from the raw-material export function and from the import function. The characteristics combine in various cases to produce the following major types of town: the village, the farm market town, the collection city, and the terminal city.

This book may be useful, for example, as a collateral assignment to undergraduates especially interested in the effects of changes in transportation on city development. Future editions, however, should be improved by deletions of the obvious ("It is clear that the kinds of occupations practiced in a town or city are a result of the kinds of functions it performs," p. 100); repetitions and confusing statements; and some rather broad assumptions ("If feasible, most families would have a grocery store, drug store, pressing shop, and movie in their own back yard," p. 118). A revision should include the correction of misspellings of authors' names and remedy some quite surprising omissions of articles, such as that by C. D. Harris in the *Geographical Review* (1943). The author notes that air transportation is excluded from his analysis but gives no reasons.

The temptation to rely heavily on one factor in constructing a classification of cities has plagued earlier efforts, and, in stressing transportation, albeit with due attention to concomitant social systems, the present study faces the same difficulties. Perhaps the degree of success in avoiding them would be clearer if the author

had given more examples of his major types and subtypes: references to London, Paris, Rome, and United States cities other than New Orleans are confined to a very few pages; there are far too few examples of the various city types. C. D. Harris lists hundreds of cities in his "functional" classificatory scheme and thereby amply specifies how his system can be tested.

Classificatory work in this field is important and necessary, but to be successful it will have to be very carefully geared to problems of analysis. Perhaps the author will be encouraged by his initial study to go deeply into these problems.

GERALD BREESE
Princeton University

Urban Traffic: A Function of Land Use. By ROBERT B. MITCHELL and CHESTER RAPKIN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954. Pp. xviii+226. $5.00.

This volume is one of a pertinent series being published by the Institute for Urban Land Use and Housing Studies at Columbia University, in which organization the first author was research professor (formerly head of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission) and the second was research associate. The study reports the findings of an unusual—perhaps precedent-making—joint study involving university (the Institute), federal government (U.S. Bureau of Public Roads), and private (Alderson and Sessions) participation in what can properly be called "basic research." Most of the data analyzed are from studies of Philadelphia.

The purposes of the study were: (1) to measure the movement of persons and goods associated with various characteristics of selected land uses, (2) to measure vehicular and pedestrian street traffic, and (3) to develop and test hypotheses, methods, and techniques of study and to test and suggest possible modifications to standard internal and external surveys of the origin and destination of traffic. The specific objectives of the exploratory phase on which this is a report, were: (1) to develop and test a conceptual basis for the project, (2) to test the feasibility of finding answers to various questions, (3) to develop and test techniques and procedures, and (4) to develop statistical tabulations and maps needed for the precise formulation of further research. The study, accordingly, is devoted mainly to the formulation of concepts and construction of an analytical framework for future research. The objectives are approached via concise text, various appendixes, and a glos-

sary, plus a useful index. It is regrettable that the number of figures was not doubled, for those included are very effective.

Urban sociology, human ecology, urban geography, and land economics, as well as professional city planning, will profit most from this study, since it is directed toward both existing knowledge and necessary research, whether independent or joint.

Preparing the way for such research requires clearing away multiple meanings of such commonly used words as "trip." In addition, many new terms are required for formulating still other concepts, with the goal of reaching precise and testable hypotheses: the need for agreement on terms is overdue in this field. The authors are aware that not all problems have been completely surmounted, however, particularly the statistical.

The analysis of systems of movement and the relating of these systems to urban land use will be the major points of interest for most users of the study. Here will be found distilled the observations of many competent students of the functional relationships of which urban traffic is one consequence.

Although one of the reasons for making the study was to suggest urgently needed research, the authors devote relatively little space to such matters. Some of the projects referred to are overwhelmingly large and might profitably have been divided into manageable segments. Virtually every page, however, raises innumerable research problems. Appendix B ("Classification of Items Pertinent to the Study of Movement") is a suggestive source of clues to research. One of the underemphasized dimensions of the research area is the necessity for parallel studies of cities along the entire city-size continuum, lest one assume that what is true for Chicago or Philadelphia is true also for, say, cities of one hundred thousand. Readers who have not long immersed themselves in this research area may feel that the final chapter is perhaps too brief. But one cannot have everything in one book; and yet some would like to have seen included more of the materials of the 1950 draft of the present publication.

The formulation of concepts, the development of systems of movement, and the investigation of their functional relationships to land use, together with the analytical frameworks suggested, combine to make this a welcome contribution to urban research.

GERALD BREESE
Princeton University

Urban Land: Problems and Policies. ("Housing and Town and Country Planning," Bull. 7.) New York: United Nations Publication, Columbia University Press, 1953. Pp. 182. $1.75.

This title is misleading: the book is concerned almost exclusively with urban land problems and policies related to housing. Within that limitation it presents a comprehensive review of land problems growing out of rapid urbanization about the world and of the policies emerging to meet them. The extensive use made of foreign materials permits a comparative treatment of unprecedented scope.

The first third of the report is devoted to a summary analysis of changing tenure practices, housing pressures on urban land, and the development of land controls, together with the movement toward compulsory acquisitions. Most of the remaining pages are given over to descriptions of urban land policies in thirteen nations. The volume concludes with four case studies of housing programs and an exhaustive bibliography.

Much of the content is derived from statute-books and published plans. This leaves open the question of the effectiveness of policies in practice or even of the extent to which policies have actually been carried out. In some instances, however, e.g., in the examination of land policies in Denmark and France, some attention is given to local cultural factors and administrative procedures that influence the applications of laws. Again, as in the discussion of India, where few practices have matured to official statement, nascent policies are viewed in various contexts. Particularly impressive are the similarities among urban land problems encountered in contrasting culture areas; a striking tendency for policies to converge toward a common pattern is also revealed. No doubt, more intensive analysis would disclose numerous differences in both respects. The report is intended, of course, to be a survey. As such it is a very useful addition to the literature.

AMOS H. HAWLEY
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Comparative Population and Urban Research via Multiple Regression and Covariance Analysis. By DONALD J. BOGUE and DOROTHY L. HARRIS. Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation for Research in Population, Miami University; Chicago: Population Research and Training Center, 1954. Pp. vii+75. $0.90.

This monograph presents explicitly the rationale behind multiple regression and correlation techniques (including covariance analysis) when dealing with census-type data, and then utilizes the techniques to discover factors related to metropolitan growth, degree of suburbanization, rate of suburbanization, and central-city growth.

The monograph is carefully conceived and executed. Many factors were discovered to be related to the basic dependent variables, though the statistical explanation achieved was less than complete (no more than 75 per cent of the variance of any dependent variable was explained). Further, the authors found that variables with little theoretical relevance, such as previous growth rates to explain current growth rates, often proved most explanatory.

The research was exploratory, though the authors imply a theoretical base. Most of the independent variables apparently were selected simply because the authors thought they should be related to the dependent variables. Occasionally, they make contradictory statements. Compare, for instance, "In every case it was found that the current theories and explanations with regard to these phenomena are quite complete" (p. iv) with "At the present time no set of ecological variables has been explicitly formulated that could effectively explain metropolitan growth between 1940 and 1950" (p. 31).

The major contribution of the monograph lies in its clear, concise, and essentially complete discussion of the applicability of Fisher's analysis of variance and covariance models to sociological or nonmanipulated data. Included are sound discussions of the objectives, methods, and limitations of his procedures. One wonders only whether their limitations do not make them less valuable than the authors imply. In particular, one asks how far urban research can proceed without theoretical models and with the blanket assumption that relationships are linear.

While the monograph should certainly be read by all demographers and urban sociologists, the methodological discussion makes it important for practically all sociologists.

THEODORE R. ANDERSON
Yale University

Turrialba: Social Systems and the Introduction of Change. By CHARLES P. LOOMIS and OTHERS. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953. Pp. viii+288. $3.50.

Turrialba is a locality in central Costa Rica, the site of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, which is supported by the Organization of American States. Since 1949 this town and its environs have been studied primarily in terms of "social action research" co-operatively by the Institute and the Area Research Center of the Michigan State College department of sociology and anthropology. The present volume presents the first full-scale report on a continuing program.

The book's fourteen chapters are by a total of sixteen authors, who have produced a remarkably coherent exposition. Many of the individual chapters deal with "standard" topics for a community study: social status and communication, economic systems, ecological and demographic characteristics, health organizations and practices, religious systems, educational organization, political organization. An original feature is a separate chapter on informal social systems, and here and in the preceding chapter on social status and communication extensive use is made of techniques and concepts generally called "sociometric." Another departure from the standard topics is the chapter on agricultural extension systems which is included not only because of the special nature of the community but because the focus is on the agencies of change.

A surprising and regrettable omission is an analysis of family structure and the kinship system. Studies of the barriers to economic change in primitive and agrarian communities point to the crucial significance of traditional kinship organization. Not only does this report say little about family structure, but none of the hypotheses in the last chapter relates to changes in familial organization.

The order of presentation of the topical studies is somewhat puzzling. The explicit key concept of the research is "social system," and ecological and demographic factors are treated as somewhat external elements of the setting. It is by no means clear, therefore, why the chapters on these factors are interspersed with chapters on aspects of social system rather than immediately following the general chapter (ii) on "The Setting of the Study."

The treatment of demographic factors as "external" is a permissible convention for some analytical purposes but has costs. It leads in the present study to the implicit assumption that population size, age distributions, rate of growth, and socioeconomic characteristics are independent of the economic changes being ac-

tively fostered in the community. This is nonsense. So is the statement on page 119 that demographic characteristics are "relatively stable and largely unchangeable factors," a statement that data on the following page with reference to mortality trends amply contradict.

The latter part of the final chapter is devoted to a very interesting set of hypotheses concerning "the strategy of change." These are mainly two-variable propositions, topically arranged, and in some instances necessary conditions are stipulated. The theoretical derivation of these propositions is not by any means complete, but in the present state of our profession this is not surprising. It is disturbing, however, that the list of propositions contains none on the crucial aspects of strategy: the problems of substantive and temporal *priorities* in view of limited resources in time and treasure, and in view of interconnections among elements of a social system. Perhaps the authors have still too little appreciation of the functional integration of a social system.

WILBERT E. MOORE

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Ting Hsien: A North China Rural Community. By SIDNEY D. GAMBLE. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1954. Pp. xxv+472. $6.50.

There have been a number of studies on individual Chinese villages, but this is the first comprehensive study of a Chinese rural community which, consisting of a sizable group of villages, discloses a social pattern broader than that which studies of single villages can establish. Though much of the data concern 62 villages within an "experimental district," the book provides a substantial amount of information for the years 1927–33 for 443 villages and 11 towns, as well as their 70,034 families and some 400,000 population, comprising the rural county of Ting Hsien. Extensive information is given on population and family; on government and education; on agriculture; on finance, business, and industry; on social and religious activities; and on historical and geographical backgrounds.

Many sections of the book provide the first quantitative information in English on many vital aspects of Chinese society based on a sizable sample. An example of this is the data on the composition of rural families and family budgets. Detailed and integrated information

on local taxation, a subject so vital to Chinese peasants, is not matched elsewhere. The study on the relative values of copper currency and silver from 1857 to 1930 stands as an impressive individual project. The chapter on religion contains much new information and fresh insight. These are only a few of the many contributions from Dr. Gamble's book.

The information seems to be accurate within practical limits, for it was collected and tabulated by a group of well-trained Chinese workers who knew the territory intimately. The book is largely based upon Dr. Franklin Lee's volume, *Ting Hsien Survey*, published some two decades ago in Chinese, a book that has achieved recognized status among Chinese source references. Aside from being compiled by competent personnel, the data enjoyed unique advantages not available to most other field studies of Chinese communities, among them the confidence enjoyed by the Association of the Mass Education Movement from the local people, adequate financial support, and access to the authority and documents of the hsien government, which included some of the data that was to go into the 1934 edition of the *hsien chih* (local gazeteer).

Most of the basic information was collected by the questionnaire method. This accounts for the richness in statistical patterns of many aspects of the community and makes it possible for these patterns to include many correlations between functional factors. But this approach also accounts for the lack of intimate acquaintance with individual facts and, above all, the general insufficiency of information on the institutional patterns of social life. Thus, there is a wealth of information on village, district, and county governments, including their personnel and finance, but there is little information on the social institution of authority and power involved in the maintenance of social order. During the initial period of change in the earlier republican years, there is a gush of names of reform organizations, membership, activities, and finance but little analysis of how these new organizations fitted into the native social setting or how most of the reform organizations failed, beyond the simple explanation that they no longer commanded the interest and support of the people, or that they lost their leadership. In presenting a generally positive correlation between the size of family and family income, a reverse trend of the high income group led the author to "wonder whether the higher income families might not have had a fairly re-

cent influx of relatives that had increased the size of the average family and reduced the number of mu per person" (p. 103). There are absorbingly interesting data on the progressive reforms of a "model village," Chai Ch'eng, but little information on the possible existence of tensions within the institutional structure of the village community, which the reforms might or might not have resolved. The result is that, in spite of an abundance of information, particularly statistical information, a theoretical characterization of the community is missing.

However, theoretical characterization of the community may not have been the object of the study. As it stands, its data have provided practical guidance for many policies and measures of the Mass Education Movement which sponsored the investigation. The study, conducted in the years 1927–33, presents a picture of the prewar period which can be used to gauge changes which have occurred since then, such as changes wrought by the Communist regime. As a source book, this volume takes its place among outstanding survey works, such as J. L. Buck's *Land Utilization in China*. Few major countries suffer from the paucity of quantitative data and accurate information that China does, and the publication of this volume is a welcome addition to a limited fund of modern scientific knowledge.

C. K. YANG

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Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers. By FLOYD HUNTER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953. Pp. xiv+297. $5.00.

Professor Hunter reports here a study of the power structure of "Regional City," whose population is half a million people, which is in the South but not the deep South. The author defines power as "the acts of men going about the business of moving other men to act in relation to themselves or in relation to organic or inorganic things." Thus, power resides in the individuals living in a community or society. This concept of looking at the individual qua individual as the possessor of power is his basic assumption.

Operating upon this assumption, the author selected forty individuals from a list of one hundred and seventy-five names furnished by the Chamber of Commerce, the League of Women Voters, a Community Council, news-

paper editors, and civic leaders, who were reputed to be the holders of power in this community. He was assisted in the final selection of the power group by fourteen judges described as representing a cross-section of the local population. There was no consensus among the judges in selecting individuals reputed to be status leaders in the community and the author arbitrarily added those individuals whom he conceived should logically belong to this group. Although Hunter interviewed other individuals in the community, his conclusions about the nature of the power structure in Regional City rest upon the data that he secured by interviewing these presumed power-holders.

The author reports that it is not the formal institutions which make policy, but these identified selected individuals. They combine into cliques or what he calls "crowds," and these informal groups make the important decisions. The power-holders interact with one another and select one another as leaders in various projects. A particular clique or crowd may sponsor a project and then seek to convince other crowds of the merits of the proposal.

In the early stages of a policy decision a few men in the power group make the basic decision, and then other individuals are brought into the plan of action. At times, power-holders will wish to remain anonymous in the subsequent action, and "second- or third-raters" (from the point of view of holding power) will be called in to sponsor the project and carry it through to completion. This does not mean that the author claims that the men of power will initiate all basic decisions in Regional City: many decisions which do not threaten the interests and dominant values of the power-holders are made by individuals outside the power group.

"Expressions of fear in community life are prevalent among the top leaders. Pessimism is manifested among the professionals, and silence is found in the mass of the citizenry in Regional City." The fear of the leaders, according to the author, is related to the danger of change in existing power relations, with its consequent shift in the decision-making process. They feel guilty, he says, about their own great power. The pessimism of the professional arises out of the fact that he cannot be critical of any power decision without risking his professional

career. For example: a writer on a local trade journal who wrote a mild editorial favoring retention of price control eventually was forced to seek another position because the editorial was contrary to the decision of the holders of power.

This reviewer rejects Hunter's assumption that the power structure is resident in individuals qua individuals. Identifying the power-holders and polling them on their views of the power structure will not produce a realistic picture of the ongoing process which we would identify as the power structure. Rather, power is organized through the medium of special-interest groups or collectivities which transcends the wishes, beliefs, attitudes, and opinions of the individuals in them. Such collectivities develop a life of their own, with their own series of functions, claims, and expectations and are not a mere aggregation of inert individuals who are supposed to have some common interest or a similar social-class position. As a result of being acting organisms, they work out their behavior in the process of acting within the human context. Hunter's description of the role of cliques or special-interest groups in the power structure of Regional City as being merely aggregations of individual power-holders misses the essential characteristic of special-interest groups.

This study, nevertheless, will be of crucial importance if it is able to focus greater attention and stimulate further research into the character of the power structure in modern society. Hunter emphasizes the importance of organization in developing any effectiveness in the making of political decisions in the community or nation. Although the individual thereby gives up the ability to exercise his own initiative, he gains greater influence, as a collectivity, over the important decisions which affect his life. It should be noted that these special-interest groups are an integral feature of democratic society, in contrast to totalitarian political systems. While they develop a rationale and set of functions of their own, they nevertheless are held accountable when they come to seek support for their policies and programs.

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THE EARLY AND THE CONTEMPORARY
STUDY OF RELIGION

EDITORIAL FOREWORD

With the issue which this collection of articles on religion supplements, the *American Journal of Sociology* completes its sixtieth annual volume. Its editors and the publisher, the University of Chicago Press, take pleasure in presenting afresh to their readers—old, new, and potential—these now classic, but not easily accessible, papers on a subject of eternal interest. They take pride in the fact that a younger journal could not make such a gift to its public.

Albion W. Small, our founding editor, was part of a many-faceted social movement and enterprise led by William Rainey Harper, founding president of the University of Chicago. Harper, a Yale biblical scholar, organized popular evening Hebrew classes in and about Chicago; Hebrew was the medium through which people might get a truer and a livelier notion of the social settings in which our religious forefathers lived and worked. Armed with this truer knowledge, we could apply the gospel more effectively to the problems of our exciting times. But, for true progress, we also needed full scientific knowledge of all kinds, including that of society. The latter was Small's assignment. He was not less a passionate Baptist for being a profoundly erudite scholar and a strong advocate of the scientific study of society. His earliest colleagues were of similar mind. In the earlier volumes of the *Journal* one finds scholarly discussions of the philosophy of history and pleas for an objective, systematic, and empirical social science side by side with ardent statements of the social obligations, the program, and the hopes of the progressive Christian. In Small's "The Church and Class Conflicts" these themes appear, not side by side, but entwined with and supporting one another. While the paper may be considered representative of the later phase of the social movement of which Small had been so important a leader, it is also a document of lasting value on the eternal dialectic between science, politics, and religion.

Sumner, more clerical than Small to start with, since he had been an Episcopal clergyman, was less so by the time he wrote "Religion and the Mores." He represents a more cynical and dismal form of emancipation from the earlier orthodox religion of America.

Simmel, of more urbane and worldly origin than any of the American

sociologists, writes in the mood neither of Small's gospel of social progress through social science nor of Sumner's belligerent emancipation from religion and optimism. His article on the sociology of religion breathes that detachment, aesthetic in its tone, sensitive in its insight, which is characteristic of all his work. He writes as the true city man, born of city men, one whose passions and curiosity apparently are neither propelled nor guided by any recent emancipation.

When we sociologists are mature enough to study ourselves and our works with that combination of objectivity with curiosity which we achieve so easily in studying other lines of work, the chief theme of our study will be the relation of emancipation to knowledge and inquiry. Some grow emancipated from the faith of their fathers just enough to want to run from it and to tear from their clothing all the name-tags of the past; others, just enough to turn in bitter attack upon the very faith that gave them the energy to make their mark in the world, and sometimes, in not accidental error, to turn poisoned weapons upon themselves. Still others, having somehow conserved the energy and the spirit of the movements in which they were bred, have combined the sensitive knowledge of participation with a detachment which lets them see even dear things in their universal aspect. Many of the sociologists of the 1950's are emancipated from other faiths and cultures than those of Sumner, Small, Faris, and the present-day middle generations of American sociologists. At least one history of American sociology could be written on the basis of the various things succeeding generations have been partly emancipated from. When they are fully emancipated, it probably makes no difference.

Faris' paper on "The Sect and the Sectarian" belongs in the tradition of emancipation at its best. He wrote it in that period in which American sociologists were making fullest use of the sectarian community as a laboratory. North America was, and still is, teeming with communities founded as experimental Kingdoms of Heaven. Just as in our cities immigrant communities and institutions gave us a laboratory for study of cultural contact, so in the country and on the frontier did the sectarian communities. The sectarian communities also offered living models for the study of social experiment. The immigrant groups, the sectarian communities, and the sociologists themselves are all now in a different phase. If one were to seek a laboratory for study of social experiment, social change, and even of new facets of religion, he would now probably look elsewhere. If some sociologists now and again should become a bit homesick for the time when sect and immigrant community were the chief sociological stock in

trade, they may be quickly cured by realizing that their predecessors who did study those things were simply using the best available laboratory at the time for studying the eternal themes and processes with which a basic theory of social conduct must deal. We have no lack of new events, new experiments, new problems.

In a way, however, the problem of sociologists is not to keep abreast of the times; we are wonderful at keeping abreast or at least only one step behind what is going on in the world. But it takes a certain erudition to read the sociology of a past generation, which used the subject matter of its own time as the basis for general concepts and theorizing. And one result of republishing these papers now may perhaps be that it will lead sociologists to read about the preoccupations of their colleagues of another generation, possibly even to read through the preoccupations to less dated ideas and problems.

Mecklin's "The Passing of the Saint" might well be included in the literature on *Zeitgeist*, national character, popular culture, and communication—to cite some of the titles under which collective psychology is studied in our time. For is he not talking of those collective symbols which express the character and ideals of a people and of a time, which give a language in terms of which people may talk to each other without use of many words, and of how fundamental a change it is when people create hero myths of new and different kinds?

The shortest of the items in this supplement is one of the most important. It is a list of eight phases of religion which Ellsworth Faris, speaking in 1928, thought might be profitably studied sociologically. They still may be. It would be interesting, too, to make a new list in 1955. The international liturgical movement and its relations to latter-day Protestantism and to changes in social mobility and social structure would certainly be included. At the same time, one would have to note the emergence of a whole new set of sects, which apparently reflect new collective discontent and frustration in various elements of the population: Jehovah's Witnesses, aggressively alienated from politics, are perhaps the most symptomatic. The new messianism and adventism, whose followers flock to the desert to see the coming of the new day and the new leader in the guise of a space hero, who, in the fashion of science fiction, will carry the faithful in a shining flying saucer out of range of the devil and the H-bomb, are perhaps symptoms of the same discontents and hopes. The relations of American Protestant denominations and sects to classes and to various kinds of people are not becoming simpler, as they would if the only processes going on were social mobility and decline of sectarian difference; they

are probably becoming more complicated. Certainly, at all the fringes—of cities, regions, ethnic and racial groups, economic and social classes—traditional religious conceptions and institutions are threatened by new ideas, enterprises, and leaders. These matters lie ready for study by the sociologists of today.

Along with them—indeed, as part of them—we should be studying a whole aspect of religion overlooked, not by accident, by American sociologists. Our predecessors were emancipated Protestants, but not emancipated enough to seek sociological knowledge in the rich complex of Roman Catholic history and culture. Nearly everything, sociologically speaking, has happened to and in Catholicism. In spite of that, some apparently new things are happening to Catholic institutions right here in North America as they acclimatize themselves to the American social climate: changes in the class distribution of the American adherents; adaptations of parish and educational institutions to American conditions; application of Catholic theology to the indigenous problems of life and politics.

These remarks are not meant as systematic prolegomena either to these republished papers or to a sociological study of religion. They may qualify as bait or as goad.

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A CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION[1]

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The ambiguity which surrounds the origin and nature of religion will never be removed so long as we insist upon approaching the problem as one for which a single word will be the "open sesame." Thus far, no one has been able to offer a definition which, without vagueness and yet with sufficient comprehensiveness, has told once for all what religion is in its essence, in that which is common alike to the religion of Christians and South Sea islanders, to Buddhism and Mexican idolatry. Thus far it has not been distinguished, on the one hand, from mere metaphysical speculation, nor, on the other, from the credulity which believes in "ghosts." Its purest and highest manifestations are not yet proof against comparison with these. And the multiplicity of psychological causes to which religion is ascribed corresponds to this indefinite conception as to its nature. It matters not whether fear or love, ancestor-worship or self-deification, the moral instincts or the feeling of dependence, be regarded as the subjective root of religion; a theory is only then entirely erroneous when it assumes to be the sole explanation, and then only correct when it claims to point out merely one of the sources of religion. Hence the solution of the problem will be approached only when all the impulses, ideas, and conditions operating in this domain are inventoried, and that with the express determination that the significance of known particular motives is not to be arbitrarily expanded into general laws. Nor is this the only reservation that must be made in an attempt to determine the religious significance of the phenomena of social life which preceded all religion in the order of time. It must also be emphatically insisted upon that, no matter how mundanely and empiri-

.cally the origin of ideas about the super-mundane and transcendental is explained, neither the subjective emotional value of these ideas, nor their objective value as matters of fact, is at all in question. Both of these values lie beyond the limits which our merely genetic, psychological inquiry aims to reach.

In attempting to find the beginnings of religion in human relations which are in themselves non-religious, we merely follow a well-known method. It has long been admitted that science is merely a heightening, a refinement, a completion, of those means of knowledge which, in lower and dimmer degree, assist us in forming our judgments and experiences in daily, practical life. We only then arrive at a genetic explanation of art when we have analyzed those æsthetic experiences of life, in speech, in the emotions, in business, in social affairs, which are not in themselves artistic. All high and pure forms existed at first experimentally, as it were, in the germ, in connection with other forms; but in order to comprehend them in their highest and independent forms, we must look for them in their undeveloped states. Their significance, psychologically, will depend upon the determination of their proper places in a series which develops, as if by an organic growth, through a variety of stages, so that the new and differentiated in each appears as the unfolding of a germ contained in that which had preceded it. Thus it may help us to an insight into the origin and nature of religion, if we can discover in all kinds of non-religious conditions and interests certain religious momenta, the beginnings of what later came to be religion, definitely and independently. I do not believe that the religious feelings and impulses manifest themselves in religion only; rather, that they are to be found in many connections, a co-operating element in various situations, whose extreme development and differentiation is religion as an independent content of life. In order, now, to find the points at which, in the shifting conditions of human life, the momenta of religion originated, it will be necessary to digress to what may seem to be entirely foreign phenomena.

It has long been known that custom is the chief form of social control in the lower culture conditions. Those life-conditions

which, on the one hand, are subsequently codified as laws and enforced by the police power of the state, and, on the other hand, are remitted to the free consent of the cultivated and trained individual *socius,* are, in narrower and primitive circles, guaranteed by that peculiar, immediate control of the individual by his environment which we call custom. Custom, law, and the voluntary morality of the individual are different unifying elements of the social structure which can carry the same obligations as their content, and, as a matter of fact, have had them among different peoples at different times. Many of the norms and practices of public life are supported both by the free play of competing forces and by the control of the lower elements by higher ones. Many social interests were at first protected by the family organization, but later, or in other places, were taken under the care of purely voluntary associations or by the state. It can, in general, be asserted that the differentiations which characterize the social structure are always due to definite ends, causes, and interests; and so long as these continue, the social life, and the forms in which it expresses itself, may be exceedingly diverse, just as, on the other hand, this differentiation may itself have the most varied content. It seems to me that among these forms which human relations assume, and which may have the most diverse contents, there is one which cannot be otherwise described than as religious, even though this designation of it, to be sure, anticipates the name of the complete structure for its mere beginning and conditioning. For the coloring, so to speak, which justifies this description must not be a reflection from already existing religion; rather, human contact, in the purely psychological aspect of its interaction, develops that definite tendency which, heightened, and differentiated to independence, is known as religion.

We can safely assume that many human relations harbor a religious element. The relation of a devoted child to its parent, of an enthusiastic patriot to his country, of the fervent cosmopolite toward humanity; the relation of the laboring-man to his struggling fellows, or of the proud feudal lord to his class; the relation of the subject to the ruler under whose control he is, and

of the true soldier to his army — all these relations, with their infinite variety of content, looked at from the psychological side, may have a common tone which can be described only as religious. All religion contains a peculiar admixture of unselfish surrender and fervent desire, of humility and exaltation, of sensual concreteness and spiritual abstraction, which occasion a certain degree of emotional tension, a specific ardor and certainty of the subjective conditions, an inclusion of the subject experiencing them in a higher order — an order which is at the same time felt to be something subjective and personal. This religious quality is contained, it seems to me, in many other relations, and gives them a note which distinguishes them from relations based upon pure egoism, or pure suggestion, or even purely moral forces. As a matter of course, this quality is present with more or less strength, now appearing merely like a light overtone, and again as a quite distinct coloring. In many and important instances the developing period of these relations is thus characterized; that is to say, the same content which previously or at some subsequent period was borne by other forms of human relation, assumes a religious form in other periods. All this is best illustrated by those laws which at certain times or places reveal a theocratic character, are completely under religious sanctions, but which, at other times and places, are guaranteed either by the state or by custom. It would even seem as if the indispensable requirements of society frequently emerged from an entirely undifferentiated form in which moral, religious, and juridical sanctions were still indiscriminately mingled, like the Dharma of the Hindus, the Themis of the Greeks, and the *fas* of the Latins, and that finally, as historical conditions varied, now one and now the other of these sanctions developed into the "bearer" of such requirements. In the relation of the individual to the group also these changes can be observed; in times when patriotism is aroused, this relation assumes a devotion, a fervor, and a readiness of self-surrender which can be described only as religious; while at other times it is controlled by conventionality or the law of the land. For us the important thing is that it is, in every case, a question of human relations, and that it is merely a change, as it were, in the

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aggregate condition of these relations when, instead of purely conventional, it becomes religious, and instead of religious, legal, and then, in turn, voluntary, as a matter of fact, many socially injurious immoralities first found a place in the criminal code because of the resentment of the church; or, as illustrated by anti-Semitism, because a social-economic or racial relation between certain groups within a group can be transferred to the religious category, without, however, really becoming anything else than a social relation; or, as some suppose, that religious prostitution was merely a development of sexual life which was earlier or elsewhere controlled by pure convention.

In view of these examples, a previously indicated error must be more definitely guarded against. The theory here set forth is not intended to prove that certain social interests and occurrences were controlled by an already independently existing religious system. That, certainly, occurs often enough, brings about combinations of the greatest historical importance, and is very significant also in the examples cited. But what I mean is precisely the reverse of this, and, it must be admitted, of much less apparent connection, and one more difficult to discover; namely, that in those social relations the quality which we afterward, on account of its analogy with other existing religiosity, call religious, comes into being spontaneously, as a pure socio-psychological constellation, one of the possible relations of man to man. In contrast to this, religion, as an independent phenomenon, is a derivative thing, almost like the state in the Roman and modern sense, as an objective and self-sufficient existence, is secondary in contrast to the original causes, relations, and customs which immediately controlled the social elements, and which only gradually projected upon or abrogated to the state the conservation and execution of their contents. The entire history of social life is permeated by this process: the positively antagonistic motives of individuals, with which their social life begins, grow up into separate and independent organisms. Thus, from the regulations for preserving the group-life there arise, on the one hand, the law which codifies them, and, on the other, the judge whose business it is to apply them. Thus, from socially necessary tasks, first

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performed with the co-operation of all, and according to the rude empiricism of the times, there develop, on the one hand, a technology, as an ideal system of knowledge and rules, and, on the other hand, the laborer as the differentiated means for accomplishing those tasks. In a similar manner, although in these infinitely complex affairs the analogy constantly breaks down, it may have happened in things religious. The individual in a group is related to others, or to all, in the way above described; that is to say, his relations to them partake of a certain degree of exaltation, devotion, and fervency. From this there develops an ideal content, on the one hand, or gods, who protect those who sustain these relations; who brought the emotions which they experience into being; who, by their very existence, then bring into sharp relief — as an independent entity, so to speak — what had hitherto only existed as a form of human relation, and more or less blended with more actual life-forms. And this complex of ideas or phantasies finds an executive representation in the priesthood, like law in the person of the judge, or learning in a scholarly class. When this identification or substantialization of religion has been accomplished, it, in turn, has its effect upon the direct psychical relations of men among themselves, giving them the now well-known and so-called quality of *religiosity*. But in so doing it merely gives back what it had originally received. And it may, perhaps, be asserted that the so often wonderful and abstruse religious ideas could never have obtained their influence upon men if they had not been the formulæ or embodiments of previously existing relations for which consciousness had not yet found a more appropriate expression.

The intellectual motive underlying this explanation is a very general one, and may be expressed as a comprehensive rule, of which the materialistic conception of history affords a single illustration. When materialism derives the entire content of historic life from economic conditions, and defines custom and law, art and religion, science and social progress accordingly, a part of a very comprehensive process is exaggerated into the whole. The development of the forms and contents of social life, throughout its wide territory and multiplied phenomena, is

such that the selfsame content finds expression in many forms, and the same form in many contents. The events of history arrange themselves as if they were controlled by a tendency to make as much as possible of every given sum of movements. This is, apparently, the reason why history does not disintegrate into a collection of aphoristic movements, but binds together intimately, not only the synchronous, but the successive. That any particular form of life — social, literary, religious, personal — should survive its connection with a single content, and also lend itself unchanged to a new one; that the single content should maintain its essential nature through a mass of successive and mutually destructive forms, is precisely what the continuity of history will not permit. On the contrary, it prevents it; so that there should not be at some point an irrational leap, a break in the connection with the past. Since, now, the evolution of the race generally advances from the sensual and objective to the mental and subjective — only, it is true, frequently to reverse this order — there will often occur, in economic life, factors in the form of the abstract and intellectual, the forms which have built up the economic interests will intrude themselves into entirely different life-contents. But that is only one of the instances in which continuity and the law of parsimony are found in history. When, for example, the form of government exhibited in the state is repeated in the family; when the prevailing religion gives direction and inspiration to art; when frequent wars make the individual brutal and offensive even in peace; when political divisions influence non-political affairs and align diverging tendencies of culture according to party principles; then these are all expressions of this emphasized character of all historic life, of which the materialistic theory of history illuminates only a single side. And it is this side precisely which illustrates the development with which we are here concerned; forms of social relations either condense or refine themselves into a system of religious ideas, or add new elements to those which already exist; or, viewed differently, a specific emotional content which arose in the form of individual interaction, transfers itself in this relationship into a transcendent idea; this builds a new category

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according to which the forms or contents are experienced which have their origin in human relationships. I shall try to demonstrate this general suggestion by applying it to a particular phase of the religious life.

The faith which has come to be regarded as the essential, the substance, of religion, is first a relation between individuals; for it is a question of practical faith, which is by no means merely a lower form or attenuation of theoretical belief. When I say, "I believe in God," the assertion means something entirely different from the statement, "I believe in the existence of ether waves;" or, "The moon is inhabited;" or, "Human nature is always the same." It means not only that I accept the existence of God, even though it be not fully demonstrable, but it implies also a certain subjective relation to him, a going out of the affections to him, an attitude of life; in all of which there is a peculiar mixture of faith as a kind of method of knowledge with practical impulses and feelings. And now, as to the analogy of all this in human socialization. We do not base our mutual relations by any means upon what we conclusively know about each other. Rather, our feelings and suggestions express themselves in certain representations which can be described only as matters of faith, and which, in turn, have a reflex effect upon practical conditions. It is a specific psychological fact, hard to define, which we illustrate when we "believe in someone"—the child in its parents, the subordinate in his superior, friend in friend, the individual in the nation, and the subject in his sovereign. The social rôle of this faith has never been investigated; but this much is certain, that without it society would disintegrate. Obedience, for example, is largely based upon it. In innumerable instances it depends neither upon a definite recognition of law and force, nor upon affection, or suggestion, but upon that psychical intermediate thing which we call faith in a person or a group of persons. It has often been remarked that it is an incomprehensible thing that individuals, and entire classes, allow themselves to be oppressed and exploited, even though they possess ample power to secure immunity. But this is precisely the result of an easy-going, uncritical faith in the power, value, superiority, and goodness of

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those in authority — a faith which is by no means an uncertain, theoretical assumption, but a unique thing, compounded of knowledge, instinct, and feeling, which is concisely and simply described as faith in them. That, in the face of reasonable proof to the contrary, we still can retain our faith in an individual is one of the strongest of the ties that bind society. This faith, now, is of a most positive religious character. I do not mean that the religion was first, and that the sociological relations borrowed their attribute from it. I believe, rather, that the sociological significance arises without any regard for the religious data at all as a purely inter-individual, psychological relation, which later exhibits itself abstractly in religious faith. In faith in a deity the highest development of faith has become incorporate, so to speak; has been relieved of its connection with its social counterpart. Out of the subjective faith-process there develops, contrariwise, an object for that faith. The faith in human relations which exists as a social necessity now becomes an independent, typical function of humanity which spontaneously authenticates itself from within; just as it is no rare phenomenon for a certain object to produce a certain psychical process in us, and afterward for this process, having become independent, to create a corresponding object for itself. Human intercourse, in its ordinary as well as in its highest content, reveals in so many ways the psychological form of faith as its warrant that the necessity for "believing" develops spontaneously, and in so doing creates objects for its justification, much as the impulses of love or veneration can fasten themselves upon objects which in themselves could by no means evoke such sentiments, but whose qualifications for so doing are reflected upon them from the needs of the subject, or, as looked at from the other side, God as creator has been described as the product of the causal necessity in man. This last assertion by no means denies that this conception also has objective reality; only the motive out of which it grew subjectively into an idea is in question. The assumption is that the infinitely frequent application of the causal idea in the realm of its origin, the empiric-relative, finally made the need for it a dominating one, so that it found satisfaction, which was really denied it in the realm of the

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absolute, in the idea of an Absolute Being as the cause of the world. A similar process may project belief beyond the confines of its social origin, develop it into a similar organic need, and beget for it the idea of deity as an absolute object.

Another side of the social life which develops into a corresponding one within the religious life is found in the concept of unity. That we do not simply accept the disconnected manifoldness of our impressions of things, but look for the connections and relations which bind them into a unity; yes, that we everywhere presuppose the presence of higher unities and centers for the seemingly separate phenomena, in order that we may orient ourselves aright amid the confusion with which they come to us, is assuredly one of the important characteristics of social realities and necessities. Nowhere do we find, so directly and appreciably, a whole made up of separate elements; nowhere is their separation and free movement so energetically controlled by the center, as in the gens, the family, the state, in every purposive organization. When primitive associations are so often found organized in tens, it means, clearly, that the group-relationship is similar to that of the fingers of the hand — relative freedom and independent movement of the individual, and, at the same time, unity of purpose and inseparableness of existence from others. The fact that all social life is a relationship at once defines it as a unity; for what does unity signify but that many are mutually related, and that the fate of each is felt by all? The fact that this unity of society is occasionally attacked, that the freedom of the individual prompts him to break away from it, and that it is not absolutely true of the closest and most naïve relations, like the unity of the constituent parts of an organism — all this is precisely what must have driven it home to human consciousness as a particular form and special value of existence. The unity of things and interests which first impresses us in the social realm finds its highest representation — and one, as it were, separated from all material considerations — in the idea of the divine; most completely, of course, in the monotheistic, but relatively also in the lower, religions. It is the deepest significance of the God-idea that the manifoldness and contradictoriness of things find in it their rela-

tion and unity, it matters not whether it be the absolute unity of the one God, or the partial unities of polytheism. Thus, for example, the social life of the ancient Arabians, with the all-controlling influence of its tribal unity, foreshadowed mono-theism; among Semitic peoples, like the Jews, Phœnicians, and Canaanites, the method of their social unification and its trans-formations was plainly reflected in the character of their gods. So long as family unity was the controlling form, Baal signified only a father, whose children were the people. In proportion as the social aggregate included foreign branches not related by blood, he became a ruler objectively enthroned above. So soon as the social unity loses the character of blood-relationship, the reli-gious unity also loses it, so that the latter appears as the purely derived form of the former. Even the unification which rises superior to the sex-differentiation forms a particular religious type. The psychological obliteration of the sex-contrast, found so conspicuously in the social life of the Syrians, Assyrians, and Lydians, terminated in the conception of divinities which com-bined the two — the half-masculine Astarte, the man-woman Sandon, the sun-god Melkarth, who exchanges the sex-symbols with the moon-goddess. It is not a question about the trivial proposition that mankind is reflected in its gods — a general truth which needs no proof. The question is, rather, to find those particular human characteristics whose development and exten-sion beyond the human create the gods. And it must also be borne in mind that the gods do not exist as the idealization of individual characteristics, of the power, or moral or immoral characteristics, or the inclinations and needs of individuals; but that it is the inter-individual forms of life which often give their content to religious ideas. In that certain phases and intensities of social functions assume their purest, most abstract, and, at the same time, incorporate forms, they form the objects of religions, so that it can be said that religion, whatever else it may be, consists of forms of social relationships which, separated from their empirical content, become independent and have substances of their own attributed to them.

Two further considerations will illustrate how much the

unity of the group belongs to the functions that have developed into religion. The unity of the group is brought about and conserved, especially in primitive times, by the absence of war or competition within the group, in sharp contrast to the relations sustained to all outsiders. Now, there is probably no other single domain in which this non-competitive form of existence, this identity of aim and interest, is so clearly and completely represented as in religion. The peaceful character of the group-life just referred to is only relative. With the majority of the efforts put forth within the group there is also implied an attempt to exclude others from the same goal; to reduce as much as possible the disproportion between desire and satisfaction, even if it be at some cost to others; at least to find a criterion for doing and enjoying in the corresponding activities of others. It is almost solely in religion that the energies of individuals can find fullest development without coming into competition with each other, because, as Jesus so beautifully expresses it, there is room for all in God's house. Although the goal is common to all, it is possible for all to achieve it, not only without mutual exclusion, but by mutual co-operation. I call attention to the profound way in which the Lord's Supper expresses the truth that the same goal is for all, and to be reached by the same means; and also to the feasts which objectify the union of those who are moved by the same religious emotions, from the rude feasts of primitive religions, in which the union finally degenerated into sexual orgies, to its purest expression, the *pax hominibus*, which extended far beyond any single group. That absence of competition which conditions unity as the life-form of the group, but which always reigns only relatively and partially in it, has found absolute and intensest realization in the religious realm. It might actually be said of religion, as of faith, that it represents in substance — yes, to a certain extent consists of the substantialization of — that which, as form and function, regulates the group-life. And this, in turn, assumes a personal form in a priesthood which, despite its historic connection with certain classes, stands, in its fundamental idea, above all classes, and precisely on that account represents the focus and unity of the ideal life-content for all indi-

viduals. Thus the celibacy of the Catholic priesthood frees them from every special relation to any element or group of elements, and makes possible a uniform relation to each; just as "society" or the "state" stands above individuals as the abstract unity which represents all their relationships in itself. And, to mention a thoroughly concrete instance, throughout the Middle Ages the church afforded every benevolent impulse the great convenience of a central reservoir into which every benefaction could flow unchallenged. He who desired to rid himself of his wealth for the benefit of others did not have to bother about the ways and means, because there existed for this very purpose a universal central organ between the giver and the needy. Thus benevolence, a form of social relation within the group, secured, in the church, an organization and unity above the individual.

In like manner the reverse of this relation, with, however, the same germ, is seen in the attitude toward heretics. That which arrays great masses in hatred and moral condemnation against heretics is certainly not the difference in the dogmatic content of teaching, which, in most instances, is really not at all understood. It is rather the fact of the opposition of the one against the many. The persecution of heretics and dissenters springs from the instinct which recognizes the necessity for group-unity. Now, it is especially significant that in many instances of this kind religious variation could very well exist in conjunction with the unity of the group in all vital matters. But in religion the social instinct for unity has assumed such a pure, abstract, and, at the same time, substantial form that it no longer requires a union with real interests; while non-conformity seems to threaten the unity — that is to say, the very life-form — of the group. Just as an attack upon a palladium or other symbol of group-unity will evoke the most violent reaction, even though it may have no direct connection with it at all, so religion is the purest form of unity in society, raised high above all concrete individualities. This is demonstrated by the energy with which every heresy, no matter how irrelevant, is still combated.

And, finally, those internal relations between the individual and the group which we characterize as moral offer such deep

analogies to the individual's relations to his God that they would seem almost to be nothing more than their condensation and transformation. The whole wonderful fulness of the former is reflected in the many ways in which we "sense" the divine. The compelling and punitive gods, the loving God, the God of Spinoza who cannot return our love, the God who both bestows and deprives us of the inclination and ability to act — these are precisely the tokens by which the ethical relation between the group and its members unfolds its energies and oppositions. I call attention to the feeling of dependence, in which the essence of all religion has been found. The individual feels himself bound to a universal, to something higher, out of which he came, and into which he will return, and from which he also expects assistance and salvation, from which he differs and is yet identical with it. All these emotions, which meet as in a focus in the idea of God, can be traced back to the relation which the individual sustains to his species; on the one hand, to the past generations which have supplied him with the principal forms and contents of his being, on the other, to his contemporaries, who condition the manner and extent of its development. If the theory is correct which asserts that all religion is derived from ancestor-worship, from the worship and conciliation of the immortal soul of a forbear, especially of a hero and leader, it will confirm this connection; for we are, as a matter of fact, dependent upon what has been before us, and which was most directly concentrated in the authority of the fathers over their descendants. The deification of ancestors, especially of the ablest and most successful, is, as it were, the most appropriate expression of the dependence of the individual upon the previous life of the group, even though consciousness may reveal other motives for it. Thus the humility with which the pious person acknowledges that all that he is and has comes from God, and recognizes in him the source of his existence and ability, is properly traced to the relation of the individual to the whole. For man is not absolutely nothing in contrast to God, but only a dust-mote; a weak, but not entirely vain, force; a vessel, but yet adapted to its contents. When a given idea of God is, in essence, the origin and at the same time the unity of all the varieties of

being and willing, of all the antitheses and differences especially of our subjective life-interests, we can without more ado put the social totality into its place; for it is from this totality that all those impulses flow which come to us as the results of shifting adaptations, all that multiplicity of relations in which we find ourselves, that development of the organs with which we apprehend the different and almost irreconcilable aspects of the universe. And yet the social group is sufficiently unified to be regarded as the real unifying focus of these divergent radiations. Furthermore, the divine authority of kings is merely an expression for the complete concentration of power in their hands; as soon as the social unification, the objectification of the whole as against a part, has reached a certain point, it is conceived of by the individual as a supra-mundane power. And then, whether he still directly conceives it as social, or whether it is already clothed with divinity, the problem arises how much he, as an individual, can and must do to fulfil his destiny, and how much that supra-mundane principle will assist him. The independence of the individual in relation to that power, from which he received his independence, and which conditions its aims and methods, is as much a question in this case as in the other. Thus Augustine places the individual in a historic development against which he is as impotent as he is against God. And the doctrine of synergism is found throughout the entire history of the church conditioned by her internal politics. Just as, according to the strict religious conception, the individual is merely a vessel of the grace or wrath of god, so, according to the socialistic conception, he is a vessel of the forces emanating from the universal; and both instances reproduce the same fundamental ethical problem about the nature and the rights of the individual, and in both forms the surrender of the one to the other opposite principle frequently offers the only satisfaction still possible when an individuality, thrown wholly upon its own resources, no longer has the power to maintain itself.

This arrangement of religious and ethical-social ideas is supported by the fact that God is conceived as the personification of those virtues which he himself demands from the people. He is

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goodness, justice, patience, etc., rather than the possessor of these attributes; he is, as it is sometimes expressed, perfection in substance; he is goodness itself, and love itself, etc. Morality, the imperatives that control human conduct, has, so to speak, become immutable in him. As practical belief is a relation between persons which fashions an absolute over and above the form of relation; as unity is a form of relation between a group of persons which raises itself to that personification of the unity of things in which the divine is represented; so morality contains those forms of relation between man and man which the interests of the group has sanctioned, so that the God who exhibits the relative contents in absolute form, on the one hand, represents the claims and benefits of the group, as against the individual, and, on the other, divests those ethical-social duties which the individual must perform of their relativity, and presents them in himself in an absolutely substantial form. The relations of persons to each other, which have grown out of the most manifold interests, have been supported by the most opposite forces, and have been cast into the most diverse forms, also attain a condition in the aggregate whose identification with and relation to a Being above and beyond them we call religion — in that they become both abstract and concrete, a dual development which gives religion the strength with which it again, reflexively, influences those relations. The old idea that God is the Absolute, while that which is human is relative, here assumes a new meaning: it is the relations between men which find their substantial and ideal expression in the idea of the divine.

If investigations like this, touching the fundamentals of being, are usually accompanied by the hope that their significance should be understood sufficiently comprehensively, the reverse must here be the case, and the wish expressed that the arguments here set forth must not be permitted to intrude upon neighboring domains, beyond their own limited boundaries. They are not intended to describe the historical course of the origin of religion, but only to point out one of its many sources, quite irrespective of the fact whether this source, in conjunction with others, also from the domain of the non-religious, gave birth to religion, or whether

religion had already come into being when the sources here dis-
cussed added their quota to its content — their effectiveness is not
dependent upon any particular historical occasion. It must also
be borne in mind that religion, as a spiritual experience, is not a
finished product, but a vital process which each soul must beget
for itself, no matter how stable the traditional content may be;
and it is precisely here that the power and depth of religion are
found, namely, in its persistent ability to draw a given content of
religion into the flow of the emotions, whose movements must
constantly renew it, like the perpetually changing drops of water
which beget the stable picture of the rainbow. Hence the genetic
explanation of religion must not only embrace the historical origin
of its tradition, but its present energies also which allow us to
acquire what has come down to us from the fathers; so that in
this sense there are really "origins" of religion whose appearance
and effectiveness lie long after the "origin" of religion.

But, more important even than to deny that we offer here a
theory of the historical origin of religion, is it to insist that the
objective truth of religion has nothing whatever to do with this
investigation. Even if we have succeeded in the attempt to
understand religion as a product of the subjective conditions of
human life, we have not at all impinged upon the problem whether
the objective reality which lies outside of human thought contains
the counterpart and confirmation of the psychical reality which we
have here discussed. Thus the psychology of cognition seeks
to explain how the mind conceives the world to be spatial, and of
three dimensions, but is content to have other disciplines under-
take to prove whether beyond our mental world there is a world
of things in themselves of like forms. It is true, there may be a
limit beyond which the explanation of subjective facts from
purely subjective conditions may not be sufficient. The chain of
causes may have to terminate somewhere in an objective reality.
But this possibility or necessity can concern only him who has in
view the complete elucidation of the origin and nature of religion,
but it does not affect our attempt to trace only a single one of the
rays that are focused in religion.

Finally, the most important consideration remains. The emo-

tional value of religion — that is to say, the most subjective reflexive effect of the idea of God — is entirely independent of all assumption about the manner in which the idea originated. We here touch upon the most serious misconception to which the attempt to trace ideal values historically and psychologically is exposed. There are still many who feel that an ideal is deprived of its greatest charm, that the dignity of an emotion is degraded, if its origin can no longer be thought of as an incomprehensible miracle, a creation out of nothing — as if the comprehension of its development affected the value of a thing, as if lowliness of origin could affect the already achieved loftiness of the goal, and as if the simplicity of its several elements could destroy the importance of a product. Such is the foolish and confused notion that the dignity of humanity is profaned by tracing man's origin to the lower animals, as if that dignity did not depend upon what man really is, no matter what his origin. Persons entertaining such notions will always resist the attempt to understand religion by deriving it from elements not in themselves religious. But precisely such persons, who hope to preserve the dignity of religion by denying its historical-psychological origin, must be reproached with weakness of religious consciousness. Their subjective certainty and emotional depth must assuredly be of little moment, if the knowledge of their origin and development endangers or even touches their validity and worth. For, just as genuine and deepest love for a human being is not disturbed by subsequent evidence concerning its causes — yes, as its triumphant strength is revealed by its survival of the passing of those causes — so the strength of the subjective religious emotion is revealed only by the assurance which it has in itself, and with which it grounds its depth and intensity entirely beyond all the causes to which investigation may trace it.

RELIGION AND THE MORES[1]

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Mohammedanism, Romanism, and Protestantism contain systems of world-philosophy which have been deduced from religious dogmas. The world-philosophy is in each case removed by several steps of deduction from the religious postulates. In each case customs have grown up from the unavoidable compromise between metaphysical dogmas and interests, and these customs, so far as they inhere in essential traits of human nature, or in fundamental conditions of human life, or as far as they have taken on the sanctity of wide and ancient authority so that they seem to be above discussion, are the mores. Does a Roman Catholic, or a Mohammedan, or a Protestant child begin by learning the dogmas of his religion and then build a life-code on them? Not at all. He begins by living in, and according to, the mores of his family and societal environment. The vast mass of men in each case never do anything else but thus imbibe a character from the environment. If they learn the religious dogmas at all, it is superficially, negligently, erroneously. They are trained in the ritual, habituated to the usages, imbued with the notions, of the societal environment. They hear and repeat the proverbs, sayings, and maxims which are current in it. They perceive what

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is admired, ridiculed, abominated, desired by the people about them. They learn the code of conduct—what is considered stupid, smart, stylish, clever, or foolish, and they form themselves on these ideas. They get their standards from the standards of their environment. Behind this, but far behind it for all but the scholars, are the history and logic by which the mores are connected with the religious facts or dogmas, and when the scholars investigate the history and logic they find that the supposed history is a tissue of myths and legends and that the logic is like a thread broken at a hundred points, twisted into innumerable windings, and snarled into innumerable knots.

But now it follows that the mores are affected all the time by changes in environmental conditions and societal growth, and by changes in the arts, and they follow these influences without regard to religious institutions or doctrines, or, at most, compromises are continually made between inherited institutions and notions on one side and interests on the other. The religion has to follow the mores. In its nature, no religion ever changes. Every religion is absolute and eternal truth. It never contains any provision for its own amendment or "evolution." It would stultify itself if it should say: I am temporarily or contingently true, and I shall give way to something truer. I am a working hypothesis only. I am a constitution which may be amended whenever you please. "The faith once delivered to the saints" must claim to be perfect, and the formula itself means that the faith is changeless. A scientific or developing religion is an absurdity. But then again nothing is absolutely and eternally true. Everything must change. Religion is no exception. Therefore every religion is a resisting inertia which is being overcome by moving forces. Interests are the forces, because they respond, in men, to hunger, love, vanity, and fear, and the actual mores of a time are the resultant of the force of interests and the inertia of religion. The leaders of a period enlist on the side either of the interests or the resistance, and the mass of men float on the resultant current of the mores.

Religion is tradition. It is a product of history, and it is

embodied in ritual, institutions, officials, etc., which are historical. From time to time it is observed that the religious generalizations do not hold true; experience does not verify them. At last skepticism arises and new efforts of philosophy are required to re-establish the religious dogmas or to make new compromises. Philosophy appears as a force of revision and revolution. In the New Testament we see a new philosophy undermining and overthrowing rabbinical Judaism. This operation may be found in the history of any religion. It is often repeated. The institutional and traditional religion stands like an inherited and established product; the philosophy appears like a new and destructive element which claims to be reformatory, and may turn out to be such, but which begins by destruction.

We may see one of these operations in the ecclesiastical schism of the sixteenth century. The mediaeval system broke down in the fifteenth century. It was not able to support the weight thrown on it by the great changes of that period. New devices were charged with the great societal duties. For instance, the state was created and charged with duties which the church had claimed to perform. The state thus got control of marriage, divorce, legitimacy, property, education, etc. These things were in the mores, and the mores changed. The masses accepted the changes and readjusted their ideas accordingly. They turned to the state instead of the church for the defense and control of great interests, the schism in the church was a result. Those who still kept faith in sacramental religion have clung to institutions, ritual, dogmas, etc., which are consistent with sacramental religion; those who rejected sacramental dogmas have made new usages and institutions to fit their religious needs and experience. The latter school have made new deductions and inferences from the great principles of their creed and faith. The deductions thus made, when turned into injunctions or inhibitions, impose certain duties which are imperative and arbitrary. For instance, we are told that we must do a thing because the Bible says so, not because there is any rational relation between that act and self-realiza-

tion. Nobody has ever done what the Bible says. What men have always done, if they tried to do right, was to conform to the mores of the group and the time. Monastic and puritan sects have tried over and over again in the history of the church to obey the gospel injunctions. They begin by a protest against the worldliness of the church. They always have to segregate themselves. Why? They must get out of the current mores of society and create an environment of their own where they can nurse a new body of mores within which the acts they desire to practice will be possible. They have always especially desired to create a society with the mores which they approved, and to do this they needed to control coming generations through their children or successors. No such effort has ever succeeded. All the churches, and nearly all the Christian denominations have, until within a few years, resisted investigation of the truth of history and nature. They have yielded this position in part but not altogether; within a year we have heard of a movement in the Church of Rome to test and verify traditions about history and nature. So far, it has been suppressed. In the mores of today of all the intelligent classes the investigation of truth is a leading feature, and with justice, since the welfare of mankind primarily depends on correct knowledge of the world in which we live, and of human nature. It is a very heinous fault of the ecclesiastical organizations that they resist investigation or endeavor to control its results. It alienates them from the mores of the time, and destroys their usefulness. The mores will control the religion as they have done hitherto, and as they do now. They have forced an abandonment of ritual and dogma.

However, the case which is really important and which always presents itself in the second stage is that logical inferences as to what men ought to do are constructed upon the world-philosophy. In the New Testament the scribes and Pharisees were denounced because they had bound heavy burdens and laid them on men's shoulders. This referred to the rabbinical constructive duties of ritual and behavior—an elaborate system of duties in which energy was expended with no

gain in self-realization. The mediaeval church fell under the dominion of the same tendency and by construction and inference multiplied restrictions and arbitrary duties which had the same effect. We now hear constructive arguments made to prove from Scripture that there should be no divorce, and that no man should be allowed to marry his deceased wife's sister, although there is no authority at all in Scripture for such prohibitions.

It appears probable that all religious reformations have been due to changes in the mores. Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt in order to get them out of the collision between their mores and those of the Egyptians. The contrast between the mores of the Israelites and Canaanites is emphasized throughout the Old Testament.

It is against the mores of the Jews of the time of Jesus that the New Testament is a revolt. The denunciations of woe on the scribes and Pharisees are an expression of it. Christianity failed among the Jews because the revolution in the mores which it called for was too great; it was, in reality, a Hellenistic world-philosophy, and a treason inside Judaism. Mohammed's action was based on innovations in the mores of the Arabs which had partially prevailed, and which he adopted and urged with supernatural sanctions against the old mores. It is probable that Zoroaster and Buddha made themselves exponents of a revolution in the mores of their peoples. Zoroaster's work and the hostility between the Iranians and their kindred of India has made the history of the Persians, and of the other peoples of the Euphrates Valley and its neighborhood.

These examples show us that the influence of the religion on the mores is not to be denied, but they show us what this influence is and what it is not. Out of the experience arises the world-philosophy including religion. Thus there is a constant alternation of action or experience and thought. So far well, but then the deductions from the world-philosophy begin. They are metaphysical. They turn into dogmas which are logical or speculative or fantastic. There is not a sequence of experience, reflection, action, but the sequence is experience, reflection, de-

duction—perhaps repeated logical deductions, resulting in dogmas as an arbitrary injunction—and then new action. The ecclesiastics or philosophers get a chance to introduce selfish elements for their own aggrandizement. Next these dogmatic products are brought back to the world of experience and action as imperative rules of conduct. They may win outward respect and pretended obedience, but they are evaded. The moral product is chicane and hypocrisy, and this is what enters into the mores. At the same time, if the religion offers any bribes or concessions to human passion or weakness, the mores seize upon these and swell them into the vices of an age. If the church sets rigid and arbitrary rules it has to sell dispensations; why then should not the age become venal? If people revel in descriptions of torture and agony they will be callous to it. If the religion presents sensual indulgence as a reward of good conduct, then sensuality is an ideal. It is licensed, not restricted. In primitive society all customs were sanctioned by ghosts. Hence all customs are ritual; hence abortion, infanticide, killing the old, cannibalism, etc., etc., were all ritual acts and not only proper, but within the prescribed conditions they were duties. When Christendom declared sex-renunciation to be the ideal of perfection for one half of civilized men, and Mohammedanism presented sex-pleasure as the ideal for the other, a striking picture was presented of the two poles of excess and ill between which men are placed with respect to this great dominant interest of the race. All religions are creations of fantasy. They come out of the realm of metaphysics. They come down into this world of sense with authority. The moral ideas come out of the mores which move, and they are used to criticize the religious traditions which remain stereotyped. Religions enjoin acts which have become abominable in the mores, such as cannibalism, human sacrifice, child-sacrifice, prostitution, intoxication. They aim to supersede experience, knowledge, and reason by labors and injunctions. Galton[2] says: "The religious instructor, in every creed, is one who makes it his profession to saturate his pupils with preju-

[2] *Human Faculty*, p. 210.

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dice." Some obey, but the great mass of the society do, day by day, what will satisfy their interests according to the best knowledge they have or can get from the usages of the people around them. These acts and the thoughts, codes, and standards which go with them are the mores. Every people, therefore, takes out of its religion or out of the religion which is brought to it just what suits its tastes and its ways.

No religion of those which we call world-religions, and which have a complete system, is ever put in practice as a whole. The people always take out of it what suits their tastes and ideas, and that means especially their mores. Buddhism has run out into quite independent forms in Ceylon, Tibet, and China and has died out in Hindustan. Its excessive ritual, its contemplativeness, its futile learning, the phantasmagoria of supernatural beings which take the place of a god, its spells and charms and prayer-wheels bear witness to antecedent traits in the people who adopted it and which it has never overcome. The mores follow these traits, not the religious dogmas. All the elaborate (i. e., civilized) religions impose duties which are irksome, especially if they are interferences with interest or with human passions and appetites. The duties are neglected. Then comes fear of the anger of the deity. At this point ritual comes in as expiation, and atonement, especially in the forms of self-discipline, sacrifice, self-mutilation, scourging, fines, fasting, pilgrimages, church-going, etc. Consequently, when religion is ritual and its methods of reconciling man and God are ritualistic, all the methods of self-discipline enter deeply into the mores. Mediaeval Christianity and Mohammedanism illustrate this by the importance ascribed to fasting. It is an active agent as it is employed. The English ritualists of the last sixty years have introduced ritual as an engine to teach the old doctrine of religion and to bring the interest of men back to the mediaeval views that the greatest interest of man is the apparatus and operation (sacraments) by which his fate in the other world may be decided. Zoroastrianism may very probably be due, in the main, to one man, for it seems to be an invented system, but it came out of a body of magi who had

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long existed and it contains a system made by them and for them. The old demonism of Babylonia overpowered it. For the practical life of persons who were not magi it was realistic and matter of fact. It inculcated industry and thrift and its ideals of virtue were industrial. They consisted in good work, in subduing the earth, and making it productive. It fell in with the mores of the people of the Euphrates Valley and strengthened them. Mohammedanism has been a conquering religion; it has been imposed on some people who were heathen. For them it has great influence because its creed is simple and its ritual is simple, but at the same time strict and incessant. It has split into great sects on account of the transformations imposed on it by more civilized people who accepted it. Its fatalism, lack of civil ideas, spirit of plunder and conquest, fanaticism, and scientific ignorance have entered into the mores of all the people who have accepted it. Hence the mores of Mohammedan nations present a great variety, and often very grotesque combinations. Christianity has taken very different forms among Greeks, Slavs, Latins, and Teutons. It inculcates meekness, but few Christians have ever been meek. It has absorbed all kinds of elements where it has met with native and national elements which it could not displace. That is as much as to say that it has had to yield to the mores. We hear a great deal about its victories over heathenism. They were all compromises, and when we get to know the old heathenism we find it again in what we thought were the most distinctive features of Christianity. The religion of Odin was a religion of warriors and for warriors. It took its tone from them and gave back the warrior spirit with a new sanction and an intensified ideal in this world and the other. Ferocity, bloodshed, and indifference to death were antecedents and consequents of the religion.

Sects of religion form upon a single idea or doctrine. This they always exaggerate. Then the dogma gets power over the whole life. This is the case in which the religion rises superior to the mores and molds them, as in the case of the Quakers. Some sects of India (the Jains) have put the prohibition against killing anything whatsoever which has life before everything

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else, and have drawn the extremest inferences from it as to what one ought to do and not do lest he kill anything. Their whole mode of life and code of duty is a consequence.

Within fifty years in the United States the mores have very powerfully influenced religion, and the effect is open to our view. The dogmatic side of religion has been laid aside by all the Protestant denominations. Many instances may be shown in which the mores have modified the religion. The attitude toward religion is in the mores; in recent mores open attacks on religion are frowned upon as bad manners and religion is treated with respect. The deism of the eighteenth century was an attack on religion, but the agnosticism of the nineteenth century, although irreligious, sought no war with religion. At the same time the interest in religion has very greatly diminished, and it is a symptom of indifference when men do not care to carry on controversies about it. The clergy has ceased to preach "theology." They and their congregations care for theology no longer; they look upon "morality" as the business of the clergy and the pulpit. The pulpit, as an institution, no longer speaks with authority. It tries to persuade, and to do this it has to aim at popularity. It wants to attract attention like newspapers, books, the theater, the lecture-platform, and it has to have recourse, like them, to sensational methods. If it cannot command authority, it must try to recommend itself by the power of reason. The current fashion is social endeavor, especially under the forms of charity. This sets the lines along which the churches and denominations vie with each other for the approval of the public. A church, therefore, turns into a congeries of institutions for various forms of social amelioration, and the pulpit exercises consist in discussions of public topics, especially social topics, "from an ethical standpoint," that is, by the application of the ethical, or quasi-ethical, notions which are at present current in our mores. What is that but a re-modeling of the ecclesiastical institutions which we have inherited, according to the notions, standards, and faiths which are in the mores of our time? Religion, properly speaking, simply falls away. It is not as strong a motive as humanitari-

anism, and it is in nowise necessary to the work of social amelioration. Often it is a hindrance by diverting energy and capital from social work to ecclesiastical expenditures. When theologians declare that they accept the evolution philosophy, because, however the world came to be, God was behind it, this is a fatal concession for religion or theology. When religion withdraws into this position it has abandoned the whole field of human interest. It may be safe from attack, but it is also powerless, and a matter of indifference. Theologians also say now that the miracles of Christ are proved by the character of Christ, not his character by the miracles.[3] This is another apologetic effort which is a fatal concession. In the record the miracles are plainly put forward to authenticate the person; if they are construed in the other way they are, in an age whose mores are penetrated by instinctive scorn of magic and miracles, a dead weight on the system. The apology therefore wins nobody, but interposes a repelling force. An apology is always a matter of policy, and it would be far better to drop miracles with witches, hell, personal devil, flood, tower of Babel, creation in six days, etc., in silence. The various attempts of the eighteenth century (Butler, Paley) to sustain religion or theology by analogies, design, etc., are entirely outside of our mores. The philosophical or logical methods no longer have any force on the minds of any class in our society. When a church is only a slightly integrated association for ethical discussion and united social effort, religion ceases to be, and when religion withdraws entirely into the domain of metaphysical speculation, it is of no account. In the middle of the nineteenth century those Protestants who wanted to maintain religion for itself, or as an end in itself, did what the situation called for; they made religion once more ritual and tried to revive the "Catholic faith" without the pope. That would be a revival, to a great extent, of mediaeval ecclesiasticism and mores. We are therefore witnesses of a struggle to stem the tide of the mores by concerted action and tactics in the interest of mediaeval religion. At the same time the mores of modern civilization

[3] Robbins, *A Christian Apologetic.*

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are sapping the foundations, not only of mediaeval and Greek Christianity, but also of Mohammedanism and Buddhism. The high-church or ritualistic movement is therefore a rally in the battle which has been going on for five hundred years between mediaeval Christianity and the improved mores.

In the fifteenth century the great inventions, the geographical discoveries, the extension of commerce, the growth of capital, the rise of the middle class, the revival of learning, the growth of great dynastic states, destroyed the ideals of poverty, obedience, and chastity. The idea of Catholicity died just as the idea of the Crusades did; it was recognized as a chimaera. The church was not doing the work it stood for in the world. These were fatal facts and courage was found to face them. It was the mores which shifted—moreover all the bad as well as the good of the mores entered into the change.

The mores are a vast and complex mass of acts and thoughts —not some good and some bad, but all mixed in quality. All the elements are there always. The sects deride and denounce each other and they always select material for their jibes from what they allege to be the facts about each other's influence on the mores.

The Christian church disapproved of luxury and ornament and repressed them in the mores of Christendom until the fourteenth century. The Renaissance brought in pagan ideas of beauty, art, ornament, pleasure, and joy in life, from which luxury arose. In the present mores of all civilized peoples the love of luxury is strong. It is increasing and is spreading to all classes; those who cannot enjoy it think themselves wronged by the social order. This sentiment is one of the very strongest in the masses. It characterizes the age and is one of those forces which change the face of institutions and produce social war.

The change of interest, in the sixteenth century, to the philosophy and the paganism of the classics included a great reduction in the other-worldliness of the Middle Ages. The point of interest was in this world and this life, without denial of the truth of a future life; terror of the future world and anxiety to know how to provide for it, with eager seizure of

the sacramental and sacerdotal means which the church-provided, all declined. The Renaissance tried to renew the Greek joy in life with art, pleasure, music, grace, social enjoyment, freedom, and luxury instead of asceticism, ritual, ecclesiasticism, rigid authority, distrust, and gloom. The religious wars greatly interfered with the programme of the Renaissance. They partly dispelled gaiety and grace. It was in the mores that the changes occurred. Churches fell to decay; monasteries disappeared; chantries were suppressed; clergymen abandoned their calling; pilgrimages, processions, retreats—all were neglected. Some lamented and protested; others applauded; the greatest number were indifferent. The attitude depended on the place and circumstances, above all upon commercial and industrial interests and upon intellectual attainments. The great fact was that faith in sacramentarianism as a philosophy of this life and the other was broken, and the mores which had been the outcome of that faith fell into neglect. The Counter-reformation arose from supposed effects of the church schism on the mores. The removal of the other world to a remoter place in human interest was a great change in religion. At its best, modern religion became a guide of life here, not a preparation for another life. Modern thought has been realistic and naturalistic, and the mores have all conformed to this world-philosophy. The other-worldliness has been ethical. It has been at war with the materialism of this world, a war which is in the mores, for we are largely under the dominion of those secondary or remoter dogmas deduced from grand conceptions of world-philosophy and inculcated as absolute authority. Our mores at the same time instinctively tend toward realistic and naturalistic views of life for which a new world-philosophy is growing up. Here we have the explanation of the gulf which is constantly widening between the "modern spirit" and the traditional religion. Some cling to the traditional religion in one or another of its forms which, after all, represent only the grades of departure from the mediaeval form toward complete harmony with the modern mores. What the mores always represent is the struggle to live as well as possible under the condi-

tions. Traditions, so far as they come out of other conditions and are accepted as independent authorities in the present conditions, are felt as hindrances. It is because our religious traditions now do not assume authority, but seek to persuade, that active war against them has ceased and that they are treated with more respect now than in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Other-worldliness, that is, care about the life after death and anxiety to secure bliss there by proper action here, occupied a large share of the interest of mediaeval men. Feudalism is a form of society which arises under given conditions, as we see from the numerous cases of it in history. Mediaeval society shows us a great population caught up in the drift of these two currents, one of world-philosophy and the other of societal environment, and working out all social customs and institutions into conformity with them. The force of this philosophy and the energy of the men are astounding. In the civil world there was disintegration, but in the moral world there was coherence and comprehensiveness in the choice of ideals and in the pursuit of them. In the thirteenth century there was a culmination in which the vigorous expansion of all the elements reached a degree of development which is amazing. The men of the time fell into the modes of feudalism as if it had been the order of nature; they accepted it as such. They accepted the leadership of the church with full satisfaction. Preaching and ritual, with popular poetry aided by symbolism in art, were the only ways of acting on the minds of the mass; there was no tendency to reflection and criticism any more than among barbarians. The mores were the simple, direct, and naïve expression of the prevailing interests of the period; that is why they are so strong and their interaction is so vigorous. The sanction of excommunication was frightful in its effect on beliefs and acts. The canon law is an astonishing product of the time. It is really a codification of the mores modified somewhat, especially in the later additions, by the bias which the church wanted to impress on the mores. It is because the canon law is fictitious in its pretended historical authority, and

because the citations in it from the fathers are selected and interpreted for a purpose, that it really expressed just the mores of the time. "The Decretals were invented to furnish what was entirely lacking, that is, a documentary authority, running back to Apostolic times, for the divine institution of the primacy of the pope and of the teaching office of bishops."[4] The period entirely lacked historical sense and critical method. What it had received from the last preceding generation was, and must have been always. But that was the mores. Horror of heretics, witches, Mohammedans, Jews, was in them, and so were all the other intense faiths, loves, desires, hates, and efforts of the period. In the lack of reading, travel, and discussion there was very little skepticism. Life went on from day to day by repetition along grooves of usage and habit. Such life makes strong mores, but also rigid and mechanical ones. In modern times the thirst for reality has developed criticism and skepticism; everything is discussed and questioned. There are few certainties in our knowledge. Our mores are flexible, elastic, and to some extent unstable, but they have strong guarantees. They are to a great extent rational, because if they are not rational they perish. They are open and intelligent, because they are supported by literature and wide discussion. They are also tough, and rather organic than mechanical.

All modern students of the mediaeval world have noted the contradictions and inconsistencies of living and thinking. Of these the most important is the contradiction between renunciation of the world and ruling the world; a Gregory VII, or an Innocent III, goes from one to the other of these without a sense of moral jar, and the modern students who fix their minds on one or the other have two different conceptions of the Middle Ages. Phantasms and ideals have no consistency. A man who deals with them instead of dealing with realities may have a kaleidoscopic relation between his ideas, which relation may be symmetrical, and poetically beautiful; he will have no nexus of thought between his ideas, and therefore no productive combination of them. The mediaeval people had a great number

[4] Eicken, *Mittelalt. Weltanschauung*, p. 656.

of ideals, and they went from one to the other by abrupt transitions without any difficulty. They had intense feelings and enthusiasm for their ideals, but when an intense feeling instead of deep knowledge is the basis of conviction there is no mental or moral consistency.

I have maintained that the religion comes out of the mores and is controlled by them. The religion, however, sums up the most general and philosophic elements in the mores, and inculcates them as religious dogmas. It also forms precepts on them. For an example we may note how the humanitarianism of modern mores has colored and warped Christianity. Humanitarianism grew out of economic power by commerce, inventions, steam, and electricity. Humanitarianism led to opposition to slavery, and to the emancipation of women. These are not doctrines of the Bible or of Middle-Age Christianity. They were imposed on modern religion by the mores. Then they came from the religion to the modern world as religious ideas and duties, with religious and ecclesiastical sanctions. This is the usual interplay of the mores and religion.

THE PASSING OF THE SAINT

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Words sometimes remind one of the great glacial bowlders of a New England farm. They persist unchanged after the civilizations, the institutions, the systems of thought that formed their original settings and gave them meaning, have disappeared like the glacial ice-flow of which the bowlder was once a part. The traditional idea of saint is strangely out of place in a democratic age. For the saint in the classic sense is a spiritual aristocrat and presupposes a society with fixed and fundamental class distinctions. A democracy of saints is unthinkable. Orthodox Protestantism emasculated the idea of the saint by making it theological. Liberal Protestantism threatens to give the deathblow to the idea of the saint by trying to democratize it. The mediaeval saint was a specialist with social functions as definite as those of king, knight, gildsman, butcher, baker, or candlestick-maker. He was the conserver of values, the chosen and professional representative on earth of the *vita contemplativa* that was to be consummated in paradise. The saint was the source of spiritual power and social reform, the special receptacle of divine wonder-working energy, *le religieux par excellence* of the community.

The saint's social significance was, therefore, early recognized. Gregory the Great began the custom of collecting and editing the

stories of their lives. Men lingered lovingly and devoutly over the records of their miracles. The sweet abandon of their acts of *caritas* and their piety, now mystical and contemplative, now militant and heaven-storming, fascinated the Middle Ages. In the absence of the mediaeval setting which has given the term its characteristic meanings it has for us today mainly a historical significance. The term "saint" is not one that we apply to our heroes; it is not in harmony with our scientific naturalism or our militant industrialism. At most it describes the sentimental and mystical side of religion or is retained as a technical term of theology. But for the best part of the history of Christendom the term "saint" described the highest ideal, moral, spiritual, and social, of the age. Saintliness was the last word in the catalogue of virtues.

Social psychology has taught us to look upon ideals, as these find expression in the types of personality of any group or age, not as mysterious creations of supernatural forces but as products of the period concerned. In proportion as we have a definite group or a fixed social milieu we find emerging within that group or particular social setting a form of objective morality which consists of settled modes of behavior or moral criteria sanctioned by society as a whole. These are not to be identified with social institutions such as churches, law courts, schools, clubs, industrial organizations, and the like. We have in mind rather the habits of thought, the organizations of sentiments which find expression through these institutions and which to a very large extent have created them. These general types are the product of the larger forces of the age which we sometimes describe under the vague term of the *Zeitgeist*. In this broad sense it may be said that the Sophist of the Periclean age, the Stoic sage of several centuries later, the saint of early Christianity, and the monk of the Middle Ages were the outgrowths of their times. To understand the saint of the early Christian community we must remember that we are dealing with a small group, at first little more than a Jewish sect. To survive this group had to adjust itself not only to the immediate social situation in Judaism but also to the policies of Rome. It was only one of countless other rival sects in an age when religious syncretism was rife. Hence there is hardly a phase of early

Christian morality that we do not find paralleled in other religious communities.

Two things dominated the thought of the early Christian, the eschatological ideas derived from the Jews and the opposition to the morality of paganism. The combination of these two forces led to a curious distortion of moral values within the Christian group. It caused certain passive virtues to take precedence over the militant pagan virtues. The Christian lived always under the pressure of the idea of another moral order in which present values would be utterly changed. He was thus ever projecting himself with his possibilities for the development of personality into an invisible transcendental order which he felt might at any moment arrive. The unseen things alone were real and eternal. The attitude toward civic virtues and civic activities was therefore one of passive indifference. The Christian was not opposed to the state. It simply did not interest him because he saw in it no means for the furthering of his ideal. It was passively accepted as part of the *status quo* but it occupied a place on the periphery of his interests. His citizenship was in another kingdom, a conception that afterward received philosophical elaboration in Augustine's "City of God." Property was justified only as a means for the support of life from day to day until the coming of the new order. At most it was an instrument for cultivating the grace of charity, which virtue however only had value with reference to citizenship in the coming kingdom. Likewise the family was looked upon as belonging more or less to an *interims Ethik* for in the divine consummation there would be neither marriage nor giving in marriage. Hence the element of *Weltverneinung* always present in the Christian ethic.

The traits of character which fitted in best with this higher spiritual order must necessarily be of the subjective or mystical type. Since the spiritual consummation was in the hands of God and the individual could in no wise hasten its coming his task was primarily one of cultivating the passive virtues that would best fit him for membership in that kingdom. Hence the emphasis of humility, childlikeness, patience, forgiveness, love. A fighting faith was utterly without justification under the circumstances

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since the ultimate issues were not in man's hands. For the same reason the economic virtue of thrift and the civic virtues of courage and justice were discounted. Likewise intellectual virtues were of little value for there were no intellectual problems. It was primarily a matter of an emotional attitude, not of scientific interpretation. Since purity of heart was one of the prerequisites of entrance into the kingdom the Christian group offered most uncompromising opposition to the standards of pagan morality. In fact the strenuousness of the utterances of Paul and even of Jesus sowed the seeds for the ascetic movement which afterward culminated in monasticism.

There were also external forces tending to accentuate these passive virtues. The saints had constantly borne in upon them the fact that they were an oppressed and ostracised group. Christianity possibly as early as the days of Nero became a *religio illicita*. The constant plaint of the Christian apologists was *nomen ipsum crimen;* to own the name was a criminal offense. There is some basis of truth, therefore, for Nietzsche's famous characterization of Christian ethics as a *Sklaven-Moral.* It was entirely natural that an oppressed group should capitalize those traits which enabled it successfully to survive in a harsh and despotic society. This was not to be the last time in history that a group gloried in the days of its triumph in qualities at first forced upon it by the stern logic of necessity. To boast of what was once a badge of shame may be a subtle form of self-adulation. Cromwell's despised "Round Heads" so emphatically convinced the world of their merits that today we still find occasionally a sentimental loyalty to a Puritanical faith that has long since served its day.

Finally it is difficult to overestimate the part played in the struggle of the early Christian group for survival by the philosophy of suffering, itself the outgrowth of oppression. The antagonism of Jew and Gentile united to fix in their minds a thought which the example of their Founder had impressed upon them, namely, that through their suffering was to come the spiritual regeneration of the world. Group enthusiasm rose to such a pitch on the question of martyrdom that all sense of proportion was lost. The circular

letter gotten out by the Church of Smyrna upon the martyrdom of Polycarp, 155 A.D., which became the model for a long series of acts of the martyrs, first clearly enunciated the idea that martyrdom is the supreme favor one can demand of heaven. Martyrdom became thus but a speedy and glorious anticipation of the divine consummation. Out of this noble but misguided ethic of superlatives came the mediaeval saint and relic worship which restored in Christian form almost all the peculiarities of pagan polytheism. Nor was this the worst result of this unbridled enthusiasm for the martyr's crown. It led to the negation of political and social duties and to the needless violation of the purest and tenderest loyalties of the human heart. Lecky thus describes the martyrdom of St. Perpetua, an only daughter and a young mother twenty-two years old, upon whom her aged father depended for support and consolation:

He appealed to her by the memory of all the tenderness he had lavished upon her, by her infant child, by his own gray hairs that were soon to be brought down in sorrow to the grave. Forgetting in his deep anguish all the dignity of a parent, he fell upon his knees before his child, covered her hands with his kisses, and, the tears streaming from his eyes, implored her to have mercy upon him. But she was unshaken though not untouched; she saw her father frenzied with grief dragged from before the tribunal; she saw him tearing his white beard, and lying prostrate and broken-hearted on the prison floor; she went forth to die for a faith she loved more dearly—for a faith that told her that her father would be lost forever.[1]

Summing up the early Christian ideal of the saint we may say that it was based upon religious sanctions arising primarily from a personal attitude to God, loyalty to whom was the source of moral effort and the basis of brotherly co-operation and sympathy. The *mise en scene* of the final act of the drama was otherworldly. In the glow of enthusiasm for the expected consummation all questions as to rights, all distinctions as to property, social position, or political power disappeared. The saint then had no place for any moral values that emerge through conflicting interests or are accentuated through courageous assertion of personal rights. He had no appreciation of a social order that is kept at the highest

[1] *History of European Morals*, I, 415, 416.

pitch of vitality and capacity for progress through rational direction and control of contending forces. He recognized no rights or honors that are not the free gifts of the divine grace and therefore he had no immediate interest in the achievement nor in the maintenance of social justice. He was indifferent to existing conditions because he was fully convinced that the Kingdom of God and his righteousness would only be possible with the coming of a new heaven and a new earth.

This ideal which was so effective within the small group of early Christians did not suffice to meet the demands of the rapidly expanding faith that finally triumphed under Constantine. The very qualities that gave the apostolic group a most effective basis for solidarity carried the seeds of subsequent conflict and disintegration. An uncompromising and transcendental ethic based upon the expectation of the speedy end of the world, with the resulting discrediting of property, political life, and even of family ties, doubtless proved a powerful means for eliciting the spirit of sacrifice and the noblest feelings of group loyalty and of comradeship but it did not provide a satisfactory basis for a permanent social order. The ideal of the New Testament saint contemplated only a select community living in society but with no real interests in the immediate problems of the community. This social isolation made it possible to carry one phase of the moral life, namely, that of the ideal, to the highest pitch of perfection. For the purity and loftiness of its aims, for the charm of an ethical ideal that said to the saint "be ye perfect as your father in heaven is perfect," primitive Christianity left nothing to be desired. The indefeasible is the last word of moral idealism.

But the ideal is only one phase of the moral life. If the ideal is not to remain little more than the bright dream of well-intentioned visionaries it must be embodied in social activities. This side of the moral life was almost entirely neglected by the early saint. He had no theory of society and yet he must live in an advanced social order.

It was inevitable then with the access of Christianity to world-power and with the rise of a new social order in the Middle Ages that the conception of the saint should undergo extensive modifi-

cations. The ideal of the saint as preached by Paul, Ignatius, or Tertullian would have destroyed rather than furthered the social equilibrium demanded by the age of Aquinas. For the fundamental idea of early Christian saintliness, and perhaps its greatest weakness, lies in its pronounced dualism. It implies a sharp distinction between the worldly and the otherworldly, the natural and the supernatural. Indeed the moral dynamic of the primitive Christian saintliness lay in the frank acknowledgment of this dualism both in theory and practice. The existing social order was justified only as an instrument of moral discipline, or as the dark and imperfect background which served to accentuate the glory and transcendent beauty of the things that "do not yet appear." This is the fundamental idea of Augustine's great work the "City of God" which is the classic statement of the Christian philosophy of society and of history.

With the increasing identification of Christianity, at least in its institutional forms with society, the social values began to assert themselves. Hence the Middle Ages faced the problem of formulating the ideal of the saint which would conserve the moral idealism and the spiritual dynamic of the primitive otherworldly attitude and at the same time make a place for the values represented by society and its institutions. The solution which in time the Middle Ages worked out of this twofold problem of preserving the spiritual function of the saint and at the same time of making him an integral and necessary part of the social order arouses the profoundest admiration. That solution is still imperfectly perpetuated by the Roman Catholic church but with a strange and almost pathetic disregard for its lack of harmony with the changed conditions of modern life.

The unity of the mediaeval world-view, especially as it was formulated by Thomas Aquinas, does not always appear on the surface of things. To be sure we have in the church a great politico-religious institution dominating apparently every phase of life. The church was the source of absolute authority and truth, the divine institution equipped with sacramental forms for the dispensation of supernatural power in grace and salvation. Subordinated to this supreme authority though vitally related to it as parts

of one organic whole, we have the classes and groups of society and the still lower levels of animate and inanimate nature. The cement by which mediaeval thinkers united these heterogeneous elements was found in the *lex naturae* of the Stoics, the teachings of the Bible, the tradition of the Fathers, and the philosophy of Aristotle. The result was indeed a wonderfully symmetrical structure in which all the various gradations of values embodied in physical nature and society were arranged in one logical whole, reaching their culmination and final interpretation in the spiritual sovereignty of a world-church.

Side by side with this idea of a world-church, however, and often antagonistic to its secularizing tendencies we find another conception of society, drawn directly from the gospels, which is constantly being emphasized from century to century. The dominating note here was ascetic or *Weltverneinung*, and the typical form through which it found expression was monasticism. The monastic orders with their ever-recurring efforts for reform were the logical continuation of the otherworldly saintliness of early Christianity. The monastic sects insisted that religion is primarily a subjective relation between the individual and God independent of the objective guarantees of the ecclesiastical forms. From the point of view of secularized Christianity the source of moral and spiritual energy lay in an institution which is superior to the life of the individual, and is the depository of absolute truth and supernatural spiritual power. For the ascetic, moral perfection was a personal matter and dependent upon ceaseless watchfulness; hence one cannot be content with a lesser degree of moral perfection nor may he relax his personal efforts in reliance upon cunningly devised and ecclesiastically sanctioned machinery for the manufacture of morality. Moral relativity from the secular point of view was a constituent element of the *status quo* in that it permitted the varying grades of moral perfection and the hierarchical constitution of society. For the ascetic sin was not to be tolerated because it permitted a stable social equilibrium but it must be eradicated and a new social order created after the evangelical ideal. On the one hand we have a secularized moral ideal based upon the principle of relativity and thereby permitting the introduction of some sort of unity into the

conflicting elements of society. On the other hand stands an uncompromising, otherworldly ethic of superlatives that characterized the New Testament saint. The conflict was already foreshadowed in the differences between the love-inspired communism of the Jerusalem circle and the Pauline suggestions toward an accommodation to the existing social conditions. How did the Middle Ages solve the problem?

In the first place it should be observed that in spite of its constant criticism of secular Christianity the ascetic group never broke with the church. No saintly ideals ever flourished in the Middle Ages that did not receive the sanction and enjoy the sympathy and support of ecclesiastical authority. There seemed to be a profound realization of the fact on the part of both the would-be sectarian and the church that saintliness could never endure as an end in and of itself. It could only hope to survive by being made the servant of the social order. The otherworldly ideals of Peter Damiani, of Saint Bernard, of Saint Francis of Assisi, never soared beyond the authority of the pope and the magic supernaturalism of the holy sacraments. With tragic regularity the revolutionary heaven-storming idealism of the saintly ascetic returned with broken wing to the fold of the church convinced that nowhere else was its ideal possible of realization. We have thus the paradoxical situation that the moral enthusiasm born of otherworldliness is skilfully utilized to further the power of a secularized church. The Monk of Wittenberg finally broke away from the charmed circle of the Holy Catholic church.

The social significance of the saint depended upon this spiritual and moral solidarity the guarantee of which was found in the supreme authority of the church. On the other hand the secret of the spiritual power of the saint was dependent upon his keeping himself separate from a social order given over to sin. Here then we have an interesting paradox. The saintly ideal demands aloofness from the world and its utter renunciation and condemnation and yet any social justification for the saint implies his essential spiritual solidarity with the world. If the measure of moral perfection is separation from the world then a perfect saint, for all practical purposes, unless it be for immediate translation, is useless.

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The reason for this lies in the fact that his goal, his entelechy as Aristotle would say, lies in another and a transcendental world. His social value, which of course must be measured in terms of his usefulness, decreases then as he nears maturity. This is equivalent to saying that the moral ideal stultifies itself in its attainment. But as we have seen the social solidarity secured to the mediaeval society through the all-encircling arm of the church never allowed the saint to break with the social order and thus cease to be socially valuable. The antagonism between the saint and his environment which was necessary to his rôle as spiritual leader was always subordinated to the good of society as a whole. There was always in the background of the social consciousness of both saint and laity the feeling of common spiritual interests and common ideals. In the saints, therefore, the characteristic products of the religious and moral life of the Middle Ages, we have as Froude has said, "the heroic patterns of a form of human life which each Christian within his own limits was endeavoring to realize."[1]

The Middle Ages were most favorable to the life of the saint because of the exceeding simplicity of their social structure. The saint flourishes only in a simple society. The emotional intensity, the mystical absorption, the unshaken spiritual loyalty, the singleness of purpose so characteristic of the saint are difficult or even impossible of attainment where the complexities and the contrarities of life are constantly pressing in upon the soul. "The lives of the saints," as James has remarked, "are a history of successive renunciations of complication, one form of contact with the outer life being dropped after another to save the purity of the inner tone."[2] The flight from the distractions of simple mediaeval society to the seclusion of the monastery was the result therefore of the psychological necessities of the saintly ideal. The entire life of the saint in his retreat was shaped so as still further to simplify the problem. No psychologist could have more successfully regulated the mental conditions necessary to the attainment of the saintly ideal of mystical contemplative love of God than Saint Benedict has done in his famous *regula*.[3] Even then we constantly

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[1] *Short Studies,* I, 557.   [2] *Varieties of Religious Experience,* p. 349.

[3] See especially the detailed directions of chaps. iv and vii, *The Rule of St. Benedict,* ed. of Gasquet, London, 1909.

hear complaints of interruptions from the world. "Affairs," writes Hildebert a monk of the twelfth century, "the enemy of my spirit, come upon me, they claim me for their own, they thieve the private hour of prayer, they defraud the services of the sanctuary, they irritate me with their stings by day and infest my sleep; and what I can hardly speak of without tears, the creeping, furtive memory of disputes follows me miserable to the altar's sacraments."[1]

It is probable, all things considered, that the Middle Ages came nearer socializing the saint than any other period of history. Certainly there has never been a time before or since when saintly enthusiasm was so thoroughly exploited in the service of the whole social order. This specialization in spiritual matters would hardly have been possible apart from the patriarchal régime of the Middle Ages. The community was composed of definite classes and social groups with clearly determined status. Each class was, however, indispensable to the welfare of the whole and found its justification in the service of the community. Upon the laity devolved the duty of providing the economic support for society and of propagating the race. The saint or "athlete of God" could not by virtue of his own vows of poverty and chastity share in these social duties. Men looked to him, however, to point them by word and act to a higher life; he was the center of spiritual inspiration, of social and moral reform, of intellectual leadership. Furthermore, he assumed, though on a smaller scale, the vicarious functions of the great head of the church. His sufferings and intercessions and also his superior merit were looked upon as most valuable social assets by the other members of the community to be utilized by them in case of need since they were forced by the logic of circumstances to live on a lower moral plane. The liberality of mediaeval society toward the spiritual orders, resulting in the rise of luxury and abuses which became their undoing, was in reality a pious and well-intentioned tribute to holiness and was prompted by a very deep and sincere realization of the social value of the saint. For the saint, to be sure, the living of one's life in actual society was a most perilous venture. Nothing but the strong hand of Hildebrand kept the fiery reformer, Peter Damiani, at his work. Even then, with his heart set on the seclusion of fair Monte Cassino, Damiani could

[1] Quoted by Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, II, 171.

write, "He errs, Father, errs indeed, who imagines he can be a monk and at the same time zealously serve the Curia. Ill he bargains, who presumes to desert the cloister, that he may take up the warfare of the world."[1] Anselm, deeply immersed in the metaphysical problem of finding a final and comprehensive proof for the existence of God, was chosen abbot of the monastery of Bec. He flung himself in tears at the feet of his brother monks and besought them, though in vain, not to imperil his immortal soul with this burden of worldly cares. All the saints, whether it was the politician Hildebrand, the stern preacher of righteousness Bernard of Clairvaux, or the lovable mystic Francis of Assisi, viewed the *vita contemplativa* as the supreme ideal of life.

In spite of the large moral good sense of the church which insisted that the saint place his spiritual powers at the service of the community it was inevitable that the inherent self-contradictions in the saintly ideal should emerge in the course of time. The loss of healthful social contacts soon produced a distortion of the moral perspective. The imaginative absorption in the love of God, though charmingly beautiful, tended to destroy personality and produced the "theopathic" type such as Saint Francis. Constant introspective analysis of the processes of the soul-life induced grotesque exaggerations of the personal sense such as appear in the "voluble egotism" and the "stereotyped humility" of Saint Theresa. The unnatural separation of the individual from the social activities for which nature had fitted him caused strange perversions of powerful human instincts. Saint Louis was forced to shun all female society including that of his mother. Often religion degenerated in the case of neurotic females into an "endless amatory flirtation" with the deity. Finally this ideal placed its sanction upon a cowardly flight to the monastery where, embosomed in its innocuous calm, the saint might selfishly seek the peace of soul he was not strong enough to win surrounded by the full tide of life.[2] Only the worldly wisdom of the church saved the saint from the gaunt and unlovely logic of his moral ideal. Having in her power the oracles of truth and the ultimate sanctions of conduct

[1] Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, I, 264.

[2] James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, chaps. xv, xvi.

she forced the saint to abandon his impossible dualism and to recognize the spiritual ties that bound nature, man, and God together in one whole. She thus provided for the saint even against his will a vast and indispensable arena for the development of his powers. The moral energy often aroused by ecclesiastical excesses was thus appropriated by the church and skilfully utilized in strengthening her hold upon the world.

It was in this wise that the saint, even in spite of himself, became the symbol and the interpreter of the essential spiritual solidarity of mediaeval society. For the effective interpretation of this solidarity, which must be felt rather than grasped by reason, a peculiar temperamental equipment was necessary. Mere religiousness did not make the saint. "It is not unlikely," writes Joly, "that the saints . . . . are gifted, in matters concerning conscience and the spiritual life, with a delicate sensitiveness to which the ordinary run of men are strangers."[1] There can be little doubt that the striking vitality and charm of the mediaeval as contrasted with the Protestant idea of the saint is due to the recognition in the former of the human side. The Protestant saint is elected by divine grace; in a certain sense he is not responsible for his saintliness; it is thrust upon him. The mediaeval saint was born. Benedict XIV in laying down regulations for canonization was careful to stipulate that in addition to the "heroic virtues" of faith, hope, and love there should be an equipment of "natural virtues" such as courage, justice, sympathy, and the like.

The delicate sensitiveness of the saint to the deeper spiritual values of his age, when joined with the ascetic mode of life, easily led to the belief that he enjoyed supernatural power. The miracle became practically the sign manual of sainthood. But it would be a great mistake to imagine that the mediaeval crop of marvelous tales of some 25,000 saints that have been gathered by the Bollandist editors is mainly significant as illustrating the credulity and superstitions of men. Gregory's *Lives of the Saints*, one of the earliest of the collections, illustrates their purpose. They sought to show that the saint is the special receptacle of divine grace. He is a symbol of universal values. He bodies forth in life and thought

[1] *Psychology of the Saints*, p. 67.

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the eternal plan. The divine grace he represents and not the mere accidents of its expression is the important thing. The chronicler is bent upon making the life of the saint tell a striking story of God's truth and love. Hence miracles abound. No saint's life was complete without them. Sprung from the pious needs of an uncritical age these beautiful legends flourished for a thousand years. To the modern, however, they are interesting mainly as the naïve and charming record of an age of faith or as valuable material for the study of man's moral and religious nature. "They are exotics not from another climate but from another age; the breath of scorn fell on them and having no root in the hearts and beliefs of men any more, but only in the sentimentalities of make-beliefs, they withered and sank."[1]

The unique position of the saint in the social order and the atmosphere of the supernatural that surrounded him proved in the end a handicap to his rôle as a moral leader. Because his person and all that concerned him were sacrosanct he became a law unto himself. This is strikingly illustrated in the curious perversion of moral standards attributed to the saints. Instances of saintly conduct abound which, according to more modern ethical ideals, are thoroughly reprehensible. Saint Verona, while the guest of a priest, made free use of his stores to provide for the wants of a neighboring leper colony. On being accused by a servant of stealing wine for the lepers the saint asserted that the jars contained water for the bathing of her patients. Upon examination the priest found that a miracle had been wrought and that the contents of the jars had been changed from wine to water. He at once fell at the saint's feet and begged absolution while the poor servant was stricken blind and afterward became the father of a family of defectives.[2] The questionable morality of such stories is of far greater significance than the matter of their historical verity. They indicate that the sacrosanct character of the saint because of its unnaturalness tended to defeat the moral value of the saint's life. It is of the very essence of immorality that the individual will should become a law unto itself.

[1] Froude, *Short Studies*, I, 440.

[2] Barry, "Saints and Sainthood," *Open Court*, XXVIII, 51 ff.; other similar instances are cited from the *Acta Sanctorum Bollanda*.

The most extreme form of the sacrosanct nature of the saint appeared in the form of relic-worship. In this curious religious custom which came in time to be exceedingly widespread an uncritical age reproduced in Christian guise all the phenomena of fetishism. The custom even received the sanction of the great Aquinas: *reliquas Storum licet homini collo suspendere vel qualiter-cumque portare ad suam protectionem.*[1] And in spite of the repeated attempts to check this superstitious usage we find the Dominican preacher of Nuremberg, Johannes Herolt, justifying it as late· as 1418 on the ground that the bodies of the saints were "temples and instruments of the Holy Ghost dwelling in them and operating through them. God by his presence in them performed miracles so that if any one believe contrary to this sentiment he is no longer to be called a Christian but a heretic."[2] At the close of the Middle Ages a church in Vienna boasted thirty-eight relics, among them a splinter from Noah's ark; Wittenberg, not to be outdone, claimed to have in its large collection a bit of the rust from the interior of Nebuchadnezzar's fiery furnace.[3] The "odor of sanctity" which for the modern has only a figurative significance, described for the man of the Middle Ages a physical fact. Saint Benedicta was reputed to have imbued all she touched with "a perfume that suffused all those near to her with the love of God and in her ecstasies the odor was so potent as to be overpowering."[4] Similar phenomena were recorded of the saints Polycarp, Severin, Xavier, and many others.

It is most interesting to trace the process by which the church in time sought to utilize the veneration of the saint for the purpose of regulating group values. Canonization is merely the attempt to control the saint's traditional rôle as the embodiment of religious values. *Sanctus*, "separated," was applied to the early Christian because he was "separated" from the world of his pagan environment. Martyrs, those separated from earth in spectacular fashion, were viewed as *sancti par excellence* and as such were venerated by

[1] *Summa* II. 2. 96.

[2] H. Siebert, *Beiträge zur vorreformatorischen Heiligen- und Reliquien-verehrung*, Band VI, Heft 1, p. 52.

[3] Siebert, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[4] Guerin, *Vie des Saints*, V, 224; quoted by Brewer, *Dictionary of Miracles*, p. 511.

succeeding generations. Saintliness was later especially associated with the monks and nuns who had "separated" themselves from the world and as "athletes of God" had sought the mediaeval ideal in the *vita contemplativa*. Thus arose in time the mediaeval conception of the saint, which is still that of the Roman Catholic church, of one entitled to the veneration of all men because separate from the world and embodying in special measure the divine grace and energy and wisdom which is the source of all truth and the measure of all values. At first miracle-working power as the most striking evidence of divine favor was the test of the saint both living and dead, "whether his body, when touched, or his soul, when invoked in prayer, are capable of healing sick people, revealing guilt and accomplishing other wonders." The supernatural element has apparently always been of fundamental importance in the canonization of the saint. The miracles alleged to have been wrought upon those who sought her help played a most important part in the canonization of Joan of Arc by Pius X in 1909.[1]

But the church soon perceived the danger of allowing tradition and the uncritical moral sentiments of the masses to determine the status of the saint. Undoubtedly there was also the recognition on the part of ecclesiastical leaders of the unparalleled opportunity for shaping group-values through the personalities of the saints. Hence in his famous deliverance *de beatificatione et canonizatione sanctorum* we find Benedict XIV insisting that no one should be canonized who did not exhibit in addition to the essentially Christian virtues of faith, hope, and love the "natural virtues" of "prudence, fortitude, or strength of soul, temperance, and justice."[2] Furthermore it was insisted that, when inquiry was instituted for the purpose of "beatification or canonization," no examination for miracles was to be made "until after the heroic virtues or the martyrdom of the servant of God has been proven. These virtues are the first and most decisive witness to sanctity; visions, prophecies, and miracles are of only secondary importance and they are absolutely ignored if proof of heroic virtues is not forthcoming."[3]

[1] Söderblom, art. "Holiness," Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 741.

[2] Joly, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[3] Joly, *op. cit.*, p. 80, quoting from *de beatificatione et canonizatione sanctorum.*

It was not demanded to be sure that these "heroic virtues" of the Christian life should be manifest to the same degree by all alike. It was sufficient that there be proof of the practice of these virtues in a measure commensurate with the "conditions in life, rank, circumstance, of the person."

Canonization thus became a most effective instrument for institutionalizing certain types of personality, thereby insuring the perpetuation of group ideals. There is no more powerful means of moral and spiritual education than that provided by an institution or a social setting in its dominant personalities. The child reared in a given institutional environment can no more resist absorbing the moral or spiritual atmosphere than the chameleon can prevent its skin from taking the color of the leaf upon which it basks. The problem of securing from generation to generation a certain intellectual attitude or certain spiritual loyalties is merely the problem of securing complete solidarity and continuity of traditions in a given institutional setting. This means of course that there must be a careful elimination of undesirable variations from the type desired. Canonization offers an unrivaled instrument for the control of such variations and has been utilized with telling effect. Abelard, for example, a spiritual genius and one of the most brilliant intellects of the Middle Ages, is excluded from the catalogue of the saints. He would have provided dangerous "social copy" for succeeding generations.

This continuity of tradition, of course, can be purchased only at the price of a certain hardening and narrowing of the outlook on life. The inevitable result is to encourage spiritual and intellectual inbreeding and the persistence of ideals long after they have served their day. On the other hand, the institution of canonization is based upon a profound insight into the laws of the social process. For no type of character and no set of ideals can long survive when the social setting that gives them vitality has disappeared. The canonized spiritual leader of the past secures through fête and ceremonial, through the concrete symbolization of shrine and image, through music and ritual, an institutional setting that safeguards him against the inevitable revolutions of society. Thus the saints, a company of elect and holy individuals, traverse the centuries

untarnished by the flight of time or the canker of criticism because hedged about by rite and churchly sanction, and stir even in the heart of the modern man enthusiasm for ideals which otherwise would seem like the fair vision of a long-vanished age.

As compared with the red-blooded saint of the Middle Ages the saint of Protestantism appears somewhat tenuous and unreal. Baxter has given us in his *Christian Directory*, in pious and repetitious prolixity, directions extending even to the smallest details for the ordering of the saint's life according to Calvinistic theology. But the Puritan saint even as portrayed by the gentle Baxter is singularly unattractive. We admire his stern moral strength but "he hath no form nor comeliness, and when we see him there is no beauty that we should desire him." The reason is not far to seek. For the saint of Calvinistic theology and of Protestantism in general is essentially a theological creation. He lives and moves and has his being for the most part in a realm of metaphysical values. The holiness he enjoys is primarily artificial in character. It is not his creation but is the result of a juridical pronouncement of infinite justice. His life in the community and the exercise of the civic virtues possess no intrinsic value of their own; they belong to the things that are "added"; they merely supplement the tale of his predestined moral worth.

In that great classic of Protestant Christianity, Baxter's *The Saint's Everlasting Rest*, we find the "persons for whom the heavenly rest remaineth" characterized as follows:

They are then only a part of lost mankind, whom God hath from eternity predestinated to this rest, for the glory of his mercy; whom Christ hath redeemed with an absolute intent of saving; whom the Holy Spirit renews by the power of his grace, and makes in some sort like himself, stamping his image on them, and making them holy as he is holy, and whom he will at length crown with glory, honor, and immortality in heaven [Bk. II, chap. v].

This conception of the saint, which is still that of orthodox Protestantism, differs fundamentally from that of the Middle Ages. The saint of Protestantism is a pale theological abstraction, the product of three metaphysical ideas, predestination, redemption, and sanctification. The mediaeval saint found his *raison d'être* in moral and spiritual endowments which enabled him to perform a

most necessary rôle in the community. To be sure Baxter's *Christian Directory* abounds as we have said in practical directions to the saint for the discharge of social duties. His congregation of Kidderminster weavers were enjoined to be obedient to authority, diligent, honest and thrifty in business. They were even exhorted to "become rich for the glory of God," an injunction which in time became entirely superfluous, for it has been pointed out that the beginnings of capitalism in England are to be traced to the thrifty manufacturing middle class most thoroughly impregnated with the Puritan ethic of industry and ascetic simplicity.[1] But it remained true that the measure of values for the saint after Baxter's own heart lay not in the community he served but in an eternal and predestinated moral order untouched by striving human wills. The saint was not the product of social needs; he was coined by a mysterious and eternal fiat of the divine will. The world of moiling and bargaining humanity was merely the dark foil that served to bring to light the implications of this remote impounding of the moral values of the universe.

It is evident that Baxter's conception of the saint depended upon the ability of men to vitalize in thought and life the stupendous fabric of Calvinistic theology which was the most logical interpretation of Protestantism. But the decay of this stern theology was inevitable. It could not hold its own against the growing values of the secular order. There is today no more interesting and at the same time melancholy evidence of the spiritual *elan* of the Protestantism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than this vast theological framework, once instinct with the breath of life, now almost as pulseless and inert as the bones of a dinosaur.

With the inevitable secularization of the moral and spiritual values, the Protestant conception of the saint was faced with a dilemma which we can state something after this fashion. The saint is dependent upon the institutional setting of the church with its traditions of thought and worship for the social discipline necessary to the development of the saintly character. But as the church becomes more and more departmental and the center of

[1] Levy, *Economic Liberalism.*

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gravity for moral and spiritual values is transferred to the community the saint himself tends to become departmental, traditional, and conventional and ceases to play the rôle of moral and spiritual leadership characteristic of the saint of the Middle Ages. Here we have the explanation of the growing sense of unreality, not to say of antipathy, the modern world associates with the saint. There is apparently little or no place for him in the modern social order. This is unconsciously reflected in the thought of religious leaders themselves. "For the rest," writes a representative of liberal Protestantism, "that shining company seems to have retreated into the far distance behind the great fissure of the Reformation, and not all the efforts of hagiologists have made them real. They can hardly come to us, and our imagination can but feebly penetrate to their vanished world, so vast is our divergence from their thought, not simply as to this or that doctrine, but in our whole attitude, insight, and outlook upon life."[1]

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the idea of the saint, like many other traditions of the Middle Ages, has been shipwrecked upon the ineradicable individualism of Protestantism. The saint lived on, to be sure, enjoying a tenuous, metaphysical existence, thanks to John Calvin's heroic attempt to coerce the realm of spiritual values in the strait-jacket of his logic. But a "bloodless ballet" of theological categories was at best a poor and ineffective substitute for the warm, pervasive, and beneficent solidarity of mediaeval society. Not theology so much as the type of institutional life at Geneva, in Puritan England, Scotland, and New England, gave reality to Baxter's conception of the saint. With the triumph of sectarianism, the logical implication of Protestant individualism, the very heterogeneousness of the saintly complexion destroyed the social significance of the saint. It is no accident that we must seek our modern saints, those who most nearly fulfil the rôle of Anselm or Bernard or Damiani, in men and women that for the most part are not identified with institutional Christianity. It is our Lincolns, our Florence Nightingales, our Booker T. Washingtons, that seem after all to have caught and interpreted the universal human values of the age.

[1] Joseph Fort Newton, *What Have the Saints to Teach Us?* p. 17.

THE CHURCH AND CLASS CONFLICTS

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE LAYMEN'S COMMITTEE ON INTER-CHURCH SURVEY

On January 18, 1919, it was privately stated in New York that the latest phase of the so-called "Laymen's Movement" was an agreement reached that morning to concentrate the resources of the organization upon an "Inter-Church Survey." Imagination at once suggested that "the business man's point of view" will doubtless penetrate into phases of contemporary life in a way which will alter the relations of light and shadow in the usual religious surveys of the world. For some time the present writer had been asking himself what modifications he would make in the direction of religious effort if it were within his power to determine the policies of American churches for the next generation. He had been jotting down a record of his reflections in attempting to frame an answer to that question. The result is not an academic man's discussion of merely abstract theory. It is a faithful reflection of an academic man's attempt to get his bearings within present obscurities which are not academic. In the writer's judgment, the most serious question which religious men can ask today is, What may and should religion mean to the world in the immediate future? The memoranda which follow, in the form of an open letter, are faithful transcripts from the writer's notes while he was trying to clarify his own judgment, first, about the most Christian course that can be advised in general, and, second, with respect to that particular factor of the religious problem which, if the past is an index of probabilities, is least likely to receive adequate attention from organized Christianity. The contents of the letter will sufficiently indicate the writer's further conviction that the faulty sense of proportion thus in evidence in the history of Christianity

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accounts in large measure for the margin between what religion actually does count for, and what by essential fitness it should count for, in the present generation.

GENTLEMEN:

It makes no difference what our private opinions are about class conflicts. It would be incautious to doubt that the world is to have more of them before it has fewer, and that the United States will be no exception to this rule.

It makes no difference what our private opinions are about Bolshevikism. Decent prudence dictates that each country in the world should be prepared to cope with it. In every western country there are certain symptoms of and certain materials for the same outbreak of one class against all others.

There are men of wide acquaintance throughout the world, men who think themselves competent to compare conditions elsewhere with those in the United States, who declare that Americans are living upon a slumbering volcano; that not merely something distantly like Bolshevikism, but Bolshevikism itself, with all its extravagance of theory, with all its intolerance, with all its brutal ruthlessness, is to run its course in this country not less than in each country of Europe. These men declare that we are not to have the privilege of learning how wide are the differences between social classes today by assisting as mere spectators at a tragedy staged in Russia; on the contrary they assert that, along with Western Europe, North America must pass through a bloody convulsion before civilization can make its final reckoning with this latest type of assault upon its ideals and its achievements.

For the purposes of this letter it is not necessary to become prophetic, one way or the other, about this particular prognosis. It would amount to dilatory tactics if we should allow ourselves, without more facts than are now available, to be drawn into a discussion of the probability of this forecast. It would retard more than it would advance my main purpose if I should digress into an examination of the likenesses and unlikenesses between Bolshevikism and those types of class protest which have been recognized factors in our American situation for more than a generation. Certain things may be assumed as matters of common knowledge, and they justify

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appeal to certain considerations which the facts urge with extraordinary force.

In the first place, it is notorious that all over the world, in proportion as industry has passed from the type which we may call one-man enterprise to the type which may be called mass enterprise, class distinctions have come into the open between those who have nothing but their current earnings and those who control in their own legal right land or capital, or both. In the United States few people began to be aware of this particular class cleavage until after the Civil War. Since that time it has grown more and more real and evident, yet we Americans are still trying to ignore its existence. One of our American peculiarities is our illusion that the word "democracy" in our talk guarantees democracy in our lives.

Everyone who has given fairly mature thought to the facts knows, further, that the class distinctions which the words "labor" and "capital" draw are not precise. There is a no-man's-land between members of the two classes. In this zone are people who in the main fall under the one description, while their decisive interests group them with the class indicated by the other description. Thus, on the one hand, the interests and the sympathies of certain small proprietors carry them for practical purposes into the class known in Europe as the proletariat, while many men of the professional and employee types, who would often have difficulty in putting up collateral enough to get a small loan at a bank, are committed by their bread-and-butter interests to solidarity with the capitalist class.

It is common knowledge, too, among people who pry into these things, that this latter fact has been an efficient stabilizer of our social conditions. The people in this intermediate zone have actually served as effective social shock absorbers. Because of them the differences which definitions make out between the capitalist and the non-capitalist groups have been less absolute in practice.

It is well known, again, among both theoretical and practical students of the subject, that from the beginning of actual stratification between the capitalist and the non-capitalist types, and

especially in times of outbreaking conflict between them, many men have stoutly contended that the reasons for conflict between these classes are more imaginary than real. They have maintained that the interests of capitalists and non-capitalists, of employers and employees, are essentially identical. Up to the present time there has been much less exchange of opinion between the capitalistic and the non-capitalistic interests on this fundamental issue in the United States than there has been in Europe, especially in England. Such discussion as has been carried on here about the precise underlying principle has been chiefly within academic circles, while the actual collisions between the two interests have been mostly sheer trials of endurance between certain capitalists on the one hand and certain non-capitalists on the other. This has been the gist of the case both in direct struggles between employers and employees and in certain political struggles in which the issues were almost as sharply drawn between capitalists and non-capitalists.

Least doubtful among these things which may be taken for granted is that, for better or for worse, the war has changed all this. Nobody needs to be convinced that we do not live in the same world which we lived in before the war. A short time ago a professor of botany was asked how much botanists could tell about the immediate future of such a formal garden as the one at Versailles, or those in many of our public parks and private estates in America, if it were demolished as thoroughly as the war areas had been on the Western Front. How much could be told about the first growth that would spring up on that war-plowed ground? His prompt answer was: "Not very much, but we could set down one thing as certain, viz., that whatever grew at first would be something very different from what was growing before." Every civilization is a formal garden. Our American civilization is a formal garden. It is not a state of nature. It is not virgin soil. It is not first-growth. From the time the first charter was granted for a colony on these strange shores, from the time of the Articles of Confederation under which the colonies banded together to resist George III, from the time that the successful colonies reluctantly consented to adopt a constitution as the only alternative with anarchy and loss of the independence that they had gained, from the time of our first adop-

tion of the Washingtonian creed of avoidance of entangling alliances, from the time of committing ourselves to the dubious and ambiguous but all the more insistent Monroe Doctrine of "hands off" in South America, down to our latest constitutional amendment and federal or state statute, together with all the private adjustments we have made under this public and private law, Americans have been laying out and cultivating a vast formal garden—our own special type of society—with its own products. Some of these are more or less peculiar to our own soil and climate; others are exotics which in a few cases flourish as though they were natives; but all together they form a system of traditions and conventions which, like all conventions and traditions, are secure only so long as the circumstances which produced them and favored them remain.

Suddenly the circumstances which produced our American civilization and favored it are revolutionized. Our formal garden has been turned into a war area. Our national isolation has become involuntary and unavoidable world-community. Our internal arrangements which enabled us to maintain a higher degree of national complacency than any other western nation have become a collection of unstable and more or less temporary and provisional makeshifts. We do not know which of these arrangements will become parts of our next formal garden, which will be abandoned, and which will merge into variations which do not yet appear. For war purposes we are now in grim practice of programs which were regarded as impossible only two years ago. We have acted upon a theory of the relation of the government to the citizen which reverses presumptions and doctrines that came over in the Mayflower and had dominated our imagination, in spite of much contrary practice, until 1917. For war purposes we changed ourselves in a few weeks from the most self-determining nation in the world to a people yielding up control to government in ways which an unquestionable majority would have vetoed as impossibly socialistic up to the beginning of the war. Most of us, our present Chief Magistrate apparently among the number, supposed we still held with Thomas Jefferson, "that government is best which governs least"; that the only proper business of government is to be a big policeman, preserving order while individuals make their own fortunes in a free

field with no favor. We have temporarily out-Germaned the Germans in some particulars in allowing our government for the time being to take the place of an earthly Providence. We have taken orders from the government of a sort which none but a few dreamers supposed anyone now living would ever see the American people permitting their government to issue. We have tolerated the government in our sugar bowls and flour barrels, and from those household privacies out to our industries, our transportation, our news supplies, our diplomacy, our amusements, and in some cases our religious worship. No wise man supposes that in all its details this change is here to stay. Still less can any wise man suppose that this scrambling of our national ideas and practices can be completely unscrambled. We realize that our Civil War was "the birth of a nation" in more senses than one, yet the issues between the Union and the Confederate states were superficial compared with the radical conflict between autocracy and democracy into which the German war developed. Even such a petty affair as the Cuban War made great changes in our national outlook and temper. It would be fatuous to suppose that we can emerge from the shock of this latest experience unaffected by the physical and mental and moral disruptions which the shock has produced. Especially disturbing is the fact just referred to, that in order to defend ourselves against autocracy we have found ourselves obliged to adopt some of the methods of autocracy. This fact in itself is quite likely to return to trouble us. Its threatenings may turn out to be among the gravest factors in the coming reconstruction.

I repeat that this letter does not undertake to prove that class conflicts in general, particularly conflicts between capital and labor in the ordinary meaning of that phrase, are to be intensified as a result of the war, or that they are to confront the churches with new situations. It undertakes rather to set forth the obvious probabilities, which are already commonplace among people who have watched the outward events of the last four years, and to indicate the attitude of mind in which it is advisable to study the factors which must inevitably remodel, more or less, our social life in general and therewith our church life.

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The matter before us at this point is the outlook in the special direction of economic class conflicts. What signs are in sight about changes in their character or in their methods? What demands are they likely to make on the churches, whether old demands, recognized or unrecognized by the churches, or demands which are new in kind or degree? In other words, can we see that the temper of either capitalists or laborers, or both, toward class conflicts, whether they have been on the other side or have remained at home during the war, is in any way changed as a result of the war, and if so what can we see in the changes that puts up a new set of problems, or new forms of old problems, to the churches?

It is obvious, in the first place, that these questions cannot be answered finally in advance of an adequate survey. I am now proposing questions, not answering them, and I am trying to look forward as far as possible toward the kinds of inquiry that will be of most avail.

Without going back for a review or analysis of economic class conflicts up to date in the United States, and without entering upon a review or analysis of previous attitudes of the churches toward those conflicts, whether in their latent or in their overt forms, but assuming that in a general way the facts of both sorts are familiar, I venture to schedule certain signs of the times which indicate movements that must be watched.

1. What may be called normal war activities have a tendency, among other things, to stimulate the economic interests which conflict. In particular:

2. "War profits" on the one hand and emergency rates of wages on the other tend to set standards of both profits and wages which the respective interests naturally want to maintain. In so far as previous habits are in operation, there will be strong temptation for each side to try to maintain its standard at the expense of the other. This of course means friction at the very least.

3. The *abnormal* participation of government in economic management in war time tends to unsettle the minds of each economic class about the permanent relation of government to its peculiar interests. As a single illustration, we have seen the one policy of our government toward the wheat growers and the opposite policy

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toward the cotton growers; that is, we have seen the government making and unmaking prices. With the many object-lessons of this sort which have directly affected so many different industries, it is again plain human nature to figure on further use of governmental power for class benefit. People who have had direct governmental assistance in strengthening their own economic situation would be more than human if they did not desire to have that assistance continued. On the other hand, people who have seen others enjoy that artificial benefit while they have had no similar direct benefit would be more than human if they did not tend both toward jealousy against these favored interests and toward desire for similar governmental support for themselves; that is to say, an inevitable by-product of necessary governmental interference with business is a large increase of unrest among those who feel themselves discriminated against and a large increase of desire on the part of those who have been favored by government to hold fast what they have got and catch what they can. Of course these two tendencies are not likely to reach anything like stable equilibrium without much intermediate give and take. The action and reaction between the groups affected in opposite ways may leave a margin of good or evil in the long run. We are immediately concerned with the prospect that in the near future they are more likely to disturb than to pacify.

In other words, the economic interest in this connection becomes political. The temptation is for each one that wants high commodity prices and low wages to trade with the political party that will bid highest in those terms, and for each one who is interested in low commodity prices and high wages to do the same. In both cases there is danger of turning parties, and the administration that is the government for the time being, into tools of conflicting class interests and, by operation of a vicious circle, into mischief-makers between economic classes.

4. The *normal* operations of government in times of war tend, again, to induce habits of mind in everyone concerned which are directly contrary to traditional Americanism. This factor alone is sufficient to create certain difficult problems of readaptation. It is in no proper sense an argument against the kind of war we have

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been waging. It is one of the unavoidable incidents of the most righteous and wisely conducted war. Modern nations are never so paternalistic as when they are waging war. They have to be, in order to control efficient armies and navies. In war the government feeds, clothes, shelters, amuses, schools, nurses, insures, its fighting forces. Thus in countless ways the government is guardian as well as commander. Even in our own armies there have probably been thousands of men who never for a single month in their previous lives had three such regular and ample meals a day as they had every day while in the service. Not only these men but others whose ideas would be less changed by that particular item have become accustomed to seeing the government do big things, both for them and with them. Instead of being little more than a mere name to most of them, the government has suddenly loomed up as something very like a miracle-worker. It has created cities for them to live in while they were getting their training. It has commandeered the resources of the most highly developed science and technology to make those cities convenient and commodious. It has built and equipped other cities to produce munitions of war and means of getting them and the forces to use them transported to the fighting zone. Considering the belligerent nations as a whole, this war has been a more stupendous demonstration of the possibilities of national and even international team work than the most extravagantly imaginative socialist had ever supposed possible in any near future. Whether people believe in what their governments have done or not, the bulk of these things, the momentum of them, their resistlessness in pushing other things aside, and in having their own way, often in spite of much that we have supposed to be physical, and mental, and economic, and moral law and gospel, must have put a new look on the world for millions of men. The idea is bound to lodge itself in millions of minds, "We can do anything we please in this world if we only get together. If we can perform such wonders in destruction, what's the matter with equal wonders in construction." We can see that this idea is already reinforcing the worst forms of the German creed that might makes right as well as the belief which has demolished Kaiserism, that right makes might. More than this, people who are not squeamish about the

rights and wrongs of things, provided they want them, are already stealing marches upon the people who want, when they build, to build righteously. For the last hundred years, and notoriously for the last generation, in every industrial country the belief has rapidly gained recruits that government is a conspiracy to make the strong stronger and the weak weaker. There were never in the world as many people as there are today who make it their first business in life to spread some version of this doctrine. In line with the first paragraph of this letter, whatever we think about these doctrines and the propagandists of them, there has been a sort of granulation of old mental habits and a setting up of new mental attitudes in the course of the war which make more minds receptive of these ideas than ever before. In the United States no less than in the rest of the world more men than ever before are going to feel free to want what they want; more men are going to be persuadable that if they don't get what they want it is the government's fault; and more men are going to be in a state of mind to follow leaders who say, "Come on! Be the government, and grab what you want!"

Of course, this again works both ways. It affects the classes interested primarily in things as they are as well as the classes interested primarily in things as they are not. I repeat that I am not now dealing with prophecies of ultimate outcomes. I am trying to point out some of the most obvious visible evidences that, at the very least, we must make up our minds that in the United States in the near future there are to be class frictions, class conflicts, different somewhat both in kind and in degree from those with which we have been acquainted hitherto.

5. Never since the founding of the *International*, in 1864, have there been such facilities as there are now for the transmission of class impulses from one country to all other countries. This fact becomes ominous when we consider.

6. In this country, as was observed above, conflicts between economic classes have mostly taken the form of trials of physical strength between employers and employees. In a very slight degree have they ever been conflicts of essential principles. They settled merely whether at the given time and place the owners could beat the help or the reverse. Whichever way the specific struggle

turned out, it decided little or nothing about the underlying question whether there is anything in principle, anything in the permanent legal relations between capital and labor, which ought to be put under investigation. As a broad general proposition, neither capitalists nor laborers in this country have shown much interest in questions of that depth. The case is very different in Europe. The Romish apostolic succession is hardly better made out than the almost unbroken line of theorists who from the earliest record until now have attacked the property institutions of their time. From the Hebrew prophets and the Greek philosophers down to the innumerable species of anticapitalists today in the different European countries, scarcely a generation has failed to furnish its connecting link in the chain. Of Europe in general it may be said that, even before the war, proletarian organizations occupied a point of view from which our American type of labor struggle appeared piffling. They still used force to compel decisions about details, but this method was pretty generally understood to be merely incidental to their main program. Their controlling purpose, even that of the more temperate British leaders of the Arthur Henderson type, has for a long time been reconstruction of property institutions in general. Their aims have varied from literal communism, which is the present Bolshevik ideal, to proposals not very different from those of the American Progressive party in 1912. Each group of European anticapitalists has worked out a theory of its own in impeachment of the laws of property on grounds of what they regard as fundamental principles. The most dangerous single factor in each European country today is the organized campaign to put capitalists out of existence and, to use one of the phrases which have become commonplace among these agitators, "to socialize capital." The idea is that all capital is to become public property and each citizen is to be a pro-rata capitalist; no individual is to be any more of a capitalist than every other individual. Moreover the idea is spreading through Europe, and coming across the seas, that it is right to realize this ideal by any kind and degree of violence necessary to gain the end.

Of course this, usually minus the violence, is the main plank of all the socialist platforms which have been familiar for more than

half a century. The point which I am emphasizing here and now
is that hitherto this theory has cut comparatively little figure in the
United States. There have been a few noisy and mischievous agi-
tators of the extreme type, but they have scarcely had a hearing
within the great body of American laborers. When employees have
fought employers they have usually fought for specific tangible
things, not for intangible theories. The Federation of Labor most
notably has fought socialists as regularly and quite as bitterly as
it has fought capitalists. It would be as frivolous unpreparedness
as we suffered from in the war if either business or politics or
religion failed to read the signs that this detachment of American
wage-earners from European temper toward capital is already a
thing of the past. The revolutionary anticapitalistic doctrines are
likely in a short time to be as familiar in every trade-union local
in this country as they have become in Europe.

The words "socialism" and "socialist," as the name of a creed,
or of a party, have become so discredited during the war that they
are now abandoned by some of the best-known leaders of that
movement, and not improbably the terms will very soon pass out
of use in this country. The thing for which these words have stood
is likely to become very much more influential than it has ever been
before in the United States, and it is to be feared that the animus
of it with which we are next to become acquainted will be much
more disturbing than any of its previous manifestations, except in
isolated instances.

Nothing in this letter is strictly to be interpreted as the writer's
surrender to a scare, or as his willing or unwilling promotion of
needless anxiety. No one, however, can have followed, even at a
distance, the development of proletarian doctrine during the latest
fifteen years, and especially since the Russian revolution, without
discovering incomparably more evidence that Americans are on the
eve of the most serious economic class struggles we have ever
known—unless we put our Civil War in that class—than was visible
in the first half of 1914 that men then living would ever be involved
in a European war. And these indications do not all come by any
means from within the sections of our population that correspond
with the proletariat in Europe. There are shortsighted managers

of massed capital whose actions could hardly tend more directly than they do to the provocation of anarchy if they publicly announced that as their purpose.

The consideration which I am now urging is not that any of the things referred to in the last paragraph, or any of the other things which are roots of bitterness between capital and labor, are recent developments. The point is rather that new influences are now gaining effect in this country in ways which cannot fail to give these long-discussed things new meaning and new driving force in American minds. We say facts are stubborn things, and we know that facts are also provocative things, when seen in certain lights. The sinking of the Titanic and of the Lusitania were in themselves equal horrors. The one was a challenge to England and America to thresh out again all their standard theories of marine architecture. The other was a call to war, and to fiercer war. A fact standing by itself may be eloquent, say the wreck either of a railroad train or of a railroad corporation. A fact with a theory attached may be incendiary, say either of these wrecks interpreted by the public as the result of criminal intent. A workman who wants better pay, or shorter hours, or a different kind of boss, or a union bound to get these things for its members may be a troublesome factor to deal with, but either is a trivial affair compared with a working population filled with the idea that no one but the workers themselves has any right to standardize the conditions of labor or the scale of wages.

As a rough general proposition, American labor hitherto, whether unionized or non-unionized, has not thought beyond specific things that it wants and ways and means of getting them. As an equally rough general proposition, American capital hitherto, whether benevolent or predatory, has not thought on problems here in mind beyond ways and means of holding all the power it has, and yielding nothing to labor beyond certain hand-outs which do not weaken property rights. The stage of industrial society that has arrived in Europe and may date its arrival in this country with the return of Mr. Gompers from his latest conferences with foreign labor leaders is one in which labor will be familiar with a theory that property itself is usurpation and that the world belongs to the

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manual workers. Everyone who has observed the psychology of crowds knows that in periods of social unrest, in times when older arrangements are dissolving and substitutes are not yet installed, the mental operations of the masses most affected resemble the tendency in the circulation of money known as "Gresham's Law," viz., the baser currency drives out the better. The moment that the ideas which had previously held society together lose that controlling power, competing ideas take possession of the unsettled minds, and these ideas do not stop with correcting the errors of the old ones. They not only drive out the oldest ideas, and newer ones which may be better, but they do not stop there. Before equilibrium is restored the ideas in circulation and control may have flown to the opposite extreme of futility and perhaps fatality. That is what took place in the French Revolution. The old régime was first criticized in a mildly academic way. It was then jostled in a rude, ungentlemanly way. It was then garroted and beheaded in a frenzied, barbarian way. The same inverted progress from worse to worst is now visible in Russia, where the Bolshevik Communist party, as Lenine now calls it, proposes to redeem Russia and then the rest of the world by the "dictatorship of the proletariat." This means the suppression by violence of everyone who resists the exclusive rule of those who work with their hands. It means a régime in which it shall be law that no one shall have more property or income than the average workman has. It means a régime in which no one shall have any more influence upon any business, whether economic or political, than the average workman has. It means a régime in which, while it is overcoming the resistance of the old régime, anyone who has less has license to take, if he can, from him who has more, and not merely to get all the enjoyment there is in the goods thus acquired, but to pronounce a benediction upon himself as a servant of righteousness besides.

I am not concerned at this point with the ethics of this vision nor with its feasibility. I am concerned now solely with its seductiveness. It would be a superdevil who could invent an idea more likely to craze a proletarian, if he begins to ponder about himself as a proletarian. Suppose an American citizen faces the fact that he has no legal right to anything but today's wages. Suppose he

falls to brooding over the fact that he holds his job only so long as another man consents to let him hold it, and if that consent is withdrawn, and no other man renews it, his only claim left is to choose between starvation, suicide, and the poorhouse.   Then suppose the most masterful men of his kind that he knows stand up in crowds of proletarians and proclaim, "It's a trick!   It's a fraud!   It's a lie! The world belongs to us and they've stolen it from us.   Come on! Let's go and take it back!"   No one capable of imagining himself in that man's place can offer an explanation that can satisfy even himself why Bolsheviki have not come sooner and everywhere and in larger numbers.   It would be a peculiarly constituted man who could contemplate the number of men in this country in the situation described and could persist in the belief that Bolshevikism is no concern of ours.

A man whose whole training has been in handling *things*, and who tries to handle an idea, thereupon converts himself into an extra-hazardous risk.   The chances are, not that he will master it, but that it will master him.   The chances are that its mastery over him will be not the guiding, cautioning, proportioning regulation and stimulation of the truth in the idea, but that it will be some unbalancing, exaggerating, misdirecting excitement from something very likely not properly in the idea at all, something which may be forced into or forced upon the idea if imagination is allowed its way. Mother-Eddyism and Mother-Eddyists are typical cases.   The man controlled by a bizarre version of an idea, or by forced meanings of an idea, is like Victor Hugo's gun that had jumped its moorings on deck in a gale—useless for his proper work and dangerous to all around.   All this is unfortunately in direct ratio with the amount of truth contained in the perverted and perverting idea.

At risk of suspicion that I am myself already a pervert of Bolshevikism, I must point out that this doctrine, which has become so fantastic and intolerable, starts from a premise which increasing numbers of men who abhor Bolshevikism are learning to regard as unimpeachable, namely, that *capital, as it is legally established in modern industrial countries, is bound to answer to the charge of having acquired legal rights which public policy cannot permanently concede.*   For the present I may let this proposition stand as the

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precipe, so to speak, without trying to represent any complainant with a bill of particulars.

Let it be repeated that the writer of this letter does not present it as *proof* of anything. It has simply the character of an opinion. The degree of sobriety which readers will credit to the author of the opinion is its prime credential. Its further sanction must be derived from the consensus of readers that the significance which the letter attributes to notorious facts accords with their best judgment. If then I have demonstrated nothing further than a certain agreement in reading those signs of the times which have been referred to above, I have at least established a credible working hypothesis. Apparently the attempt to reconstruct property so that it will more adequately represent present conceptions of justice is to have large scope in the near future. Herewith we arrive at the setting for the appeal which I am about to make; the judgment, namely, that *a church which has no positive attitude, no definite policy toward the group of problems thus indicated, can scarcely hope to impress men whose lives pivot upon these problems as dealing with anything very close to reality.*

Not long ago the writer, with another outsider, was present at a meeting of about twenty labor leaders in one of our large cities. A reference was made to the churches, and one of the labor men exclaimed, "There ain't a minister in this town except ———, that cares a damn about the workingman!" and a general "that's so!" ran around the table. Anyone who knew the ministers of that town would have expressed almost the contradictory estimate, for not a minister in that town, with the possible exception of A, B, or C, would not be a Golden Rule type of friend to the workingman if he only knew how and if he had the opportunity. The facts are that only here and there a minister knows how, and only those ministers whose charges are in workingmen's districts have favorable conditions for learning how. Under the circumstances of the particular town in which the incident occurred there is very little contact between labor leaders and the Protestant ministers, so that their opinion was not surprising. It will be the rule among workingmen until the gap between them and the churches, at least so far as exchange of accurate information goes, can be closed.

There may be more plausibility than conclusiveness in the hypothesis which has interested Old Testament scholars for several years, that the thread which leads straightest through the tangle of the history of Israel is the long struggle between the type of justice which satisfied the Baal worshipers of the towns and that type of justice which appealed to the Jahwe worshipers of the open country. However that may have been, it is common knowledge among people who understand their Bibles, and it is equally evident to students of Christian history from the close of the Canon up till now, that obligation to know justice and to do justice has been a traditional part of the profession of Jewish and Christian religions. The great majority of American Christians, whether Catholic or Protestant, would regard it as utterly unwarranted defamation of character if anyone should question the controlling purpose of their respective groups to stand for justice, at all costs, both when recognized justice is threatened and when circumstances require that undiscovered justice should be ascertained. Whatever may be the incidents of the next stage of relations between economic classes, there is little room for doubt that the issues will be presented by the opposing interests more or less clearly in terms of "justice." In so far as the churches come into notice in connection with these issues, each side will demand that the churches throw their weight on the side of "justice" as the respective sides understand "justice." On such a general issue as this, the churches will be in a deplorable plight if they are unable to speak, not only positively and emphatically, but with substantial unanimity. It would be an exhibit of pitiful incompetence if, in this critical period, bodies of the ability and resources of the Protestant churches of our northern states should default their special responsibility for interpreting Christian justice in the circumstances peculiar to the times. For reasons, however, which it is unnecessary to recite it is our duty to recognize the fact that our churches are not merely in a state of unpreparedness to formulate convincing rules of justice applicable to present and coming conditions, but this state of unpreparedness is likely often to make well-meant attempts by individuals to declare justice in the name of religion mischievous in confusing already entangled situations. Next to fundamentally upright

purpose the most essential prerequisite to judicial conclusions is *adequate information.* Neither prerequisite can be sufficient without the other and neither can assure the other. As members of the churches we believe that their purpose is dependably Christian. As members of the churches we must confess, on the other hand, that for direct and effective influence upon standards of economic justice they are not only impotently uninformed, but the information and supposed information within their control is of such miscellaneous character as to relevance, as to accuracy, as to completeness, and as to the precise circumstances to which the information is primarily related that judgments based upon such information can seldom be conclusive. Judgments ventured, indeed, in the name of religion, on the basis of such information, have not infrequently fomented more trouble than they removed. In this respect the situation of the churches with reference to economic class conflicts is comparable with the situation of the American public in general at the present moment (January 18) with reference to the questions before the Peace Congress. We are dependent for our information almost exclusively upon the newspaper correspondents. What shall we think about such cardinal problems as a "league of nations," "freedom of the seas," terms of reparation, territorial readjustments? Many of us decided long ago that it would be a waste of time for us to accept the newspaper invitations to keep excited over these problems, for the simple reason that, temporarily at least, we are in a state of worse than ignorance as to what the problems actually involve in the minds of the men who will put them in the next shape for world acceptance or rejection. We see that the correspondents are giving us chiefly their guesses about more or less crucial factors in the case, together with much more that is of doubtful importance. These guesses are incoherent and irreconcilable, and available for scarcely anything more than satisfaction of our craving for fiction. It is to be feared that everyone who is using these reports as a basis for political agitation is doing the public more injury than service.

It is within the power of our churches to command the information necessary to give religion its appropriate influence upon the issues we are discussing. All that I have said converges there upon

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the following recommendation: *That the Laymen's Committee on Inter-Church Survey urge as many churches as are willing to co-operate (1) to organize and support a permanent commission for investigation into, and report upon, near and remote causes and details of any economic class conflicts which may develop in this country; (2) that the commission be instructed to study such conflicts on the ground, not as attempted arbitrators, but as accredited representatives of associated churches, with the aim of, so far as possible, exhausting all the material facts in the given case, especially those which have any appreciable bearing upon principles of justice; (3) that the associated churches be urged to make provision for the widest circulation of the reports of this committee among the leaders of thought, both ministers and laymen, in their respective bodies; (4) that the commission be charged also with the duty of reporting, from time to time (primarily with reference to their accuracy, their fairness to all the interests concerned, and the competence of their authors to pass the kinds of judgment involved) upon books, pamphlets, and magazine articles which purport to represent Christian principles at issue in economic conflicts; (5) that the commission be instructed to avoid duplication of work already in progress by organizations whose results are of such a character that they may be appropriated by the commission; (6) that the churches associated in this enterprise, and all others that approve of it, be urged to use their influence to secure for the publications of the commission, and the other publications which they recommend, all the attention which they may be found to deserve as materials for the construction of standards of justice which shall apply Christian principles to the special conflicts of ideas about justice which develop under our present form of industrial organization.*

The considerations which follow are virtually footnotes to the foregoing recommendation. They have been set down in the order in which they suggested themselves.

1. The sort of commission contemplated is one that would command the respect of any congressional committee, or court of justice, or board of directors, or trade-union council. It should be made up of men and women who, in the first place, have had the sort of experience which has fitted them for the job, and, secondly, are of a character which cannot be bribed, wheedled, or

frightened into findings not in the evidence, to please either party.

2. The contracts with the members of the commission should cover a term of years, so that they may be as independent as possible of all uncertainty about tenure.

3. The salaries and appropriations for expenses should be on the scale necessary to secure the contemplated grade of service, and to provide the facilities to give it the largest range of usefulness.

4. As a mere matter of tactics, such a commission would almost ideally serve as what promoters call "a talking proposition." Establish such a commission, composed of persons whose intelligence, competence, and integrity could not be impeached; instruct it to go to the bottom, if there is a bottom, of the conflict situations that arise; publish their findings as frankly as Mr. Hughes's reports on the insurance situation were published; let it be known that the work is the work of the associated churches, and that it represents their determination to do everything in their power in the service of social justice—do this, and it will be the most silencing answer that ever has been given to either of the many variations of the charge that the church is owned by the rich and does the rich man's dirty work.

5. The recommendation will of course meet instant opposition on the ground that numerous denominations already have agencies which are faithfully endeavoring to discover and circulate knowledge on these subjects as a part of denominational education, not only intellectual and religious, but social. The recommendation does not ignore nor undervalue the agencies referred to. They are doing highly important work, but the nature of their limitations is such that the men who are carrying the heaviest burdens of this work will doubtless be most prompt to see that, however acceptably they may function within their sphere, within their respective denominations, or within a group of co-operating denominations, they are not so constituted as to discharge the principal functions which the recommendation contemplates.

6. The commission recommended would cover all the ground, in the way of taking and sifting evidence, on which the responsible master in chancery bases his advice to the court. The churches

would then no longer be, any more than the judge is, after receiving the findings of the master in chancery, at the mercy of hearsay, of newspaper gossip, of *ex parte* testimonies or representations. The churches would be like the judge after the case had been properly made up—in a position to render the most judicial decision possible under the circumstances.

7. The findings of the commission on each important matter which it investigated would be first-page news for every daily paper in the country, just as the summaries of the Pittsburgh Survey were. The papers that did not publish these findings would thereby automatically condemn themselves as either incompetent or uncandid.

8. The habit which would soon be formed of depending upon the church commission for the fairest treatment of class conflicts would do more than any other influence in sight to narrow the no-man's-land between the "unchurched" and the churches.

9. The existence of a common source of information which could be trusted would tend to produce homogeneous and therewith influential public opinion within the churches, in place of cross-currents of irresponsibly advised church opinion which largely neutralize one another and consequently limit the influence of religion.

10. More fundamental than any of the foregoing considerations is the assumption of the recommendation that the churches want to find ways of making religion a continuous and pervasive force in men's lives, not merely the occupant of a secluded section of their experience. If the churches really mean to "get into the game," this is one of the big openings.

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Fraternally submitted,

ALBION W. SMALL

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THE SECT AND THE SECTARIAN

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ABSTRACT

The isolated religious sect offers unutilized data for the study of the sociology of institutions and also for the investigation of personality. The sect arises in a period of disorganization and is a phase of the redintegration of the community as a whole. The particularistic causal statements are all inadequate since every sect is the result of a unique constellation of forces. The original *cadre* grows by accretion, and often the distinguishing characteristics of the sect are later additions. The sect does not select any one temperament for its members. The conflict resulting and the inevitable changes are productive of characteristic types in each case. The sect is analogous to a primitive tribe and the personalities are the subjective phases of the group life. Experience is creative. The motives for carrying on the life of the sect may differ greatly from those which began it. The polemic arguments in defense of the sect correspond to the *dérivations* of Pareto. In addition to the *dérivations* it is possible to study the inner attitudes which are reminiscent of the *résidues* of Pareto. A sect may unite members who are moved by a wide variety of *résidues*.

Social origins have rested so far chiefly on a foundation of ethnology. Primitive peoples were assumed to represent earlier stages of the life which we are living, and from Comte and Spencer till now men have sought to answer fundamental questions about our own religion, morals, art, and economy by collecting facts regarding savages. But the results have been disappointingly meager. The ultimate origin of any of our basic activities is lost in mystery. The answer to the question of origins which seemed at first to be promised by ethnography has actually been sought by an appeal to psychology, and since the psychology of primitive man is a matter of inference, the net result of nearly a hundred years of writing is little more than a collection of theories of the origin of institutions, not one of which can be disproved, but each one of which is unproved and indeed unprovable. The curtain rises in the middle of the drama—sometimes, indeed, toward the end of the last act— and the process by means of which the past has been reconstructed differs in no essential respect from the most primitive of mythology.

There exists a contemporary phenomenon, relatively neglected,

which offers brighter promise of success. The religious sect, and particularly the modern isolated sect, has many advantages which ethnography does not afford. In many cases all their history is accessible, since the date can be found when the sect was not dreamed of, and the whole evolution can be traced. If sociologists cared to give the same careful and detailed study to the foot-washing of the Dunkers or the dancing of the Shakers as they do to the totem dances of the Australians or the taboos of the Bantus the material would not only be found equally interesting but in all probability more fruitful.

The religious sect is a valuable field for the study of sociology as distinguished from social psychology, since it furnishes a body of facts concerning the rise of institutions. The current notions of the origin of institutions include the theory that they developed from a fixed set of instincts, the theory that they are determined by the geographic environment, and the theory that the whole phenomenon arises out of the conditioning of the infantile reflexes. Now psychology is very important and there are many problems which are essentially psychological, but the sociology of institutions can be studied without positing any foundation of psychology, and indeed need no more depend on psychology than on astronomy or geology. There are questions that need to be answered, facts that can be gathered, hypotheses that can be tested, and conclusions that can be arrived at when institutions are studied with the essential abstraction which all scientific inquiry demands.

Nevertheless the religious sect is also a valuable field for the study of social psychology. The sect is composed of sectarians and the sectarian is a personality. Moreover, his personality issues from the life of the sect and can only be understood if we take into account the social matrix in which it took form. The relation of the individual to the group and of institutions to the instinctive equipment, as well as the problem of the relation of inherited temperament to institutional organization—all these and other psychological questions can be profitably studied in considering the sectarian and his sect. If we assume that human nature is not a fixed or constant or hereditary thing, but on the contrary results from the presence of, and contact with, one's fellows, the sect af-

fords a field for the study of personality in its development which, in cases where the group is cut off with relative completeness from outside influences, gives a situation analogous to a laboratory set-up where the conditions are controlled and the variables studied.

The relation of individual personalities to institutions is apparently reciprocal. The members of a religious sect are shaped and fashioned in accordance with the traditions and world-view which prevail within the group. To ask why a man who has lived from infancy in a Mormon community looks at life from the standpoint of Mormonism is to ask a very easy question. His life has been defined within the given social whole. But if we become curious and inquire how the institution of Mormonism was constituted the question is more complex. For the sect has its roots in the far-distant past, besides having *differentia* that mark it off from any other institution. If it be true that the sectarian has been too often studied in isolation from the sect it is even more apparent that the sect has been studied with too little regard for the other groups with which it was in contrast and conflict. The telescopes have had too small a field of vision. The conventional accounts include a certain description of the times and conditions, but the sect is usually set off rather too sharply against a definitely opposing group. Indeed, one may think of the sect in a figure. Arising at a time when the fixed order is breaking up, or tending to break up, the sect is the effort of the whole community to integrate itself anew. It is the order arising from social chaos, though the order may not be overstable nor the chaos a condition of utter disruption. If we examine the organization of a large number of sects such as Quakers, Shakers, Mennonites, Dunkers, Perfectionists, and Amanas, what appears upon close scrutiny is that at a crucial moment in the history of a society a situation occurs which is literally unique, never having been present before in any group of people anywhere in the world at any period of time. And since the situation is unique and since the personalities of the members form a unique assemblage of forces, interests, and ideals, the solution of the difficulty has also a certain uniqueness about it.

The student of the literature becomes familiar with a priori assumptions and the explanation by general principles, but these

do not stand the test of a comparative study. One writer remarks that it was quite natural that Ann Lee should found a celibate community since she had such a disastrous married life. But many women have had disastrous married lives who did not found celibate communities, and many celibate communities have been founded by those who did not have disastrous married lives. Indeed, Ann Lee did not begin her sect with celibacy. The feature was a later addition. One writer has explained a colony of communistic celibates as response to their environment. They were in the wilderness in Pennsylvania shut off from associations and in a physical milieu very much like an ancient Egyptian sect that was celibate and communistic. The proof offered of this causal statement is that when civilization conquered the wilderness their distinguishing doctrines were given up, which forces the remark that there are many settlements in the isolated wilderness that were neither communistic nor celibate, and, moreover, that some communistic sects persisted, and some still persist long after the whole surrounding community has been conquered by civilization.

It is therefore impossible to say of any given region that it will produce a definite type of religion. The set forms of the constitution of a sect vary so much that the details must be regarded as chance or accidental. The problem here is very similar to the problem of an invention, differing chiefly in that the sect is a collective affair while an invention is individual. Of course the various members of a group are not equal in influence, and usually the fate of a whole religious movement will be modified by the biographical details of some important early leader. As is well known, polygamy was not the original program of the Mormons, but came in in response to an attempt to solve a particular emergency. The Amana community has practiced communism for nearly a century, but they had many years of continuous existence before communism came into their mores. It all happened when, after one of their migrations, it developed that the poorer members who owed the more wealthy ones large sums of money for their lands seemed to be hopelessly in debt. Whereupon, after some divine inspirations and much conference and objection, it was at last agreed that they should hold all things in common. But, having so decided, this

feature became an integral part of their society and has remained unquestioned for generations.

There are many instances of the traditions of a group being affected for long periods by the experience and influence of a single man. The Disciples, who form one of the larger denominations, have a peculiar inconsistency in their treatment of non-members. Baptism by immersion is a *sine qua non* for membership, but those who are not baptized are freely admitted to the intimacies of the communion table. The problem is completely explained by the experience of their leader, Campbell, who began as a Presbyterian and practiced open communion, later affiliated with the Baptists, and finally organized an independent sect. This variety of religious experience caused him to advocate the inconsistency which, being adopted by the small group and retained when it began to grow, has endured for a hundred years and been the occasion of much friction and at least one division.

The sect is originally constituted, not by non-religious persons, but by those who have split off from existing organizations. Christian Science grows largely by accretion from former adherents of organizations which are older, and this is typical. The condition of unrest and confusion loosens the bonds of union and sometimes a few kindred spirits find each other and a nucleus is formed. It is very rare that the original motive is separation, but when the divergent nucleus excites opposition and achieves group consciousness the stage is set for a new sect. The first stage is then typically a stage of conflict, though the methods of warfare vary according to the standards of the times. Many of the organizations are short-lived, and it would be highly instructive to have an exhaustive study of the small sects that did not survive. When group consciousness and morale characterize the original company or *cadre* of the sect, there is often a more or less rapid growth by accretion or attraction by others. Just why they are attracted is a very interesting problem. It is often assumed that the chief appeal is to men of like temperament. Perhaps this is what Giddings means by consciousness of kind, men outside the sect join themselves to it because they feel a consciousness of kind, that is, they are similar in temperament and regard thmselves as being like-minded. The

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question is not easy to decide, but there are facts which make this a doubtful explanation. Thomas Edwards, writing in 1646 about this very problem, gives a long list of motives which in his opinion are leading men to join the hated sects about him, among which are the following: some were needy, broken, decayed men who hoped to get something in the way of financial help from the new sect; some were guilty, suspected, and obnoxious men who were in the lurch and feared arrest or indictment, and to these the sect was a sanctuary; some, he claimed, had lawsuits and hoped to find friends to help them in their litigation; others he thought were ambitious, proud, covetous men who had a mind to offices; still others he insists were libertines and loose persons who seek less restraint than the older communities insisted on; another class he calls wanton-willed, unstable persons who pretend to be convinced, while others he calls quarrelsome people who like to stir up trouble; and still others include those who have quarreled with their ministers or had some trouble about their church dues and thus go off disaffected.

Even if we make a liberal allowance for the bitterness of the controversies of the seventeenth century it seems necessary to conclude that the new converts were men of many types. To join a group it is not necessary that you regard yourself as like them; it might be more accurate to say that you have an ambition to be like them and therefore want to change. In the histories of most sects it is possible to describe a period of relatively intense conflict, and here the necessities of comparative study are the greater. For the conflict is modified by the opponents. Men learn the art of war from their enemies, and when they start out they are rarely as extreme as they come to be under the stress of the fighting. The Amanas attacked the clergy for immorality and laxity; they refused all military services and did not send their children to the public schools; while in their turn they were beaten, harassed, and imprisoned. William Penn's plea for religious freedom he justified on scriptural grounds, calling it natural, prudent, and Christian, finding in the Bible justification for loving one's enemies and refusing to employ human force. Tolerance he regarded as prudent because the Scripture says "no kingdom divided against itself can

stand." But the opponents of Penn are necessary if one is to understand the position he takes, a position which at that time was new and revolutionary. In Edwards' *Gangraena* there is a seventeenth-century expression of the view of the dominant group; toleration was wrong since "a kingdom divided against itself could not stand." Edwards regarded tolerance as a great evil, as the following quotation will show:

Toleration is the grand designe of the Devil, his Masterpeece and chiefe Engine he works by at this time to uphold his tottering Kingdome; it is the most compendious, ready, sure way to destroy all Religion, lay all waste, and bring in all evill; it is a most transcendent, catholique, and fundamentall evill for this Kingdom of any that can be imagined: As originall sin is the most fundamentall sin, all sin; having the seed and spawn of all in it: so a Toleration hath all errors in it, and all evils, it is against the whole streame and current of Scripture both in the Old and New Testament, both in matters of Faith and manners, both generall and particular commands; it overthrows all relations, both Politicall, Ecclesiasticall, and Oeconomicall; and whereas other evils, whether errors of judgment or practise, be but against some one or few places of Scripture or relation, this is against all, this is the Abaddon, Apollyon, the destroyer of all religion, the Abomination of Desolation and Astonishment, the Libertie of Perdition (as Augustine calls it) and therefore the Devil follows it night and day, working mightily in many by writing Books for it, and other wayes, all the Devils in Hell and their Instruments being at work to promote a Toleration (Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena* [London, 1646], pp. 121–22).

The conflict unites the sect, creates *esprit de corps* and heightens morale. Usually, but not always, if the conflict be too severe so that confidence is lessened, dissentions may arise and factions appear. Conflict united the German people for four years, but when they began to feel that the cause was lost the conflict broke up the unity of the nation. In the sect, however, a conflict can be with the "world," which is a subjective image, and it is possible for a sect to survive great disasters since they are so certain of ultimate success. The sect therefore has always some degree of isolation and is more apt to have a high morale when they succeed in securing a location shut off from the rest of the world. There are, however, devices of cultural isolation which overcome lack of physical separation, as can be observed in the present state of the Christian Science church. In this case isolation depends upon a

separate vocabulary and particularly upon the admonition not to argue or discuss the matter with outsiders. The Masons, and to some extent the Mormons, achieve isolation by secrecy.

In this conflict period of the life of the sect the tendency is toward exclusiveness wherever feasible. Certain economic relations with the "world" are necessary, but the cultural life is protected. There is always a tendency to be an endogenous tribe. Sometimes to marry an outsider is to forfeit membership in the group. Yet the time always comes when this is difficult to enforce, for from the beginning of time the sons of God have looked upon the daughters of men and found them fair and desirable. Intermarriage never becomes general until disintegration has set in, and it is always a destructive influence, for queens make good foreign missionaries and no child can easily despise the religion of his mother.

A highly interesting aspect of the development of a sect is found in the tendency to divide and become two sects, typically more bitter toward each other than toward the "world" which they formerly united in opposing. There appear to be two types of divisions. Sometimes it merely represents a stage in the process of reabsorption into the larger society from which they came out. In this case the progressives or innovators want to change the old customs to conform with what is being done outside. The Disciples split on the question of whether an organ should be used in church, the organ party wishing to imitate the outsiders while their opponents wanted to maintain the older tradition. Another type of division seems to give no such clue. It is apparently a differential interpretation of an ambiguous constitutional phrase. The Dunkers had an issue concerning multiple foot-washing; one party insisted that each person should wash the feet of only one other, while their opponents contended that each should wash the feet of several. There are other examples of ambiguity of the initial statement or doctrine, and unless there is an adequate machinery, or supreme court, which can settle the matter, divisions may result.

But whether the group divides or not, a period arrives when the isolation begins to disappear and the customs of the outside world with its beliefs and practices, even its ideals and doctrines,

begin gradually to penetrate the group. When two people live side by side they always influence each other. The Boers in Angola smear their floors with fresh cow dung, which picturesque custom they acquired from the savages around them. These tendencies are slow in coming and are often very strenuously resisted. In 1905 the annual meeting of the Old Order Brethren solemnly decided that it was unscriptural for any of their members to have a telephone. The Dunker authorities have solemnly ruled on erring brethren who attend animal shows, played authors, bought county bonds, served on juries, bought pianos, used sleigh bells, wore neckties, used fiddles, wore standing coat collars, erected tombstones, and joined the Y. M. C. A. All this was many years ago and the process starting then has gone on until many of the progressive Dunkers smile at what they now call old-fashioned objections.

If we turn now to the question of personality and the light which a study of sects can give us on this problem it is clear that the sect in its collective life produces the sectarian. The sectarian is therefore a type, and types of personality turn out to be the end-products which issue from the activities of a group. Types can be studied with reference to the morphology of the human body. Thus men can be divided into the fat and round, the lean and slim, and any other discoverable groupings. They may be divided into introverts and extroverts, though nearly all the people you meet are neither one nor the other, but rather mixed. These and many other classifications are of value and should be encouraged; but they fail to meet all the needs, and it becomes apparent that the social life men live is more relevant than the physical constitution they inherit. There is a typical Mormon and his personality can be described. He is in favor of the highly centralized institutional organization; he is ruled by a characteristic system of theology; he believes in private property controlled to a certain extent by a theocracy. Likewise, there is a typical Shaker; but the Shaker holds private property to be undesirable and even against the will of God. Moreover, to the Shaker all sexual intercourse is immoral, and there is a long list of definite statements that could be applied to this typical individual. There is also a typical Dunker, neither

communistic, like the Shaker, nor ruled by a central hierarchy, like the Mormon. He belongs to the one true church, as most sectarians do, but each sectarian belongs to a different one true church than the other sectarians. The Dunker regards it as obligatory to be immersed in water three times, facing forward each time. He must ceremonially wash his brother's feet and give him a holy kiss of love, keeping himself unspotted from the world.

Each of these sects and all closely organized sects have a peculiar vocabulary, a fixed tradition, and a specific and peculiar way of regarding God and man, the world and the hereafter. The sect then is analogous to a primitive tribe, and the primitive tribe has long been recognized as productive of specific types of personality. There is more difference between a Shaker and a Dunker than between the equatorial Bantus and the South African Zulus. And this difference exists in spite of essential similarities in race, language, and geographical similarities in environment.

These types are the result of social heritage and breed true socially for long periods of time. They cannot be explained by geographical environment, for the Dunkers and the Amanas and many others live in the same kind of environment, cultivating the same soil and surrounded by neighbors who are alien. Nor can appeal be made to physical heredity, for the sects are constantly acquiring members from outside the line of descent. The Mormon missionaries traveled all over America and Europe seeking and finding new recruits for the community in Utah. The cultural life produces the mores, and the mores are irresistible when skilfully inculcated into the young and into the new recruits.

Moreover, as time goes on new and often important variations in the mores arise. Neither for the group nor for the individual are all moments equally important. Life does not consist of unaccented rhythms, but rather in periods of uniformity followed by important moments of decision, and from these later issue changes which may determine the course of the group for generations to come.

In this connection it becomes necessary to refer again to the assumption frequently made that there is a temperamental uniformity which explains the group. They are all assumed to be

like-minded; new converts come in because of a consciousness of kind. The group is assumed to select those of a certain temperament. This interpretation fails to meet just criticism. An examination of the membership of the sect and the phenomenon of division and dissention forces the assumption that many varieties of temperament are included in the membership of the sect. The hypothesis here advanced is that the new convert does not come in because he was of like mind, but that he comes in because he changes his mind. He makes it up in a different way. The sect attracts him because he wants to be different and it takes him and makes him into a different type as he comes to enter into the cultural life.

In support of this notion several types of facts seem relevant. First, the sect arises in a time of disorganization which is always a period of unsettling. Men are thus ready for a new stable or organizing influence. They do not join because they are like anybody; they join because some solution is offered to their unrest. Second, the descendants of the members of the sect can be assumed to be of different temperaments, and this assumption is borne out on investigation. In spite of the difference in temperament the typical sectarian in each case can be accurately described and is held to loyal membership until it begins to disintegrate.

The third group of facts are more important and more conclusive. It has been shown that the history of the sect shows a typical progression. The period of extreme isolation, conflict, and high morale is followed by a more irenic era when conformity with the outside world gets increasing approval. The end result is the disappearance of the sect as a separate conflict group and the lessening importance of their differences when considering the influence of these on the personality of the sectarian. The typical sectarian is, therefore, a different person in the different stages of the life of the group. The assumption of the temperamental uniformity is difficult to hold in the light of the progressive alterations which are demonstrable. A combative, exclusive, non-conformist who dresses differently from those in the society in which he lives is a very different personality from him who joins with others in their associations and enterprises and who comes to be a patriotic and regular member of an American political unit. Since the sectarian

is the individual aspect of his sect, he changes when his group changes and his group changes with a changing set of relations. The changes in the sect are not dependent on the temperament of the members, and the changes in the sectarian reflects the collective life. Therefore the temperament of the sectarian is a varying element and the theory of the temperamental selection seems inadequately founded.

Those who appeal to temperament as a causative factor do not always keep in mind that temperament is an inference and not a fact. Temperamental qualities are abstractions. A definition of temperament would include those factors in the personality which determine the mode of behavior and which are innate. Since, however, temperament does not become important until the personality is formed, it is always a matter of inferential abstraction. The temperament can be shown to change, and arguments about inherited temperament ought to be made with the greatest care.

Experience is then creative. The sect is not safe refuge where the temperament and desires of an outsider can be comfortably expressed and realized; it is rather a formative force or set of forces; and the motives which lead a man to join a sect may be quite different from those which assure his continuance in it. No one on the outside can fully know what the experience on the inside is. Being a sectarian may be more satisfying than was at first imagined, or it may be less so, but it is certainly never exactly anticipated. The motives which lead a woman to the altar in marriage may be quite different from those which make her decide to endure to the end. The reason a man takes up smoking is rarely the motive which makes him continue the habit. The sectarian is therefore in some sense a new creature. He may regard himself, and quite accurately, as entirely made over. Very commonly he refers to the new existence as a rebirth.

If we attempt to analyze the personality of the sect in terms of attitudes we have available the theoretical discussion of W. I. Thomas and Znaniecki. An attitude is stated to be a process of individual consciousness set over against a corresponding value. R. E. Park in discussing attitudes is concerned with the relation of attitudes and the wishes and opinions. The attitude is said to be

the mobilization of the will. Psychologists, among whom Allport and Thurstone may be mentioned, have attempted to investigate attitudes by questionnaires and inquiries regarding verbal assent or dissent. The assumption is that the attitude corresponds to the verbal expression of it.

In the work of V. Pareto there are distinguished three elements which we may roughly force into some kind of relation with the preceding points of view. There are C, the customs, convictions, and principles which the members share; these he calls the *dérivées*. The second element, B, is the verbal expression when the first is questioned or challenged and represents the need to be logical or the desire to appear reasonable. These he calls the *dérivations*. There is a third element, A, relatively invariable, arising from the sentiments and interests which may be admitted, but which is often concealed. These are spoken of as the *résidues*.

The social attitude seems to correspond to the *résidues*, but there is also an attitude of a more general sort corresponding to the *dérivées*. The *résidues*, or attitudes, are never the object of direct perception. They must be inferred, but the inference is a necessity. Thus Mormon polygamy was at one time an accepted practice; it was a *dérivée*, in class C. The reasons assigned for the practice in debate, argument, and propaganda belong to the class B. They are highly variable and a premium is placed on ingenuity and originality in the inevitable forensics. But the inner motives and deep-lying attitudes arising out of their instinctive cravings and sentiments, class A, may be very different from what would be admitted. Without going into detail here it is apparent that sexuality is involved to a degree to be determined by whatever methods are at hand.

Now the origin of social forms, the creation of new mores, need be uniform in a given group only in class C. The elements B tend to have more uniformity, but are still quite various, while the element A admits a far wider variety. Some people join the Dunkers for economic security; others, to avoid military service; others, out of disgust for the state religion; and so on through a great variety. The *dérivations*, or class B, among religious sects are often taken from Bible texts, and it sometimes happens that the same *dérivation* will be used by opposing sects to justify contradictory

practices. "Suffer little children to come unto me for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven" is quoted by Baptists to show that infants do not need to be baptized; it is quoted by Paedo-Baptists to justify the baptism of children.

"Every kingdom divided against itself cannot stand." This *dérivation* is quoted by Quakers to prove that sects should be tolerated, and by Edwards to prove that they should be suppressed.

"In Heaven they neither marry nor are given in marriage." This is a favorite proof text for the Shakers to show that there should be no sexual intercourse, and was the central text quoted by the Perfectionists to justify the form of free love which they called complex marriage.

The number and nature of the attitudes, the *résidues,* is large and bears upon the question of like-mindedness and similarity of temperament. As already pointed out, there may be a score of varying motives which bring people into a common organization.

But now comes the most important consideration. The attitudes in class A, the *résidues,* are continually being reformed. They are created as emotional experiences multiply and result from later *dérivations* and new objects and new loyalties. The common experience in the sect tends to make widely varying *résidues* more nearly common and identical.

Pareto points out the necessity for caution in assuming, as Allport and Thurstone do, the correspondence of *dérivation* and *résidue.* The literature of the Shakers abounds in ascetic sentences and repeated assertions that sex is an unnecessary evil, but sometimes the Shakers worked all day and danced all night, and in the early period the men and women were nude and danced together. It seems necessary to assume a far greater interest in sex than their opinions and principles express. One cannot understand a sect by merely studying its creed.

The study of the sects which survived needs supplementing by a knowledge of those which died. In certain periods of disorganization there were many small aberrant attempts at organization which did not live and many doctrines which did not take on. One John Boggis who became a preacher of note in seventeenth-century England is quoted by Edwards as refusing to say grace at dinner where the meat was a shoulder of roast veal, scornfully asking "to

whom shall I give thanks, whether to the butcher, the bull, or the cow." Such extreme divergence failed to take on.

In every time of disorganization there is always a certain disorder in the sex mores. This happens in political revolutions and also in a time of religious unrest. The new sects are very often accused of sex practices contrary to the mores. Some of these accusations are probably exaggerated because the enemies are rarely restrained in their statements, but it is easy to point out a certain trend toward sex liberty among many of the sects. Edwards quotes a certain scriptural argument. One of the sects insisted that since death dissolved the marriage bond, and since the Scripture teaches that sleep is a form of temporary death, it is no sin to engage in sex intercourse if one's husband or wife is asleep. In such an instance there is a clear indication of a strong attitude and an example of the ingenuity of the *derivation,* or, in this case, the rationalization.

We conclude, then, that the sect is the result of collective forces that surround it and to which its own life is in part a reaction. The sect produces a type which comes to take on certain attitudes, to be devoted to certain objects and values, and to define life and the world in the way that is approved. The most fruitful field for study would seem to lie in the securing of complete and adequate life-histories of sectarians, including new converts to the sect, members who have always been in it, and dissidents and deserters who have gone out from it. For the intimate life-histories will give light on the actual product that the sect is responsible for and afford material for the accurate answering of some of the problems at present unresolved.

The purpose of this paper has been to call attention to a field of study which has not been wholly neglected but which has not yielded the results which it might yield if the material were studied with diligence. It seems not too much to say that the sect and the sectarian, if adequately investigated, could throw a flood of needed light upon one of our oldest and most perennial problems: the relation of society to the individual, the leader to his group, the relation of institutions to instincts, which is the same problem that interested Plato when he discussed the relation of the one and the many.

SOME PHASES OF RELIGION THAT ARE SUSCEPTIBLE
OF SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

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1. The ecological study of ecclesiastical organizations has been begun and should certainly be carried on extensively. The relation of churches to the distribution and movements of population is beginning to receive attention. There is a general knowledge that different denominations find their constituents in the members of certain classes, social, racial, and economic. The extent to which these factors are determinative, and particularly the effect of shifting populations in urban areas, is calculated to throw much light upon considerations not obviously related but really quite germane.

2. A sociological study of the origin and evolution of specific religious sects ought to be very fruitful in making us intelligent about how institutions arise and develop. The study of sects which have disappeared and of those whose birth was abortive would be highly instructive.

3. The study of social movements should include significant religious movements. It would be invaluable if we could have an adequate statement of the rise and development of the fundamentalist movement. There are social, racial, and economic aspects which do not at all appear in the controversial literature.

4. The relation between the collective aspect and the individual aspect of a group is of central importance. To what extent members of conservative groups are themselves conservative and the accurate statement of what Lutheranism really means to a Lutheran is capable of investigation by means of the tools in the hands of the social psychologist.

5. The psychology of conversion has long received the attention of students but there is yet much to be learned here.

6. Religious education is so vital an interest and is being studied by such an active group of men that it is included here merely for the sake of completeness. One aspect of this might receive overt mention. Certain groups rely on the parochial school; other denominations have placed their faith in the institutions of higher learning. Careful appraisement of the relative effectiveness of these two points of view would be worthy of the effort which it would involve.

7. A study of ecclesiastical integration would be valuable and timely. The various world-conferences and movements toward unity involve many forces which need more explicit statement.

8. From the mission field much valuable information could come. The sociologist is confident that no thoroughgoing transplanting of a culture is possible. The extent to which the resulting fusion is successful and the conditions which have led to reaction and rebellion on the part of native churches, very noticeably in Africa but present elsewhere, would give us much light on what we would like to know.

THE AMERICAN

JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE MUSLIM CITIES OF NORTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

Following the conquest the French reorganized the cities of Algiers after their own models, and the various ethnic elements live there side by side. But in Tunisia and Morocco, French and somewhat Europeanized Muslim institutions give the cities their form and organization, but the people live in distinctive quarters. Modernization affects not only the ecology of the North African cities but also the occupational structure and is transforming what was originally a classless society. Correspondingly, there is developing a new and marginal mentality, expressed in a new literature.

The establishment of ever more important European groups in the North African cities, coupled with the setting-up of a European administration, has wrought changes that amount to a real revolution.

I

The administration of these cities rested for ages in a subtle equilibrium. The power of the officials was counterbalanced by the influence of the notables. The public services, simple and concise, corresponded well enough on the whole to needs which were relatively constant. The balance was profoundly modified by the arrival of Europeans, who, proud of their civilization and its institutions, were not in the least disposed to adopt the local ways but set about establishing a new order as quickly as possible.

Two types of city organization were set up in North Africa: the Algerian and the type exemplified by the protectorates of Tunisia and Morocco. History explains the difference. In Algeria the administration,

which was Turkish, disappeared completely at the time of the conquest by the French. At the capitulation of Algiers, the conquerors, who regarded themselves as masters of administration, quickly organized the cities in their own way. Accordingly, they abolished the local institutions and set up municipalities analogous with those of France, in which, moreover, a place was gradually made for representatives of the Muslims and Jews. At the present time, Muslim representation amounts to two-fifths of the municipal council, as regards Muslims of the second electoral classification; the Muslims of the first electoral classification can naturally figure among the remaining three-fifths, since they have exactly the same rights as any French citizen. The Jews have enjoyed citizenship since 1870. The technical services of the municipalities are organized exactly as in France, functioning under the directives of the municipal assemblies and of the mayor and his assistants.

In Tunisia and in Morocco, on the con-

trary, treaties were made under the terms of which the institutions in existence in 1881 and 1912 could not be modified except by agreement between the French government and the governments of the bey and the sultan. Here the traditional city institutions have persisted; but since, nevertheless, new needs required new solutions, technical services of a European type were set in juxtaposition to them. Thus at Tunis, there is still a *shaykh al-madîna, Qâdîs,* heads of wards of the city and of the guilds; in Morocco a governor, a *Qâdî,* a *muhtasib,* heads of wards and of guilds. But at the same time there are municipal commissions which deliberate in the manner of the French municipal councils, except that, following the local tradition of religious autonomy, the French, the Jewish, and the Muslim sections meet and deliberate separately; and, further, these deliberations are subject to the approval of the city officials. The new technical services include municipal works and health and municipal taxes. In sum, it is a curious amalgam of traditional and modern institutions.

The persisting traditional institutions have, however, not remained as they were but have been deeply modified. In Morocco the French authorities supposed that the true representative of the state in a city was the governor, a lay official. Thereupon the latter, relying on French support, quite naturally yielded to the temptation to encroach upon the proper functions of the *qâdi* and of the *muhtasib.* At the same time the *qâdi* was deprived of the most important part of his municipal functions by the creation of a budget entirely distinct from the *waqf* income. Then, too, the heads of the city wards lost their essential functions, for, when the taxes and imposts are settled by administrative bodies, there is no longer occasion to discuss them and to contrive "arrangements." The heads of the wards thus have become simply executive agents of the city governor and are now no longer the representatives of the sections of the city. The question of the municipali-

ties is at present under discussion in the two protectorates. Recent ordinances dating from the end of 1952 in Tunisia and from September, 1953, in Morocco provide for the establishment of elected municipal bodies. In these, the European population and the Moroccan or Tunisian population are represented by an equal number of delegates wherever the importance of the European population justifies it. There is a movement, in short, toward a European type of organization in which the delegates of the local population, whatever its origin, are called upon to conduct the affairs of the city in co-operation with modern technical services.

II

Another profound change brought about by the presence of important European groups in almost all the cities is in urban housing and facilities. Here, too, the Algerian solution is different in principle from those in Tunisia and Morocco.

Algiers was a depopulated city when the French established themselves there: instead of the 100,000 inhabitants which it had boasted in the seventeenth century, there were no more than 30,000 in 1830. The French, since they did not know at first how long they would occupy Algiers, settled in the existing city rather than create a new one. When the occupation was extended to other cities of Algeria, they did the same, and so the European agglomeration lives with the traditional population. New streets were cut through the traditional city, better adapted to European habits; buildings of a French type were put up next to Muslim houses. But little by little the European population became too great and the city had to expand, and now there are quarters unqualifiedly European, with a plan laid out in advance, wide streets, squares, and public gardens. Originally these new districts were inhabited only by European families; then, as the Muslim and Jewish population grew and became Europeanized, families of these two faiths came to settle in

them. Thus in Algeria there are traditional quarters where people of every origin live side by side, but with a very clear predominance of Muslims, and modern quarters also open to all but with residents predominately European—for the Jews must be placed in that category. In short, the Algerian city is an organism growing without plan, where there is a certain amalgamation of various populations with, nevertheless, quite well-marked zones where one element dominates and gives the tone.

In Tunisia and Morocco the situation was 'altogether different at the start; the Muslim cities were normally well populated, and the occupation proceeded by a prearranged plan, following a treaty and not a conquest. At first, the Europeans settled in parts already occupied by Europeans before the protectorates; but very quickly European cities arose beside the Muslim cities. In Morocco, Marshal Lyautey decided to separate the two agglomerations for aesthetic reasons and so as not to disrupt traditional Muslim life. But the cities have grown much faster than anticipated, and now the separate parts are reuniting. Nevertheless, because of the initial segregation, the separation between people of different faiths is more marked than in Algeria.

In a Maghribine city traditional quarters with narrow streets where automobiles can scarcely pass coexist with modern quarters with wide streets, squares, and gardens. Some of the modern quarters are purely European. Algiers and Casablanca have skyscrapers with fifteen to twenty-four stories. Others in "colonial" style have villas with gardens: Rabat is the perfect model of the second type. The traditional quarters are more and more occupied by the poorer population, whatever their faith. This is the case in the Kasba of Algiers and in the old Médina of Casablanca, and to a smaller degree in the Médina of Tunis. Well-to-do Europeans live in the modern quarters, and quite often the well-to-do Muslims settle in the suburbs. Thus the Muslim bourgeois of Tunis and Algiers

live largely in little suburban cities, and also in Morocco, for example at Casablanca, many rich Muslims have built sumptuous houses around the edge of the city.

III

The recent development of the North African cities and the need for labor have produced a considerable increase in the Muslim population. In place of 30,000 Muslims in 1830, Algiers now numbers 250,000 and Casablanca grew from 20,000 Muslim inhabitants in 1907 to more than 400,000 at the present time. The same is true of the Jewish population: that of Fez has doubled since 1912, rising from 8,000 to 16,000 persons. This enormous afflux of population poses very important problems. On the one hand, the old Muslim cities are overpopulated; families are extraordinarily and unhealthfully crowded; free space and private gardens have virtualy disappeared; the gardens which gave Fez its charm thirty years ago are hardly more than a memory. In the poor quarters, every house is filled to the maximum.[1]

On the other hand, new Muslim agglomerations have come into being, either · through the initiative of the municipalities, of private societies, of the government, or else spontaneously. The planned settlements are of two sorts. Some are completely new cities, with mosques, baths, markets, and so on. The New Médina of Casablanca was, I think, the first example of this. Founded about 1920, it reproduced faithfully, except for a few details, the traditional Muslim cities of Morocco, and today it no longer corresponds to actual

[1] A detailed description of this situation is to be found in the articles of André Adam, "La Population marocaine dans l'ancienne Médina de Casablanca," in the *Bulletin économique et sociale du Maroc* (French Morocco: Rabat), No. 47 (3d qr., 1950), .pp. 183–85, and No. 48 (4th qr., 1950), pp. 14–26; and of Father Le Tellier, "Attraction des villes et sous-proletariat en Afrique du Nord," (*Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes* [Tunisia, Tunis]), No. 63 (3d qr., 1953), pp. 259–76.

need; its streets are too narrow for modern traffic, the shops are old-fashioned, and the houses take up too much room. Also at Casablanca is the city of Ain Chok, built for petty bourgeoisie and skilled workers. Here the houses are fairly modern, the streets largely open to automobile traffic, and the shops very well arranged. Analogous cities are projected or under construction, notably at Fez. The second new type consists simply of workers' housing, usually in the proximity of the places of work, the houses being all alike, clean, but simple. This sort of housing is found in almost all the mining cities and most others of North Africa.[2]

But all this new construction is still not enough, for, in the last thirty years, especially the large cities have become extraordinary centers of attraction for the rural population of North Africa, either because they offer jobs or in bad agricultural years a refuge. Many new arrivals cannot find housing and have settled in vacant areas, made a small payment to the owner, and put together precarious shelters of tent cloth and odd pieces of lumber with walls of oil cans fitted end to end—whence the name "oil-can city" ("bidonville") has been given to them. The public authorities have not succeeded in abolishing this blight on the North African cities, for the inflow of population has always far outstripped their measures. Thus at Casablanca, which holds an unenviable record, there is a bidonville of more than forty-five thousand persons.[3]

Sordid as they are, these miserable habitations are not worse than those which their occupants, once country people and now become proletarians, left behind. Structurally they are actually an improve-

ment over the rural dwellings in North Africa and are, moreover, markedly less unhealthy, in spite of appearances, than the overcrowded districts of the old medinas. The statistics of the bureau of health of Casablanca are explicit; tuberculosis and the other diseases common among the poor make far fewer ravages in the bidonvilles than in the old Médina. To improve the bidonvilles, the authorities would have to cut wide openings through them, organize the distribution of water and lighting, and establish a bureau of health.

Whatever their social category—except for the very rich, who always make out by themselves—the Muslims face a serious housing problem. Somehow, they will have to relieve the congestion in the overcrowded Médinas, reabsorb the bidonvilles, and make their cities respond to the evolution of the population. The problem raises considerable difficulties; material, to begin with, because of the pace at which the Maghribine cities are developing. Casablanca, champion in this respect, has more than doubled its population since 1939. If the housing is to increase at the same pace, a significant part of the population would have to spend its days in building, and the financial effort would be crushing. There are other difficulties. The degree of development and the desire for it vary enormously from one group of Muslims to another; so it is not easy to find a formula adapted to all needs, the more so, since the situation existing today will not hold true years from now. The New Médina of Casablanca was famous, hardly thirty years ago, as a well-structured city, yet today it is completely outdated and antiquated; the city of Ain Chok, built to take care of proletarians who were living in bidonvilles, anticipated their wants too early and in the end was populated by petty bourgeois instead. In the presence of extremely rapid human transformations, widely variable according to social categories, ethnic groups, and even individuals, it is almost impossible for a city to correspond to realities for any length of time.

[2] See, e.g., Stéphane Delisle, "Le Proletariat marocaine de Port-Lyautey," in *Les Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie*, Vol. I: *L'Évolution sociale du Maroc* (Paris: Peyronnet & Cie), pp. ·111-28.

[3] See André Adam, "Le Bidonville de Ben Msik," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales of the Faculty of Letters at Algiers*, VIII (1949–50), 61–199.

IV

In the economic realm the Maghribine cities, whose archaic economy has been unchanged for centuries, are now confronting the world economy of Europe, and this at a time when Europe is turning out goods and men at a fast and brutal pace. The first victim of the new order was the traditional industry. Those merchants who had business connections with the West were hardly taken by surprise, and the others profited as much as they lost from the considerable increase in the volume of trade. Some, like the Djerbians in Tunisia, the Mzabites in Algeria, and the Shleuh of the Anti-Atlas in Morocco, adapted themselves amazingly to the new commerce. Thanks to their intelligence, to their untiring labor, and to their cohesiveness, these border people from the Sahara have appropriated a significant part of the trade in spices, sugar, coffee, and the like, in the chief North African cities, including the trade of the European quarters. They have succeeded in eliminating a number of keen competitors, Europeans or Jews, and in building veritable fortunes.

The artisans, on the other hand, have not demonstrated a like ability to adapt. They are incrusted with age-old techniques, honest and sound, but slaves of routine who cannot compete successfully against European or American commerce. They continued to get along somehow for a few years, until the time when the population of the Maghrib had learned to use Western products, and they lost their market, at first in the cities, then even in the countryside. The second World War revived them, since North Africa was obliged to live for several years on its own resources; but, from the day when world commerce became active again, the North African handicrafts were pushed out by the flood of objects manufactured in Europe or America. Handicrafts that were barely surviving when the French came died out almost unnoticed; the few hundreds of artisans had no difficulty in finding other work. This is what happened in

Algiers, Oran, and Bône, for example. But where as at Tunis, Fez, or Marrakesh, handicrafts were the livelihood of almost half the Muslim population, a very serious problem arose. The artisans had neither capital nor adequate ideas, the guilds lacked cohesiveness, and the Muslim bourgeoisie and the political parties were simply not interested in the problem, and consequently the public authorities had to take the matter in hand. There were two types of artisans: the artists and those who made objects of utility. The first, if they made objects of high quality at a reasonable price, found an outlet in the tourist and export trades. Governmental action limited itself to controlling the quality of their products and organizing a system of loans which permitted artisans to improve their equipment and consequently their productivity and, finally, to making their work known abroad by expositions and publications. The handicraft services in the three North African countries have done good work along these lines for the last twenty years, especially in Tunisia.

The utilitarian industries, on the other hand, underwent a veritable revolution in being transformed into modern industry.. Very wisely, the governmental services have gone slowly, and the process is not completed. In Tunisia some Muslim capitalists formed industrial enterprises, notably weaving factories; at Tlemcen the rugmakers with public aid have formed a prosperous co-operative industry; but such local enterprise is very rare. Everywhere else the initiative was official. The situation was most serious in the cities of Morocco, because there was a large proportion of artisans in the cities,. their skill was not far advanced, and no imposts were established to curb competition from outside. Yet here the Indigenous Crafts and Arts Service pursues its prewar policy to provide loans to artisans and to stimulate commerce by fairs (the handicrafts fair held each spring at Fez has been in existence now almost twenty years). Moreover, the Service has set up modern pilot work-

shops at Fez, Rabat, and Marrakesh for weaving, tanning, morocco leather, shoe-making, and pottery. They are an un-doubted success, but the ultimate effect will be the disappearance of a number of old, charming but withering trades and the replacing of ancient artisans who measured things with their fingers and could not cal-culate a price based on cost, with workers who are more precise and well informed. But this will take time. The modernization of the handicrafts cannot succeed unless the general standard of living rises, and for a long time to come Maghribine arti-sans will have to be content to satisfy domestic needs, exporting only a few ob-jects of indigenous art.

Under the stimulus of World War II, new modern industry has arisen in the chief cities: food, electrical, machine, cabi-net-making industries, and so on. This re-quires trained specialists; but such workers cost a great deal if they are brought from abroad, and yet the local population of European origin is not numerous enough to fill the need, and indigenous labor is not yet well enough developed. Hence a sig-nificant effort is being made to create a trained labor force, either quickly by in-dustrial training organized by the enter-prises themselves or the unions, or the Labor Service, or else, more slowly, by the setting-up of technical and trade schools. There are some results already: the tram-ways and trolley busses of the big cities are driven for the most part by Muslims. Nevertheless, indigenous labor is still large-ly restricted to mechanical jobs for lack of sufficient skill.

For some reason the Kabyle mountain-eer, the newcomer from the steppes, and the gardener from the Sahara oases often becomes a modern worker. This entails a radical change in the mode and tempo of his living. The North Africa rustic is a man who sporadically makes hard, short efforts. But now he is suddenly forced to a continuous effort, often monotonous, at fixed hours for a fixed wage. This is a revolution for his whole organism, and one

which must be taken into account to ap-preciate his present difficulties. Accustomed to group life, he is now left to himself and forced to take on his own the initiatives which he formerly shared with his family. Thus today's North African not only has to learn precise and complex skills but is also forced to attain a new mentality. Add to this the hard life in a modern over-crowded city, the reckoning with adminis-trative regulations, the orders from the unions, and it becomes clear that this adap-tation is very slow and, for many, painful. Often the man does not earn enough, and his wife is forced to work in a factory or office instead of spinning wool at home as before. Moreover, the family is taking on a character that is contrary to the age-old Muslim custom.

The North African proletariat, new but already numerous, is, then, unhappy not only because the material conditions of its life are hard but also because it is psy-chologically disoriented and very far from finding its balance. The unions try to or-ganize this inorganic mass, but they, too, lack specialized personnel and cannot make themselves comprehensible to the ordinary workman. Some older unions at Algiers and Tunis have managed to make themselves acceptable to the workers, but everywhere union discipline is difficult to maintain, since most workers have only immediate personal interests in mind and do not ap-preciate long-term collective action. In short, the workers in modern industry are not yet well adapted to their new way of living; they have not yet mastered the movements or achieved the concentration of effort called for by minute and precise activities, nor are they comfortable in the new pace of modern big city life.

V

The workers are not alone in being dis-oriented, for the whole urban society has been shaken in its foundations. The patri-archal, classless society of former times has been deeply changed; very noticeable traces of it can still be found in Sfax,

Tunis, Constantine, Tlemcen, and most of the cities of Morocco, except for Casablanca. Where new arrivals from the tribes have submerged the traditional city population—in Casablanca, Port-Lyautey, Bizerte, and in all the large ports of Algeria—social classes have come into being, less distinct than in Egypt, for example, but nevertheless apparent. One class, the capitalists, has its roots in part in the traditional society; many rich or well-to-do merchants of the old time have adopted the new economic ways and learned the financial procedures of their European or American counterparts. They have automobiles and telephones, they travel by airplane, stay in palaces, and know how to form a corporation. They have also abandoned in large measure the usual concern of the fortunate Muslim for the humble and taken over the rudeness all too common in Western businessmen. Specimens of this type are to be found in Tunis, Sfax, Tlemcen, Fez, and Casablanca.

In new or completely renovated cities like Algiers, Oran, Bône, and Casablanca there is another category of Muslim capitalists, the parvenus. Starting from nothing, they have contrived by skill, labor, and perhaps luck to acquire a great deal of money. At Algiers this is true of several Kabyles and of Mzabites. The Shlevh spice-and-sugar merchants of the Moroccan cities are following their example. These newly rich are not all of rural origin; many belong to families which lived in the cities for generations but did not grow rich until then. Like all the parvenus in the world, they are proud of themselves, of their money, and of their modernism and in their excesses are not restrained by tradition. They form the vanguard of Maghribine capitalism. Their fortune comes from commerce, but they are not averse to investing capital in transportation or modern industrial enterprises such as oil refineries and flour mills. They also speculate on the political parties, providing them with funds less from conviction than to assure themselves certain advantages.

Opposed to these capitalists, the proletarians constitute an entirely new category, without any root in the past.

A third new category is the Maghribine intelligentsia. These have enjoyed a modern education and are now lawyers, physicians and pharmacists, teachers in the schools and occasionally in the universities, politicians and officials of all sorts. Chemists, electricians, engineers, and other technicians are rare, for these specialties are less in the public eye and do not open the door to a political career. The general characteristics of this middle bourgeoisie are their humble, often rural, origin and their ambition. The student population of Sadiqi College in Tunis, for example, was once recruited from the young bourgeois of Tunis and a few other cities; now the majority are sons of villagers of Cape Bon and the Sahel. Symbolic of the social ascent of this village population is the director of Sadiqi College, the first Tunisian to succeed in the Arabic *agrégation*, before coming to the important post which he now holds. These young intellectuals, after the conquest of Tunis, of Algiers, and of Rabat, began to imagine themselves already guiding the destinies of their country. In them romanticism mingled with bitter aggressiveness. Their preoccupations are much more personal and national than social: few consent to give their time unrecompensed for work of common concern. Habib Bourguiba and Ferhat Abbas, to cite well-known names, are the perfect type of those who have succeeded. More often they vegetate for life in mediocre jobs, lacking will or intelligence, or enmeshed in family affairs, for it is one thing to have fine ideas but another to execute them in surroundings so poorly prepared. So a great many young people, torn between their dream career and family obligations, have been forced to give up their studies in order to earn money and help provide a living for a large family, or else have married young and are exhausting themselves in bringing up their children in their own way in the face of family opposition. Con-

sequently, this middle bourgeoisie is not so complacent as the corresponding class in the West. They are often nervous, unstable, susceptible of immense enthusiasms and of deep despair, and wear themselves out in a vain search for equilibrium in a rapidly evolving society. While the *Western* middle bourgeoisie stands for conservatism in Europe and America, these represent on the contrary a restless, adventurous force, capable of both the best and the worst.

VI

In every social category, family life has evolved a great deal. While in the country and in many small towns the family continues to be very strong and widely extended, in all the big cities it tends to be replaced by the small-family unit. Here arises the problem of the condition of women, for the small household calls for a spirit of responsibility and initiative not needed in the past. Here development has been very slow, for a society like that of North Africa is more conservative in regard to women than on any other point. Only in the last twenty years or so has the emancipation of Muslim women begun. Attendance at Muslim girls' schools, which had long remained stationary, is now rising very fast, and today for the first time the phenomenon is appearing of advanced women married to advanced husbands. But this transformation is still partial, and an imbalance will persist for a long time yet at all levels in the urban societies of the Maghrib.

VII

To all these disturbances, a very serious one must be added: the living-together in the overcrowded cities of human groups divided by religion, moral codes, and interests—the Europeans, the Jews, and the Muslims. There are, in the first place, differences within the groups. The Europeans are composed of those who have been settled for several generations and those newly ·arrived from Europe—the *Frankawis* as they are called in Algeria. The national origin of these Europeans also

varies. The French are the most numerous, but there are also Italians and Spaniards, to mention only the more important.

The relative specialization of the sections of the city allows the various groups to live their own way to some degree but does not prevent altogether the thousand little daily clashes which in a time of tension can take on disquieting proportions. It is comforting to observe that the force of habit is making itself felt, and in Algeria life is much easier than in the two other countries, especially than in Morocco, where too often Europeans, Jews, and Muslims are almost completely ignorant of one another, although they live side by side.

Sports offer one of the few opportunities for the various ethnic groups of the Maghrib to meet each other. Soccer, cycling, and boxing, and swimming to a smaller degree, have been something of a craze in the last twenty-five years. All were introduced by the Europeans, but the Jews and Muslims adopted them rapidly and now form the majority of the adepts. But, when passions rise during a soccer match, regrettable incidents may occur in this land where all heads are hot. Yet, for the Muslims in particular, sport is a considerable factor in the development of the physical and moral habits which contribute to the transformation of the traditional city.

VIII

The intellectual life of the Muslim cities has utterly changed in the last thirty years. Modern education has shown prodigious growth. At present almost all boys go to school, at least those of families which have been settled in cities for a few years. Even among adults the number of illiterates today is small, and most of the men are bilingual, being able to express themselves in Arabic and in French. Many even have a respectable education and can profit from the numerous means of information which modern civilization has put at their disposal. Every big city of the Maghrib has several daily newspapers printed in French and Arabic, weekly publications, and local reviews. Further, all the impor-

tant cities receive newspapers and reviews from abroad in Arabic and in the various European languages. Finally there are many libraries, often very substantial. Numerous radio stations spread the news of the world to the Muslim quarters as to the others. The cinema has conquered the Maghribine crowds, with Egyptian films, Arabic films made locally (especially educational films), and films from Europe or America. Even women and girls go to the films. The theater did not exist before the arrival of the Europeans, but the Arabic-language stage is now an accomplished fact.

The result is an extraordinary intellectual ferment: cities which for centuries lived to themselves, barely half-opening one eye to the rest of the world, suddenly receive floods of ideas from the whole world; they have begun almost between one day and the next to take part in life everywhere. But until now the Arabic literature of the Maghrib has shown no renaissance. Except for articles in the press and in reviews[4] and a few plays in the local Arabic dialect, there is hardly anything new. French is the vehicle of new thought. Notable in the realm of scholarship are the work of Muhammad Ben Sheneb on the language and religious literature of the Maghrib, of Muhammad Hadj-Sadok on history, of Calah al-Din Tlatli on the island of Djerba (a geographical study), and of Muhammad Umar al-Hajwi on the contemporary history of Morocco. Several Maghribine authors have published stories and novels since the war; in particular the *Collier d'ambre* of the Moroccan Ahmad Sefriwi, a collection of poetic stories in which oriental sensibility mingles harmoniously with occidental culture; and four Algerian novels which have appeared since 1950: *Le Fils du pauvre* and *La Terre et le sang* by Mouloud Feraoun, novels about Kabyle life, *La Colline oubliée* of Mouloud Mammeri, also a Kabyle novel, in which poetry

and fiction alternate with a study of custom and autobiographical remembrances; finally *La grande maison* by Muhammad Dib, which is a bitter and gripping description of the poor and hungry districts of Tlemcen—and the fiery Kabyle poems of Jean Amrouche. Finally, several Algerian writers have written essays on political and religious questions, for example, Malek Bennabi, author of two interesting essays: *Le Phénomène coranique* and *Les Conditions de la renaissance algérienne*. This is not much, for North Africa still has to look for its own way of expression, but it is a beginning.

Administration, urbanism, economics, social life, intellectual life—everything is in a state of transition in the North African cities. The chief difficulty is that the economic and social evolution is so fast that the rest has a hard time to follow. At Casablanca the dizzy increase in population raises agonizing problems: water, automobile traffic, public transportation, and, above all, housing, and the slowing-down of immigration would help solve the problem of facilities; but no such thing is in sight. Another difficulty is that the evolution in mores and in needs is not the same for all; certain projects which are hardly sufficient for some are beyond the capacity of many others. In any case, the sleeping cities of North Africa have awakened and are escaping more or less from their age-old routine. Upon the peaceful little life of the traditional quarters, where everyone knew everyone else, is now being superimposed the collective life of big cities in the course of modernization: the crowds at the cinema, the theater, the stadium, political meetings where strangers elbow each other but feel together the same enthusiasms and the same disappointments. For the moment the big cities in process of development are rejuvenated organisms which are going through a difficult crisis but are proving themselves alive. They will certainly play an ever more important role in the Maghrib of tomorrow.

[4] See A. Demeerseman, "Soixante ans de pensée tunisienne à travers les revues de langue arabe," in *IBLA*, No. 62 (2d qr., 1953), pp. 113–201.

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SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS IN THE STRUCTURING OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS' TEAMS[1]

FRANCA MAGISTRETTI

ABSTRACT

In five workshops in a large factory in northern Italy and two in a medium-sized plant, topics of conversation between small groups of workmates were analyzed. Typical structures, independent of the size of the group, were revealed by the conversations, leaders and isolates being identified by their interests and participation in talk.

Politics and religion as subjects of talk are strongest where work is hardest and most disagreeable; sports is strongest in "good" shops; women in "poor" shops. Politics, sports, and women play the greatest role in group acceptance and rejection; political conservatism or indifference, for example, makes for social isolation.

The study of social groups has been of primary importance in social psychology for the past several years. The sociometric school of Moreno and Lewin has particularly concentrated on the social groups and their structure. I have studied groups which, properly speaking, cannot be called sociological groupings but, rather, social organizations. They are groups which were formed not spontaneously for a common goal but from outside, with the assigned function of productive units. In them the roles were not chosen by the members but were set by the management. In other words, the position of each worker has been determined by the organization of the common work and not by group dynamics.

The principal function of each of the teams is production. In most social groups social activity satisfies the needs of the members (although primarily the needs of the leaders), but in this case the group activity satisfies needs which are, at least psychologically, external to the work group. The members consider that their efforts serve interests foreign to them. One would expect incentive rates to inject a personal interest in increasing production, but in most of the teams—and, in my opinion, in most of the work groups in northern Italian plants—the interest in the main activity of

the group is absolutely without significance to the individual. This observation is basic to the group structure: since the significance of the primary goal is lost, secondary goals may become manifest. These might satisfy the need for solidarity against the leaders or against any outside influences more or less directly threatening the members' interests. The need of some members for domination and the gregarious need of others—always main elements in every grouping—attain in this case an extraordinary importance. Given these particular characteristics, the groups' structures can be understood only when the formation of subgroups, the internal structure, the leaders, and the isolates are examined also in secondary, relatively permanent, and habitual activities.

I decided to study conversation as a type of spontaneous social rapport between workers which an individual may accept or avoid as he likes with any of the members of the team. This resolved itself into an examination of psychosociological microstructures as evidenced by the exchange of views between teammates. Three types of factors could be anticipated: (1) environmental: distance, noise, difficulties of talk, etc.; (2) social: intervention of other sociological structures present in the group, such as social classes, political parties, religions, etc.; and (3) more particular interests: sports, family, hobbies, etc.

Temperamental differences between members evidently constitute another heterogeneous factor; in other words the possi-

bility of sympathetic bonds can negate, or tends to negate, these differences. But I have not examined temperament, chiefly because of the difficulty of obtaining sufficient data for so many persons. I have therefore left it as a residual factor and have examined in my research only the selective function of the factors. That does not mean that I neglected to weight this potentially important factor but only that I eliminated it in this study. I cannot give here details of the techniques used in this research; it suffices to stress two or three points.

First, I placed the responsibility of recording the number and the subjects of the conversations upon workers who worked in each of the teams and gave them an easy and precise form for recording. I felt the presence of an outsiders would upset the normal activity of the group and kept away from the locale of the investigation. My assistants gave me adequate data about the physical conditions of their work and the interests and political and religious ideas of their fellow-workers.

Regarding the elaboration of the data, I examined:

1. The total number of conversations by each worker during two weeks.

2. The subjects of conversation, considered in themselves and as they departed from the average.

3. The consistency of the relationship between interests and conversation. I looked into each group to see whether, for instance, discussions of politics were confined to members having definite political interests or were more or less generalized. To study these characteristics, I set up two categories: the percentage of conversations engaged in by members having a deep interest in the argument and the percentage of conversations that developed exclusively between persons with a profound interest in the topic.

4. The factors of selection within the group. I decided to examine all the conversations, since it was a question of discovering the general microstructure of the group and it was probable that two persons having

something in common might converse on several topics. First I set up tables with topographical lines to reflect the interest structure of the group (for example, in the first table the topographical lines separate elements having divergent political interests). I had hoped to be able to read as on a diagram the importance of the different interests, to see, for example, the structure of the relationship closely outlined on one of the topological charts. But, of course, since the numerous factors blended with each other, it was necessary at this point to construct an index of selective values. The index had been computed simply by calculating the relationship between the conversations that developed within the topographical divisions and the conversations that developed between these divisions. It is evident that if the factor in question was selective the number of conversations inside the topographical divisions would be higher than the number of conversations between divisions. This index has been corrected to take account of the number of people in each topographical subdivision.

5. The interests of the leaders and isolates. In the structure of the group an important element is always the presence of typical individuals, that is to say, of individuals to be found in any particular situation. The leaders may be defined as those who polarize the positive vectors, the isolates as those on the margin of the group. The study of the interests of these typical people may confirm the data on the dynamics of the group.

I studied teams of workers in seven workshops, among which five form part of a large factory and two are in a medium-sized plant. Each group was composed of a different number of workers: 12, 8, 9, 7, 21, and 13, respectively. The physical environment and the type of work was different in each team. Broadly speaking, one can distinguish "good" and "bad" workshops: places where the material environment and the type of work are good enough and others where conditions are unhygienic, dangerous, or simply substandard and where the work is hard.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I limit myself to an outline of the results and conclusions; however, in the original study I gave prominence to the phenomenology of the groups, to a detailed analysis of the forces operating in each team, to the examination of indexes concerning consistency and selective values, and presented a general synthesis of the dynamics of each group.

On the conversations developing in these work groups and on the interests of the members I based a phenomenological table for each group. The conditions bearing upon the formation of groups of leaders and isolates within each team are identified. The comparative study of all the groups permitted me to see, on the one hand, the relation between interests and acceptance or rejection of some individuals in the groups and, on the other hand, the structure of the groups themselves.

Phenomenology of the groups.—The five workshops of the large plant present well-defined characteristics of selection.

In the first, the technicians and the laborers work together, the working conditions are good, and the jobs require more attention and concentration than physical effort. Workers talk a great deal but not too seriously. People have not definitely defined interests. The most evident selector is social class. In the general conversations, people of the most diverse interests entered, discussing points which usually involve taking a position, as in politics or religion; but often the talk is just badinage. Two talkative Fascists are generally the center of discussion.

The second department is characterized by the relative youth of all the workers. Perhaps this is why sports is most often the topic of conversation and is the most consolidating factor in the group. In comparison with the first department they talk less about politics, but those who do talk have closed political ideas and maintain a certain unity among themselves. The department chief and the foreman owe their isolation

principally to their hierarchical positions but also to a difference in age and interests.

The third department is less talkative. The political interest and the labor-union activity are stronger than in the preceding groups; other interests are generally less evident. The social relations are less well developed. Although this department is not very large, location is extremely important: the members of the group talk primarily with neighbors, notwithstanding the difference of interests. However, politics is the cause of the cleavage between Christian-Democrats and those who are politically indifferent; on the other hand, the Socialists have a good relationship with both.

The atmosphere of the fourth department differs completely. It is a large, noisy place where work is done at a feverish rate by several teams paid incentive rates. The air is generally tense. The Communists are more numerous and more active than in any of the preceding departments. Thus, political interests are dominant and constitute a basis of selection. The Christian-Democrats are on the fringe, the Communists and the indifferent equally scorning them. The Communists are very popular, especially when they add their political interests to the interest in women which, although secondary, are considered a primary topic of conversation in this department, as sports are elsewhere.

The fifth department presents the same characteristics as the fourth, but they are more accentuated. Working conditions are worse here, with bad odors, danger from varnish, extreme heat, and the pressure of incentive rates. Here the leftist deviation in politics is extreme and the Communists are more violent, less critical, and less sensitive than are those of the fourth department. Even those who are not Communists are equally leftist; consequently political ideology does not determine conversation here. The greatest tension is in the realm of religion, an effect of the presence of a convinced militant Catholic who stirs up everyone. This worker is rejected also because of his

behavior with the women, but that is not decisive, since another Communist, who is atheistic, believes deeply in familial values and is well integrated.

In the medium-sized plant, where the departments. roughly match those discussed and where the type of production is about the same, the spirit is more inclined toward discouragement than toward reaction. The workers are not very numerous and consequently have not the same confidence in the power of numbers; they know in advance that all their wishes and even their rights will never be granted.

In the first workshop, where twenty-one persons work under conditions which are good enough, though rather noisy, the atmosphere is generally cold. They are Communists who attract the sympathy of most of the indifferents. The Christian-Democrats are here also isolated. The interest in sports is not very deep, but the sporting clique is very talkative and united.

In the second, larger and noisier, workshop the principal determinant of conversation is sex: the women have the deepest and best-defined interests. Most of them are Communists or Socialists and very active in labor unions. They do not talk a great deal among themselves and practically not at all with the men. The only one who is not concerned with politics and labor-union activity is left out. The topics of conversation are politics, religion, and family. The men, although their interests are heterogeneous (especially concerning politics and labor unions), are fairly united, and their conversations run usually on neutral topics like sports and business; but here, as elsewhere, the Christian-Democrats are more isolated.

Average interests (standard deviation intragroup and intergroup; deviation from the mean in each group).—The general scale for interests is rather high for politics and work problems, average for sports and women, and rather low for religion and labor-union activities. These interests vary considerably in each case and each group. The widest-ranging variable is politics, which varies

among persons more than among groups, as does the labor-union interest. Within each team there is some variability, but each team has, in relation to political ideology, the same structure. On the other hand, the interest in sports and work varies more among groups than among persons.

If one compares the different workshops on the basis of interests, one notes that the political interest is inversely related to working conditions, decreasing where conditions are better. So also is the positive interest of religion inversely related to working conditions. Labor-union activity has not the same intimate relationship with politics, even though, on the whole, Communists are more active in unions, being more intense where working conditions are neither very good nor very poor. Interest in sports and interest in women are not related to the preceding but are inversely related to each other, so that, being secondary, they can substitute for each other as neutral topics of conversation. On the whole, the interest in sports is stronger in "good" shops and the interest in women stronger in the "poorest."

Comparative analysis of the interests of leaders and isolates.—To be interested in politics is the principal characteristic common to the political leaders. This concern is not accompanied by a typical constellation of other interests but is significant and sufficient by itself to give an eminent position in political conversations to those participating.

On the other hand, the other leaders (sports, religion, women, family) have a typical personality apart from having their specific interests. For instance, the sports leaders are unassuming, the leaders in the subjects of women are active enough in labor unions, and the leaders in family discussions are very much interested in their jobs but very little interested in sports or labor-union activities.

The study of the real leaders (those who attract others not only in one definite subject but generally in every conversation, exerting a real psychological domination)

and of the isolates (those who are left out on the fringe as undesirable) points to the conclusion that the decisive factors for the social acceptance or rejection are politics, sports, and women. Politics is more important in isolating individuals than in integrating them. Indifference to politics or a conservative political position is very influential in making individuals unpopular; however, political ideology, independent of other qualities, is not sufficient to establish an individual as leader.

Distinctive factors.—The general averages of the selective indexes are

Distance	3.2
Social class	2.2
Sex	1.8
Sports	1.1
Politics	0.8
Religion	0.7
Women	0.6

At first glance, the respective weights of the interests in sports and politics in the structuring of the groups is surprising. But from another point of view, interest in sports in one team is related to another powerful selector: the difference of sexes; furthermore, a distinction must be made between different ideologies. Thus the following:

Between Communists and Christian-Democrats	1.6
Between Christian-Democrats and indifferents	0.7
Between Christian-Democrats and Fascists	0.4
Between Communists and indifferents	0.3
Between Fascists and indifferents	0.2

It is obvious that politics is a real selector among Communists and Christian-Democrats: the discriminatory effect is clearer than that due to sports, even without correction. The relationships between Communists and Fascists, on the one hand, and between Communists and indifferents, on the other hand, are closer than those between Christian-Democrats and indifferents. It is significant that Christian-Democrats tend

to be isolated, to be considered as outlanders, whether among Communists or among Fascists.

A point of interest is the fact that there is no place where a Fascist clique confronts a clique of Communists. The elements of opposition appear to be Communists in the more typically proletarian sectors and to be Fascists where the white-collar mentality is prevalent.

FINAL CONCLUSIONS

The general structure of these teams certainly does not depend on the number of the members; although generally the smaller groups are more homogeneous, teams identical in number may show quite different internal structures. In order to analyze precisely the influence of other factors, one should distinguish environmental factors, forces of differentiation within the group, number and influence of the leaders.

Environmental influences.—The distance between members of the team has some importance in determining the formation of the topographic subgroups, particularly in the large and noisy workshops where the pace of work is feverish.

Forces of differentiation within the group. —Of the three factors proposed here, the second, interference of other sociological structures, is the most decisive: social class, politics, religion. Generic interests have a lesser importance.

Number and role of the leaders.—The existence of one nucleus or of several nuclei is necessary to the homogeneous structure of the group. If there is a powerful leader or if several leaders are united, the concentration of their attractive influence structures a strongly centralized group. Otherwise the structure takes on the character of a chain. There may also be pairs or triangles, but they do not exert a real influence on group structure.

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IMPLICATIONS OF THE RISING STANDARD OF
LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES

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ABSTRACT

The average family income in the United States in 1950 dollars in the year 2000 may very probably be more than $6,000. The effect of the great rise in the standard of living is to reduce poverty, improve health, decrease the appeal of socialism, create a much bigger market for mass production, lift the expenditures of the working class to those of the present middle classes, and modify greatly the types of family expenditure.

A previous article[1] showed that the standard of living in the United States was twice as high at the midcentury as at the beginning. A few of the important effects of this spectacular change in the level of living are now discussed and the probabilities of a continuing rise during the second half of the century are considered.

I

The reduction of poverty.—So great an increase in incomes must have reduced poverty in the United States, unless the incomes of the poor had remained low while the average income was being doubled, which is unlikely. Actually, the rich are less rich, which means that, since the average has doubled, the incomes of the poor have more than doubled. For instance, in 1919, the earliest date for data, the top 5 per cent received 22.9 per cent of individuals' incomes before taxes, while in 1948 they received 17.9. These data are for the highest incomes.[2] For the low incomes, in 1935–36 the lowest fifth of families and single individuals received 4 per cent of the money income, while in 1948 they received 4.2 per cent.[3]

Poverty cannot be defined solely by the lowest position on a scale of ranking of in-

comes; for, then, no matter how high the distribution of incomes is raised, there would always be the same amount of poverty, if the distribution remained the same in shape. Poverty, rather, is the condition of life on some low quantity of consumption. It has been variously conceived at different times · and in different countries, as, for instance, by such terms as "stark" or "naked" poverty, or merely the condition of the "poor." A good many minimums have been drawn for the United States or for localities in it and have been called "minimum standards of living," particularly during the second decade of the twentieth century, when minimum-wage laws were being passed. The expression "minimum standard of living" suggests that those who try to live on less cannot do so. The idea is that those who are so trying are dying less slowly than those whose consumption levels are above this standard. The line of demarcation has not been drawn objectively: the standards are estimates of persons or families with living conditions and prices in various localities at a given time. Such estimates have the approval of opinion and are accepted by wage boards and by charity organizations. Adopting this conception we shall call those trying to live on less than a living wage as "poor"; that is, living in poverty.

The problem, then, is to find this minimum standard in 1900 and in 1950 and the number of those living below these standards. For 1900 only one attempt to determine the numbers living below it has been found: Dr. Hazel Kyrk made such an estimate based on the family expenditures collected by the United States Bureau of La-

[1] William Fielding Ogburn, "Technology and the Standard of Living in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX, No. 4 (January, 1955), 380–86.

[2] Simon Kuznets and Raymond Goldsmith, *Income and Wealth of the United States: Trends and Structure* (Cambridge, England: Bowes & Bowes, 1952), p. 142.

[3] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1953*, p. 289.

bor in 1901. Allowing $100 as the minimum expenditure for a child and $400 or $500 a year as the minimum for a married couple, "then it might be said that from 60 to 40 per cent . . . had money incomes adequate at an acceptable standard."[4] She finds 40 per cent of families with two children living on less than $600 and 75 per cent of families with three children living on less than $700 (and 37 per cent on less than $600). Professor Kyrk does not present any evidence to support these particular amounts of money as minimum standards. She is, however, a life-long and well-known authority on family consumption. For a husband, wife, and three children her budgets for 1901 would be $700 and $800.

From 1910 to 1920 the question of minimum wages was a lively one, and several minimum standard-of-living budgets for a family of five were submitted with detailed expenditures by items in quantities and prices. They were widely accepted. Because of the care and thought put in drawing them up, it is important to see what they were worth in 1901 dollars. The budget used by the National War Labor Board in 1918 set a standard of $1,386 for a family of five. In 1901 dollars this would be $700. The Chapin standard budget of 1907 and the Streighthoff budget of 1914, both for New York City, were a little over $700 in 1901 dollars; and the standard set by the National Industrial Conference Board, an organization of employers, in 1927 for Marion, Ohio, was about $720 in 1901 money. In these budgets and in Dr. Kyrk's estimate the minimum standard for a family of five in 1901 was set at around $700.

These minimum standard budgets, though realistic in prices and amounts, were not set for an average family but rather for one of five, for which it was thought the income should be enough to provide. The average family in 1901 was smaller than 5, and in 1950 the average urban family was about 3.4 persons. For a family of this size in 1901 the minimum standard expenditure would be $540 (if a

minimum standard for five was $700), which would be equivalent to $1,728 in 1950 dollars.

The important question is: What percentage of urban wage-earners and low-salaried clerical workers were trying to live on less than this minimum in 1950? That about 9 per cent of all families with incomes of less than $10,000 ($3,100 in 1901) living in urbanized areas had incomes below it is shown in a survey of fifteen thousand urban and rural households made by the United States Bureau of the Census for 1951.[5] The percentage was probably smaller for families of wage-earners and clerical workers, since the income of the families of self-employed of these income levels is less. The percentage would be still less if the data were for expenditure rather than income, since the low-income groups often have a deficit. Income here is before taxes.

Somewhat less than 9 per cent of urban wage-earners and clerical workers, then, were trying to live on less than $1,700. This $1,700 was an estimated standard for a family of 3.4. But some of the families surveyed were smaller and some larger. The ideal would have been to set a standard for each size of family (instead of for the average) and then to find out the percentage of each size living below its minimum. But the data did not permit. However, for the 1901 data, which were more flexible, the percentage of all those living below the several minimums set for each size was about the same as the percentage of all the families living below the minimum standard for the average size of family.

Another study was made in 1950 by the Bureau of Labor Statistics[6] for 10,813 urban family households. Of wage-earners and clerical workers with less than $10,000 a year, about 5 per cent of those reporting were living on less than $1,700.

The data indicate therefore that in 1950

[4] Hazel Kyrk, Economic Problems of the Family (New York: Harper & Bros., 1933), p. 210.

[5] Family Income in the United States, 1951 ("Current Population Reports of the United States Bureau of the Census," Series P-60, No. 12 [Washington, D.C., June, 1953]), Table 1, p. 16.

[6] Family Income, Expenditures, and Savings in 1950 (United States Department of Labor Bull. 1097 [Washington, D.C., June 1953]), Table 7.

from 5 to 10 per cent of the families of this income class in cities were trying to live on incomes below a minimum standard. In 1901 about 40 per cent of the families of this income class of wage-earners and clerical workers were trying to live below it.

The rise in per capita income in the first half of the twentieth century seems, then, to have reduced poverty in cities (as set by a minimum living income) greatly, probably by 80 or 90 per cent.

Improvement in health.—If sickness is more prevalent among the poor, then a reduction in poverty will improve health. Woodbury showed that the infant death rate was higher among the poor and that the general death rate is higher in areas where the infant death rate is high.[7] The correlation is .64 for community areas in Chicago in 1950. Where the death rate is high, the sickness rate is high, deaths without preceding sickness being rare. Hence, infant mortality gives some indication of illness.

In 1900 the infant death rate of wage-earners' families was probably about 110 per one thousand infant births. This figure was determined by applying Woodbury's specific infant mortality rates for annual earnings of the father to the distribution of families by expenditure supported by earnings of the father from the 1901 survey, after some interpolation and adjustment, and then increasing the result by 20 per cent, which shows the increase of the general death rate in 1901 over the rate in 1915.

What would be the infant death rate of such a distribution of families by expenditures, were their incomes raised by the percentage increase in family incomes between 1900 and 1950?[8] By applying the Woodbury rates plus some extrapolation to this new income distribution, the infant death rate is shown to be 80. In other words, if the medical progress and sanitation had been the same in 1950 as in 1900, the rise in the stand-

[7] Robert M. Woodbury, *Infant Mortality and Its Causes* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1920), p. 131.

[8] The actual distribution of wage-earners' families by incomes in the 1950 survey of the Bureau of Labor Statistics was very similar to the projected distribution of 1901.

ard of living would have resulted in a lowering of the infant mortality rate by around 25 per cent. Since infant mortality rate is correlated with death rate and death rates with morbidity rates, the decline in infant mortality is an indication of the improvement in health.

A lessened appeal of socialism.—Socialism arose from the recognition of the inequality in the distribution of wealth and the desire for a program to redistribute it so that those with low incomes received more. Such a redistribution of wealth has occurred in parts of different countries where the wealth was largely land; thus large landed estates have been partitioned, either with or without payment to the former owners, and made the property of a large number of owners. In an industrial society the redistribution of property is planned by having the governments, by the people, take over the agencies of production and distribute the income therefrom less unequally. Other objectives in socialist programs include increased production, power readjustment, and more justice.

The average factory worker in 1900 received about $450. If the net national product had been distributed equally among all the labor force at that time, each member would have received $525 per year, or about $75 a year more. (Such a redistribution could not have occurred without doing violence to the productive system, for the costs of government and savings for new capital would have to be made.) But, without any redistribution through socialism, the factory worker could have expected to have his income increased by about $75 in about eleven years. The worker sees production increasing and wages going up under the present economic system, and, with so sure an expectancy, he may question whether so radical a change in the economic system would promise him much that he could not expect under a system which brought increases in wages. Besides, it is not demonstrated that a socialistic government would increase production as rapidly as privately run businesses. Thus, without elaborate calculations, the worker can expect increases in income in

the future as he has in the past because the factories are producing more. The promise of socialism is not as certain as the promise of greater production has proved to be in the United States. The socialists' vote for President of the United States dropped from 6 per cent of the total vote in 1912 to 0.3 per cent in 1948 and to a negligible fraction in 1952, though the vote in the depression year 1932 was 2 per cent.

II

Future rises in the standard of living.—What will the standard of living be at the end of the second half of the century?

During the first fifty years the increase was at the rate of 0.014 per year. Should this rate continue, the standard of living would be twice as high in the year 2000 as in 1950. The median family income for the United States both urban and rural in 1950 in current prices was $3,300 a year, and the arithmetic mean for urban workers, largely wage-earners, was $3,900.[9] If this rate of increase continues, in the year 2000 the median family would have an income of $6,600 with the purchasing power of 1950.

It is very rare for a trend line to change its course radically within a short space of ·time, and rarely does it change its direction suddenly. We also know that, the further a projection is extended, the greater is the error, and fifty years is a rather long time for a projection where the unit of measure is the year. Furthermore, exponential curves cannot go on increasing at the same rate for long. After a while the rate lessens, and the curve tends to flatten out, and we have then the common S-shaped curve, frequently called the "logistic curve."

That the rate of growth of national product per worker is slackening is indicated by the analysis of Kuznets of his data from 1869 to 1948.[10] His annual net national products per worker are averaged for ten-year periods beginning with 9 as 1869 and with

4 as 1874. Moving averages of five of these averages of ten-year overlapping periods are made. These moving averages, going back to annual data of 1869, show a slower rate of increase over the whole period, particularly during the latter part, which includes the years of the deep depression of the 1930's, when there was an actual decrease in the net national product per worker.

For 1900–1950, however, the percentage rate of change of Kuznets' averages for overlapping ten-year periods show a slight increase: 10, 6, 4, 9, 13, −3, −1, 13, and 14. A straight line fitted to them gives a plus sign for the slope, indicating that, for the first half-century, the rates of increase were not declining but rising slightly. This does not foreshadow a decreasing rate of growth for the next half-century of net national product per worker: on the contrary, a slightly increasing rate is suggested. This means that the per-worker net national product may more than double from 1950 to 2000. Against this result are Kuznets' moving averages for a longer period, which do point to a decreasing rate.

Future inventions and discoveries.—Since a projection of a trend fifty years hence, based on annual data, is at best only loosely approximate, with chances of considerable error near the end of the projection, it is well always to consider the factors that shape its course. In the previous article on the rise in the standard of living in the United States, 1930–50, and its causes,[11] by far the most important factors bringing about the increase were found to be technological development and new discoveries in applied science. What is expected from 1950 to 2000 in technological development and scientific discovery?

In the first half of the twentieth century three indicators of technological development increased at rates commensurate with or superior to the rise in the standard of living: the annual number of patents granted, the value of reproducible equipment in industry and on farms, and the supply of mechanical energy. Hence their projections

[9] *Family Income in the United States, 1951,* Table 12; *Family Income, Expenditures, and Savings in 1950* (U.S. Department of Labor Bull. 1097 [Washington, D.C., 1953]).

[10] Kuznets and Goldsmith, *op. cit.,* p. 71.

[11] Ogburn, *op. cit.*

indicate an increase in technological developments.

Patents are for the most part of rather trivial importance for the standard of living, only a small proportion being significant. Until about twenty-five years ago the number of patents was increasing exponentially, but since then there has scarcely been any yearly increase. However, there are important inventions in recent years that are not patented at all, and an increasing number of inventions, it is said, are never patented. Also there could be a decrease in patents of trivial inventions that do not affect the standard of living.

A long time is required after an invention is patented or made for its adoption to be sufficiently extensive to affect the standard of living of a whole people. If there were no more new inventions from now on, those now in existence would for some time influence the rate of production per worker. However, one would be rash indeed to forecast a stoppage of inventions and scientific discoveries now and for the next fifty years at the eve of the atomic age and the dawn of automatism. Inventions increase at exponential rates, though the great difference in the significance of inventions indicates a considerable fluctuation around any such trend. A casual glance at the new discoveries and inventions in chemistry, electricity, nuclear energy, engineering, and physics certainly suggests the coming of many new technological influences on production.

The annual supply of mechanical energy for industry will probably be greatly increased by nuclear reactors of the breeder type. This may mean the release of some coal, natural gas, and oil for those vehicles and other machines for which atomic energy may not be well suited.

Nontechnological influences.—A variety of other factors may affect production. Obviously, a long destructive war in which the industries and cities of the United States are bombed would invalidate these forecasts. But there were two world wars in which the United States was a participant between 1900 and 1950.

A long, severe industrial depression would also affect adversely a favorable rate of production. But the standard of living doubled during the first half of the century in spite of the severe depression of the 1930's and several minor ones.

Another influence that should be considered is the necessity of maintaining a military establishment of some size and the diversion of the flow of some production from the consumer to it. It seems very probable that we shall have to continue preparation for war and that it may have a retarding influence on living standards. However, during the first half of the century we prepared for two world wars, though our participation in each was brief. Indeed, it could be argued that the preparation for them resulted in raising the standard of living.

There is the possibility of a scarcity of the raw materials of industry with the depletion of natural resources. No such scarcity was appreciably experienced from 1900 to 1950. We do not know that such a scarcity is probable during the next fifty years. Some of the resources coming from outside the United States could be cut off, but there is the possibility of substitutes (atomic energy for power from coal and oil, titanium and aluminum for some iron and steel). Further development of chemistry and metallurgy could overcome possible shortages.

As long as there is enough food, and rising costs of natural resources do not interfere, an increasing population is not a deterrent to a rise in the standard of living in an industrial and commercial society. An unusually large increase in population is not expected in the United States during the next fifty years. On the controversial subject of the course of the birth rate (which, aside from immigration, is the determinant of the future size of the population), the author is inclined to look for further decreases during the remainder of the century, since the fall appears not to have run its course yet in certain large segments of the population.

A slower rate of capital formation can retard the rise in the standard of living. But a high productivity rate is favorable to savings. There seems to be no particular reason, short of wars and severe depressions,

for expecting any special difficulty in the supply of capital, which is in reality expressed in capital goods much of which are technological equipment.

III

What are some of the social implications of such a great rise in the standard of living?

Mass production of high-priced goods.—The expected rise in incomes means great marketing possibilities for a class of products that are now sold only to the middle and upper classes. A market will be opened for the mass production of more expensive products, which, because of mass production, should be cheaper. There has always been mass production of cheap products like pins or soap. A mass market for automobiles was the surprise of the first half of the century. Perhaps a mass market for roadable helicopters will come in the second half.

Social classes.—If we think of social classes in the first half of the century as economic classes and in terms of the articles they can and cannot buy, then the working class as previously known will cease to exist and will move up to the middle classes as defined in terms of purchases. In other words, the working classes of tomorrow will have the standard of living of the middle classes of yesterday.

Poverty.—If per capita incomes double again, poverty should be reduced to a minimum. There may always be a few poor because of mental inability, of improvident habits, of sickness, and of prolonged unemployment, unless some sort of collective action, as by a government, provides care for them. But, barring this type of poverty, we should expect poverty to disappear.

How the increased income will be spent.—In order to learn what we would be likely to do if our incomes were doubled, the expenditures of those with incomes of $3,800 have been compared with the expenditures of incomes of twice that size, namely, $7,600.[12] How do families with $3,800 more to spend

[12] The data are taken from the consumer-income survey of 1935–36 published by the Natural Resources Planning Board from expenditure breakdowns where the totals are equivalent to $3,800 and $7,600 in 1950 dollars.

than families with only $3,800 spend that extra $3,800, and how is it apportioned among the various items of purchase? The largest portion of it is spent on the house, its furnishings, and its operation. The percentage is 35, slightly over one-third. About one-sixth, or 16 per cent, is spent on clothing and personal care. Fifteen per cent is spent on food, either for greater amounts or for better quality. The percentage spent on automobiles is the same as the percentage spent on education (including reading), 9, or nearly one-tenth for each. Transportation and recreation (rather narrowly defined) claim 6 per cent each, and 3 per cent is spent for medical care.

How much expansion is there in the money spent for a particular item when the income is doubled? The amount spent on housing is increased 110 per cent; so also is the amount spent for clothing and personal care. For food the increase is only 60 per cent. Very large increases occur in expenditures for education, including reading (300 per cent), and for transportation (500 per cent). But the total spent for each of these items is small as compared with the expenditure on housing, clothing, and food. The increase for recreation, as defined, is 145 per cent; for automobiles, 78 per cent; and for medical care, 62 per cent. It would have been interesting to have had smaller classifications. Sometimes an item is difficult to classify. Is reading recreation or education? Perhaps the automobile and transportation might be classified in part as recreation. A finer breakdown might have shown a great increase in travel, which includes more than transportation in a vacation period. Various reflections may be stimulated by examination of certain items. For instance, the amounts spent on personal care and on clothing are probably more for appearance than for comfort or for health. If so, the average family will spend more than twice as much on appearance.

The foregoing analysis is for a supposedly average income. The apportionment and increases will be different for families with incomes smaller or greater than the average.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

INEQUALITIES IN SCHOOLING IN THE SOUTH[1]

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

ABSTRACT

School attainment varies widely within the population of the South: among states, between farm and city dwellers, and between whites and Negroes. Progress over a generation has been very uneven; thus the schooling of Negroes in some sections of the South surpasses that of whites of other sections. Educational inequality is declining. Race differentiation in schooling as measured by a "discrimination index" ranges, among the subpopulations of the South, from a high of 85 to a low of 16 on a scale of 100. There are notable contrasts in the rate of decrease in castelike situations. Educational programs following desegregation will have to take account of school systems with wide differences in the practice of racial discrimination.

The South today can boast a generation of young adult Negroes possessing, formally, as much schooling as the white draftees of the first World War. This leveling of Negro schooling in the South exemplifies the dynamic inherent in our national system of universal education. Indeed, apart from such wholly collectivized services as roads—where even proficiency is not required for minimal use—few goods in American life are so uniformly distributed as schooling.[2]

Nevertheless, wide differentials in educational opportunity and attainment persist, particularly within the South: between the races and within each race, by residence and by state. The established racial structure of the South has loosened at disparate rates in its several parts. So also has the status structure among whites. Mass schooling has been spreading into different sectors of the population at unequal rates.

This analysis utilizes the census data[3] for

three age cohorts or generations. The twenty-five- to twenty-nine-year-olds of 1940 were compared with those of the same age in 1950. The 1950 group had for the most part completed school before the recent war; the former group, before the depression. The fifty- to fifty-four-year-olds of 1940 were selected to represent an older generation that left school before the first World War.

REGIONAL COMPARISONS

A year of schooling is not a constant unit. But it is the case that populations receiving a few years of schooling also typically receive shorter years in schools more meagerly financed and attend them less regularly. Consequently, the distribution of schooling tells a great deal about social structure.

A fifth of the whites who were fifty to fifty-four years old in 1940 and who resided in the South or the Northeast did not complete the fifth grade, as against a tenth of that age cohort in other regions. Three-fifths of these older southern Negroes were equally disadvantaged. Almost all the twenty-five- to twenty-nine-year-olds of 1940 had passed this minimum level of schooling except in the South, where a tenth of the whites and a third of the Negroes remained at the fourth-grade level or below. A decade later, among the twenty-five- to twenty-nine-year-old group of 1950, a "submerged tenth" of whites still persisted on

[1] Read at the Ohio Valley Sociological Society meetings, March, 1954.

[2] The seemingly contrary conclusions of W. L. Warner, R. J. Havighurst, and M. B. Loeb (*Who Shall Be Educated?* [New York: Harper & Bros., 1944]) stem from their anecdotal approach and from their failure to use definite norms by which to judge inequalities in opportunities for schooling. The writer would not deny that educational opportunity is selective; cf. his "Social Class Differentials in the Schooling of Youth," *Social Forces*, XXV (1947), 434–40; and, with Leila Calhoun Deasy, "Selectivity in the University," *Journal of Higher Education*, XXIV (1953), 113–20. Concerning race differentials in the association between education and occupation see Ralph H. Turner, "Occupational Patterns of Inequality," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIX (1954), 437–47.

[3] Figures for 1940 are taken from the *Population Census*, Vol. IV, Part 1, Table 39; for 1950, *Population Census, U.S. Summary*, Table 154; the figures are for both sexes combined.

southern farms; among Negroes, taking all residence groups together, the proportion failing to complete fifth grade had dropped meanwhile from a third to a fourth.

Eight grades or more were completed by only a seventh of the oldest cohort of Negroes as contrasted with half the southern whites and two-thirds of whites elsewhere. The percentages of the 1940 twenty-five- to twenty-nine-year-olds completing at least eight grades were, respectively, 30, 70, and

TABLE 1

MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOLING OF OLDER
AND YOUNGER GENERATIONS
BY REGION*

REGION	1940		1950
	50-54	25-29	25-29
Northeast.....	8.4	10.4	12.2
North Central.	8.5	11.1	12.2
West.........	8.8	12.1	12:4
South:			
White......	8.2	9.8	11.3
Negro,.....	4.4	6.3	7.5

* These medians were computed graphically from the combined distributions for both sexes referred to in n. 3.

90. Ten years later the corresponding groups of young white adults showed some slight improvement, while there were marked gains among the Negroes, half of whom now were eighth-grade graduates or better.

Twelve grades of schooling were achieved by over a fifth of the oldest cohort of whites in all regions but by almost no southern Negroes. Among the younger Negroes of 1940, however, a tenth finished ·high school; the white proportions ranged from a third in the South to over half in the West. High-school education spread rapidly in the second quarter of the century, so that, of the twenty-five- to twenty-nine-year-olds in 1950, three-fifths outside the South, two-fifths of southern whites, and a sixth of the southern Negroes had received at least formally a full secondary education. Thus the youngest cohort of Negroes was approaching the level of schooling reached a generation earlier by southern whites. Since many of the subpopu-

lations are too small, no analysis was made of members completing college.

The average young adult outside the South in 1950 had nearly four years more schooling than his elders who attended before the first World War (Table 1). Southern whites of the oldest group matched the residents of other regions, but among the younger groups southerners lagged. The oldest Negroes received half as much schooling as whites in the South, but the young group of 1950 had about three-fourths as much, bringing them near the median for whites of a generation earlier.

TABLE 2*

MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOLING OF
OLDER AND YOUNGER GENER-
ATIONS, BY REGION AND RES-
IDENCE

	1940	
	45-54	25-29
Urban:		
North.........	8.6	11.4
West..........	9.3	12.2
South:		
White.......	8.8	11.6
Negro.......	·5.0	·6.8
Village:		
North.........	8.3	10.1
West..........	8.5	11.1
South:		
White.......	7.8	9.0
Negro.......	4.0	5.5
Farm:		
North.........	7.9	·8.8
West..........	8.1	9.8
South:		
White.......	7.1	8.0
Negro.......	3.5	4.6

* Computed graphically from data for males only given in the *1940 Census of Population*, "Educational Attainment by Economic Characteristics and Marital Status," Tables 7 and 9.

Regional comparisons for separate residence groups were not published for 1950; for 1940 native white and southern Negro medians are shown by residence in Table 2. Urban educational advance during a generation outpaced that of the farm population in each region, the villagers standing intermediate. This lag of the farm population

behind the urban was twice as large among the younger as among the older individuals and was especially prominent in the South. The urban advantage was smaller for Negroes than for whites, especially for the younger of them. In the cities of the South the typical white gained more than the Negro, but schooling progressed very sluggishly among rural whites.

STATE-RESIDENCE-RACE PATTERNS

The more noteworthy contrasts in educational opportunity among subpopulations of the South that are explored in the following pages are developed mainly from the data of Table 3.[4] An introductory view is presented

[4] Full 1950 tabulations on education by age, race, and residence are available for the ten states included in Table 3. To save space, the data for vil-

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF WHITES AND NEGROES BY AGE GROUP COMPLETING GIVEN
YEARS OF SCHOOLING IN TEN SOUTHERN STATES, BY RESIDENCE*

| | <5 GRADES | | | | | | 8+ GRADES | | | | | | 12+ GRADES | | | | | |
| | Whites† | | | Negroes† | | | Whites† | | | Negroes† | | | Whites† | | | Negroes† | | |
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Urban:																		
Ala......	11	4	3	57	26	17	68	82	86	16	38	53	34	48	54	4.7	11.1	18.1
Ark......	9	3	3	45	19	15	75	88	88	27	48	58	35	53	60	7.2	12.9	19.1
Fla......	7	2	2	51	25	18	79	88	92	19	36	52	39	51	64	5.0	9.3	18.3
Ga......	12	5	4	58	35	25	62	75	82	15	28	41	33	45	48	5.5	9.5	14.8
La.......	18	5	4	58	28	22	56	79	84	14	34	44	27	47	56	3.4	10.0	13.4
Miss.....	7	3	2	50	24	21	80	90	91	21	38	46	42	59	64	5.1	9.1	13.1
N.C.....	16	5	4	54	25	16	58	75	82	17	35	43	37	47	49	7.5	13.3	21.4
S.C......	12	5	5	60	39	25	66	76	80	16	24	40	43	51	43	7.4	9.5	13.9
Tenn....	13	5	4	47	17	12	68	82	86	23	49	62	30	44	54	5.9	13.2	21.9
Va......	12	3	3	50	21	12	60	79	88	18	39	57	32	48	59	8.2	14.2	22.1
Rural Non-farm:																		
Ala......	21	9	9	68	38	31	48	64	67	9	24	33	19	28	31	2.3	5.8	11.2
Ark......	18	8	9	55	25	22	57	73	72	16	32	41	18	31	34	2.8	5.4	9.0
Fla......	13	7	5	67	43	29	67	74	81	11	20	38	27	32	45	2.0	4.0	8.2
Ga......	19	10	10	70	47	41	50	62	66	8	16	23	24	31	28	2.2	4.8	5.9
La.......	33	14	13	76	46	39	40	62	65	5	18	23	18	35	30	1.7	5.6	6.3
Miss.....	11	5	5	60	34	30	73	82	82	15	28	33	33	44	48	2.6	5.4	7.5
N.C.....	27	9	7	61	33	24	39	56	70	10	25	40	21	29	30	3.9	8.7	10.4
S.C......	28	11	9	72	52	38	42	56	68	8	15	23	21	29	26	3.0	5.3	5.3
Tenn....	24	11	12	53	24	18	51	67	69	16	40	54	17	28	32	3.0	8.4	13.6
Va......	20	10	10	62	35	26	41	56	66	9	21	35	23	30	35	3.6	7.6	11.2
Farm:																		
Ala......	29	13	12	73	51	36	31	49	55	6	12	24	7	13	20	1.0	2.5	6.0
Ark......	35	12	13	65	39	34	39	60	64	10	18	27	5	13	22	1.1	1.9	4.5
Fla......	21	10	10	68	53	35	52	63	68	9	14	30	15	19	29	1.8	2.6	6.2
Ga......	27	16	14	74	58	46	30	44	56	4	7	16	8	15	16	.8	1.6	3.3
La.......	43	23	16	82	61	53	26	42	55	3	8	13	8	18	21	.7	2.0	2.3
Miss.....	16	7	10	66	45	41	58	72	70	9	16	21	12	24	30	1.1	2.0	2.9
N.C.....	30	12	12	64	40	31	24	47	59	6	15	30	8	20	20	1.8	4.4	6.5
S.C......	28	14	13	74	57	41	37	54	60	5	10	20	13	23	17	1.3	2.4	3.9
Tenn....	29	14	15	59	34	27	39	57	59	11	25	35	7	16	20	1.3	3.7	6.3
Va......	26	16	14	65	44	31	24	39	52	6	11	27	11	20	23	2.5	4.4	7.6

* These percentages are computed from Table 65 in the *1950 Population Census Reports* and Table 13 in Volume II of the *1940 Population Census Reports*.

† Group I: age fifty to fifty-four in 1940; Group II: age twenty-five to twenty-nine in 1940; Group III: age twenty-five to twenty-nine in 1950.

in Figure 1, each point on which records the position of both Negroes and whites in one particular population segment. (For example, among the younger urban group in Florida, 18 per cent of the Negroes but only 2 per cent of the whites had less than five years of schooling.) Salient contrasts may be
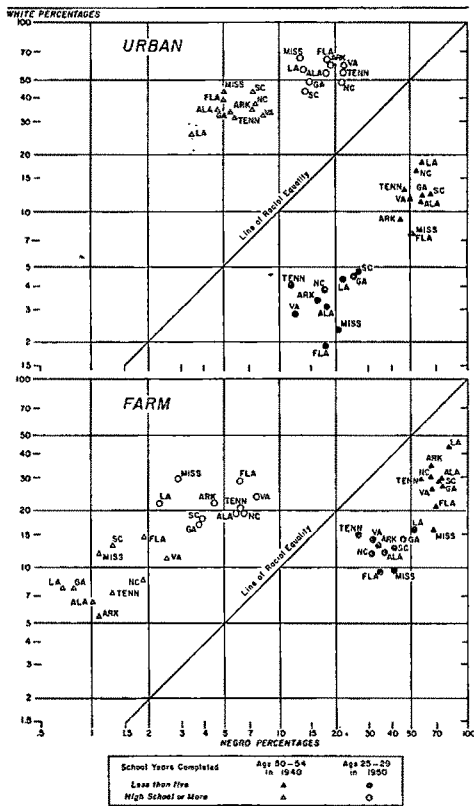

FIG. 1.—Percentages at high and low educational levels, by generation, residence, race, and state.

identified by relative position, the logarithmic scales permitting direct estimate of relative differences at any point on the chart. A solid symbol to the right of the diagonal signifies that fewer whites than Negroes dropped out before the fifth grade, while a hollow symbol to the left of the diagonal indicates a white advantage in proportions completing high school. Any state for which a point lies near the "line of racial equality" gives both races about the same schooling; hence, "caste" might be measured perpendicularly from this line. One observes, for example, that among the younger adults in cities the excess of Negroes with less than five years of schooling is markedly greater in Mississippi than in Tennessee.

Certain broad patterns in the distribution of educational opportunity are evident.

1. The percentage of Negroes with less than five years of schooling exceeded the percentage finishing high school—except for the youngest city group—while among whites this was true only for the oldest farm group.

2. The proportions of individuals with fewer than five years of schooling diminished between the generations at about equal rates for both races—in cities slightly more rapidly for whites than for Negroes.

3. The proportion of Negroes with at least twelve years of schooling increased between the generations at a more rapid rate than was true for whites, especially in cities (and villages). This better-schooled group of Negroes were achieving high-school graduation more readily than their more handicapped brothers could enter the upper elementary grades.

4. Within each race-residence-generation category there are marked contrasts among the states. Moreover, the relative positions of the states tend to be consistent. Among whites, Florida and Mississippi are uniformly high in secondary-school completion and low in proportions failing to complete fifth grade. Louisiana whites were distinctive for failure to eliminate the "illiterates." For Negro schooling, four states have a relatively good, consistent record: Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, and Arkansas. In other respects there have been some marked realignments. Thus, South Carolina excelled among older whites for high-school completion but fell to the bottom for the youngest group. Negro improvements were especially marked in all residence groups in Tennes-

lagers are omitted from most charts, as are the figures for the twenty-five to twenty-nine age group of 1940. In each of these cases the deleted data are intermediate (Table 3).

see. State contrasts in frequency of high-school graduation were proportionately greater among Negroes than whites, with the exception of the youngest urban groups. On the other hand, in the older generation, state contrasts in proportions failing to complete the fifth grade were greater for whites than for Negroes. Today the spread in this latter respect is considerable among Negroes but small among farm whites.

5. Certain states are consistently high or low in degree of race differentiation. Mississippi and Florida (with one exception) show the widest gap between the two races, while Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina manifest comparatively moderate discrimination. Other states are more erratic.

By confining attention to comparisons within particular subpopulations, the extreme diversity in educational levels within the South is incompletely realized. Even within the youngest group the percentage of whites receiving fewer than five years of schooling ranges from 2 (Florida and Mississippi cities) to 16 (Louisiana farms) and among Negroes from 12 (Tennessee and Virginia cities) to 53 (Louisiana farms). Among the oldest whites the range was from 7 (Florida and Mississippi cities) to 43 (Louisiana farms) and among Negroes from 45 (Arkansas cities) to 82 (Louisiana farms).

The percentage finishing high school ranged among the youngest whites from 64 (Florida and Mississippi cities) to 16 (Georgia farms) and for Negroes from 22 (Tennessee and Virginia cities) to 2 (Louisiana farms). In the oldest group the range at this secondary level was from 43 (South Carolina cities) to 5 (Arkansas farms) among whites and from 8 (North Carolina cities) to 1 (in several farm groups) among Negroes. If race is ignored, the contrasts are even more impressive.

The tight clustering of the uneducated younger white farm populations above the 10 per cent mark indicates that, while this group is being eliminated rapidly in cities, it remains well represented on the farms of even the most advanced southern states. This undereducated population of both

races, so heavy a drag on southern development, stands out in any study of socio-economic conditions in the South.

A GENERATION OF CHANGE

Changes over a generation in proportions of individuals attaining given educational levels are plotted in Figure 2, where the initial position of the oldest cohort is taken as a benchmark from which to measure shifts. Guide lines facilitate the reading of this chart. Thus the "line of 100 per cent completion of 5+ grades" marks the points at which the initial percentage failing to reach this level equals the reduction in that percentage from the oldest to the youngest group, leaving no individual below this level today. On the second panel the 100 per cent completion line designates points where the sum of the initial and the added proportion completing eight or more grades equals 100. The horizontal distance from the left margin to a 100 per cent line measures the improvement required from any given starting point to attain fully the stated level of schooling. The unlabeled diagonals bisect these horizontal distances. Thus if (on the first panel) 50 per cent of the older group failed to finish fifth grade while only 25 per cent of the younger failed to do so, the point would fall on the diagonal midway between the left margin and the 100 per cent line, showing a 50 per cent reduction. The distance of a point to the left of the 100 per cent line shows the proportion of *younger* individuals failing, say, to finish fifth grade. (Notice that the vertical scale on the panel for less than five grades reads downward, facilitating visual comparison with other panels.)

It was noted earlier that more Negroes than whites and more farm than city youth fail to finish the fifth grade. Most of these "functional illiterates" have disappeared from the white urban population, and this goal is within sight for several of the Negro urban groups. Among white farm or village people those areas with the poorest record in the oldest generation improved most, about half the deficient group being eliminated. A much larger proportion of Negroes

in the oldest group dropped out of school early, and among them the absolute reduction seems unrelated to the starting level—which implies a more rapid rate of improvement in the groups already less retarded, the urban Negroes. About three-fifths to three-fourths of the Negro urban illiterates were eliminated, with the reduction ranging around and below 50 per cent on farms.[5]

The group of white southerners failing to finish the eighth grade has been roughly posite, in that those areas with larger proportions of the oldest group finishing eighth grade also showed the largest gains; here room for improvement remains great, but momentum has been established. In fact, certain urban Negro populations have shown as high a rate of reduction in percentages not completing eighth grade as most of the white groups. Negro gains vary widely between states, especially in the rural sectors. Thus, the number leaving school
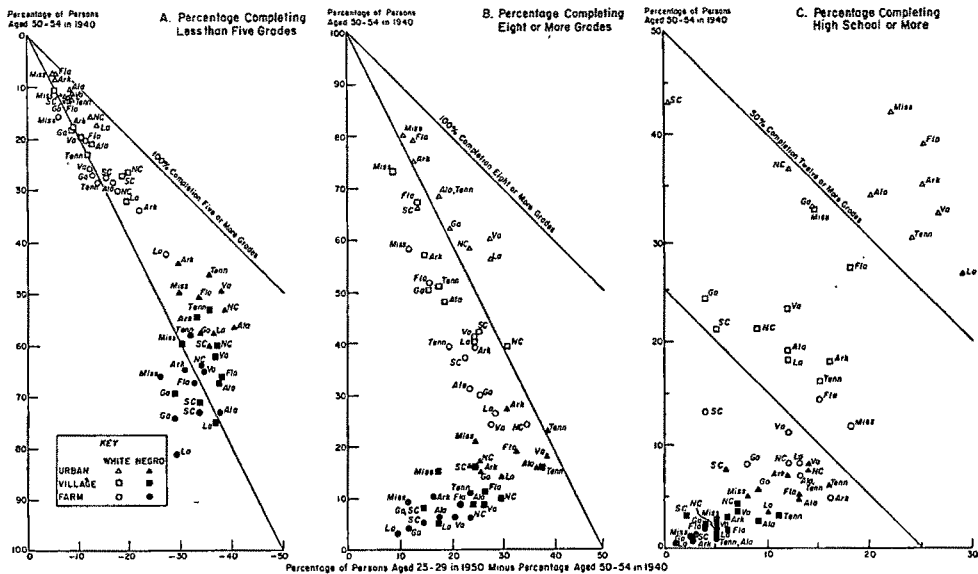
FIG. 2.—Change from older to younger generation in percentages attaining selected educational levels, by residence, race, and state.

halved over the past generation—reduced by something over half in cities and less in rural areas. The absolute increases in white proportions finishing eighth grade have been larger in those states formerly having the fewest graduates. The Negro situation is op-

before completion of eighth grade diminished among North Carolina farm Negroes by a fourth as against a tenth for those on Louisiana farms, and the reduction among Negroes in Georgia villages was only a sixth against almost a half in Tennessee villages.[6]

[5] Most of the shrinkage in the illiterate white category occurred before the last decade; a chart comparing the oldest cohort with the twenty-five to twenty-nine age group of 1940 (instead of 1950) would resemble Figure 2. Three exceptions, having 20–25 per cent of the reduction more recently, were Mississippi cities, Florida villages, and Louisiana farms. Among urban and village Negroes a tenth to two-fifths and among Negro farmers half the total advance in some states occurred in the last decade.

[6] Among whites the bulk of the gains in eighth-grade completion occurred before the thirties, though that decade contributed significantly also. Among urban whites in most states this fraction was from a fifth to a third of the total (under 10 per cent in Mississippi and Arkansas). The rural pattern was more diverse. Rural Arkansas, Mississippi, and Tennessee show little gain recently, whereas among the white villagers of Florida, Virginia, and the Carolinas and among farm whites of Georgia, Virginia, and Louisiana nearly a half of the total ad-

The third panel of Figure 2, presenting similar data with respect to high school, displays a positive over-all relationship between the initial situation and extent of improvement among both whites and Negroes. Among the whites, however, this association is due almost solely to urban-village-farm contrasts, for it does not appear within these categories. In certain subpopulations of urban whites sizable minorities were completing high school a generation ago, and on the whole these groups made the largest additional gains. Whites in Louisiana cities ranked low in the older generation but showed the greatest absolute gain. The rate of progress in elimination of nongraduates was greatest in Mississippi and Florida cities, which today stand at the top of the list, with over 60 per cent graduating. Among urban whites both the least progress and the lowest present attainments are in Georgia, North Carolina, and especially South Carolina (where there has been no gain in a generation). The white villagers of Mississippi and Florida ranked high a generation ago and have made gains sufficiently large to bring about a quarter reduction in nongraduation; today almost half the individuals finish high school. Except in these two states, there is a slight negative relation between initial level and relative gains among village whites. Georgia and South Carolina villagers started high but gained little and were overtaken by villagers of other states. At the opposite extreme Arkansas and Tennessee began low but gained rapidly. The proportions of secondary graduates among white villagers ranged upward from the South Carolina low of a fourth. On the farms, only Florida and Mississippi whites in the youngest group reached this 25 per cent level; and, in general, the farm pattern among the states resembled that for villagers, though at a lower level. ·

High-school graduation is a rarity among

Negroes except in cities. Urban Negroes began the period at a higher level than those on farms and gained appreciably, so that today they are nearly on a par with the farm whites. Improvement at the secondary level in South Carolina has been lagging among Negroes as well as whites, while Negroes in Tennessee and Alabama made large gains in each residence group. The major portion of the Negro advance at the secondary level took place during the last decade.[7]

RACE DIFFERENTIATION

It is apparent that the structure of race relations is a mosaic of different situations in various parts of the South. Direct comparisons of populations with respect to the degree of race differentiation in schooling are now made in two ways. First, for each generation the differences of percentages in the two races are plotted against the white percentages (Fig. 3). The whites are taken as the reference group in each case for the simple reason that white schooling has risen faster than Negro and presumably has greater influence upon the level of Negro schooling than vice versa. The diagonal lines on Figure 3 provide a third dimension, serving as guides to Negro levels. Second, the. degree of race differentiation in the older generation is compared (in Fig. 4) with that in the younger, using an index that measures race inequality in relation to the limits of possible race differentiation.

Turning first to Figure 3, it is evident· that, the closer the clustering of points around a straight line, the greater the positive correlation between white performance and race differentials. These visual patterns highlight the significance of the contrasting

[7] The distribution of white gains in high-school graduation vary in time extremely from state to state. South Carolina seems to have regressed along with the villagers of Georgia and Louisiana. Among Florida whites half the urban gain and three-fourths of that in villages and farm areas took place in the second half of the period; half the gains among the farmers of Alabama and Arkansas also were recent. Among Negroes half to two-thirds of the gains in high-school graduation occurred in the last decade; exceptions are villagers in Georgia and the Carolinas.

vance was in the last decade. Among Negroes in cities and villages a third to a half of the change was recent—for urban South Carolina two-thirds. Among farm Negroes two-fifths to three-fourths of the gain fell in the forties.

situations. First, the correlations are highest at the twelfth-grade level and least (virtually nil) for completion of less than five years in each generation. Second, the associations are closer in the older than in the younger groups at each grade level. The eighth-grade distributions are intermediate; for the younger generation the eighth-grade pattern approximates that for the less-than-

These patterns are visual representations of distinct stages in educational development and of shifting patterns of discrimination. In the older generation few Negroes completed high school, and race differences are about equal to white attainment; the points cluster close to the zero diagonal. The pattern is somewhat looser for the older eighth-grade group and in the younger gen-

FIG. 3.—White percentages and race differences in percentages of selected educational levels, by generation, residence, and state.

five-grades level of the older group, while the pattern of eighth-grade completion in the older generation resembles that for high-school completion of the younger.[8]

[8] Failure of whites to complete the fifth grade (Fig. 3, A) bears little relation to performance among Negroes. Among the youngest group the disadvantage of Negroes was conspicuous on Louisiana farms and to a lesser extent on farms in Mississippi and in rural Georgia generally. In the oldest generation Georgia, Florida, and Mississippi showed the largest race differences. The disadvantage of Negroes was comparatively small throughout Tennessee in both generations, with Arkansas, North Carolina, and Virginia also showing limited racial contrasts.

eration in high school.[9] Sizable minorities of Negroes in some state-residence categories completed the designated years of schooling, but the correlations remain quite high. Over a generation Negro gains in completing

[9] The percentage lag of Negroes in the oldest group is tied closely to the proportion of whites completing high school, since few Negroes anywhere at that time attained this level. Among the youngest groups, especially in cities, Negro high-school graduates have become more numerous, and there is a loose relation between white levels and race differences within each residence category. Local conditions, especially in cities, have produced distinctive state patterns of race differentiation at the high-school level.

eighth grade were notable but quite uneven as among states and residence categories, while the proportions of the younger whites completing eighth grade were generally high and comparatively homogeneous among the states within each residence category. Thus, the chart shows almost no relation between percentages of younger-generation whites completing eight or more grades and race differentiation in this respect. Finally, the proportions of Negroes who remain virtually unschooled depended, in both generations, on numerous local conditions almost entirely unrelated to the proportions of unschooled whites—the points in Figure 3, A, scatter erratically. South-wide racial discrimination in education has been reducing, starting at the bottom of the scale, and individual-state racial patterns are emerging at the high-school level.

While absolute divergences between the races (such as are shown in Fig. 3) are important, they are an ambiguous index of discrimination, inasmuch as no account is taken of the limits of possible variation within each subpopulation. This deficiency is overcome by expressing the difference between the two percentages as a ratio to their sum (the A scale on Fig. 4); this ratio varies from zero to unity. The B scale on Figure 4 indicates—after an adjustment equating total populations of the two races—what proportion of the individuals finishing eight, or twelve, grades were whites and what proportion of those not finishing five grades were Negroes.[10] Figure 4 reveals a variety of racial discrimination patterns within the South.

1. The degree of racial inequality in educational opportunity varies enormously within the South, from a low index of 16 for younger Tennessee urbanites completing eight or more grades to a high of 83 for the younger Mississippi urbanites failing to complete the fifth grade.

[10] For example, if in a population of a hundred persons of each race there were 60 whites and 20 Negro high-school graduates, the white share would be 75 per cent; the corresponding index of inequality (A scale) would be 60–20/60/20, or 50. Racial equality would appear as 50 on the B scale and zero on the A scale, while absolute inequality would be 100 on both scales.

2. Racial inequalities are smaller today than a generation ago for all population segments at the eighth-grade level. At the high-school level inequalities diminished generally—the farmers of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi excepted. (These shifts are readily seen by relating the position of the plotted symbols to the diagonal denoting the same race differentiation in both generations.) At the fifth-grade level, however, ra-
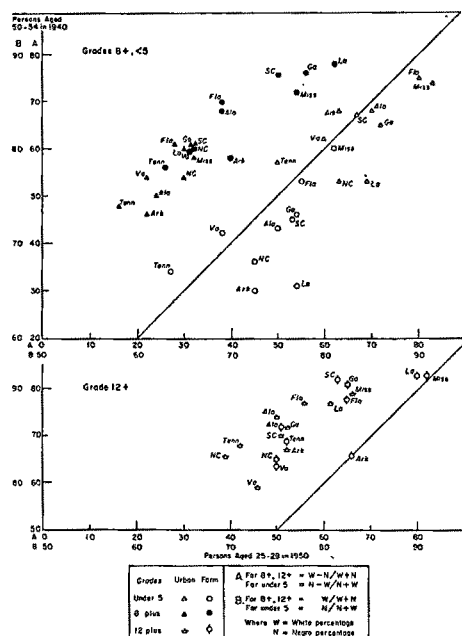
FIG. 4.—Indexes of race differentiation, by generation, residence, and state.

cial inequalities in the younger populations approximate or exceed those of a generation earlier (as shown by the drift of the points rightward from the diagonal).

3. There is definite overlapping of farm and urban discrimination indexes in each generation at the high-school level. By contrast, at the fifth-grade level discrimination is almost uniformly greater in city than in farm populations. Among those who complete the eighth grade, discrimination in both generations was generally greater for the farm groups.

4. In both generations within the urban populations the degree of discrimination

was greatest at the fifth- and least at the eighth-grade level. Among the older farmers discrimination was about the same at high-school as at eighth-grade levels and markedly greater than at the fifth-grade level. Among the younger farm people inequality is roughly the same at all grade levels. These patterns again reflect the stages of educational progress. The white lead in elimination of urban semiliterates was marked a generation ago as it is today, while among the farm populations this development (still incomplete) has been more recent, with a distinct Negro lag. Meanwhile, racial inequality in completing at least eight grades has been declining for both urban and farm populations as increasing proportions of Negroes have shared more fully in the general American culture.

5. For each educational level there is a positive association between the degree of discrimination in the older and the younger generations in any given state-residence category. This association is most clear cut for completion of eight or more grades and lowest for high-school completion.[11]

6. These southern states are more disparate in degree of discrimination among the younger than the older generation at each educational level and in each residence category—with two exceptions: urban indexes at the eighth and farm indexes at the fifth grade. Here again is evidence of the emergence of distinctive state patterns. This phenomenon is especially marked at the eighth-grade and secondary levels in rural populations. The maximum observed spread of indexes within any subpopulation is 36 points, for eighth-grade completion in the younger farm groups (Tennessee, 26; Louisiana, 62). The minimum spread is in the urban groups completing eighth grade, with a range in older and younger generations of 15 and 16 points.

7. States with pronounced discrimination in one residence group or at one schooling level tend to show marked inequality generally, though there are some shifts of position. At the fifth-grade level in both generations and all residence groups Florida and

Mississippi have a high degree of inequality, as does Mississippi for high-school completion; these standings reflect good records for whites against average and poor records for Negroes. In no instance does either of these states or Georgia come below the median in racial inequality. South Carolina is above the median in all distributions except urban high-school completion, where it falls just below the median degree of discrimination in both generations.

At the other extreme, Tennessee and Virginia show less discrimination than any other states for all residence groups and educational levels in the younger generation (excepting North Carolina for high-school completion). In the oldest generation Tennessee, Virginia, Arkansas, and North Carolina were below the median in racial inequality with only one exception (urban Arkansas groups completing less than five grades). Alabama occupies various relative positions, ranging from third to seventh rank in racial

[11] Certain exceptions to this generalization deserve mention. At high-school and eighth-grade levels the most deviant case is rural Arkansas, which showed a higher index for the younger generation than would have been anticipated from the indexes for the oldest group. At the high-school level Arkansas whites gained rapidly, from a low ranking among the states to one exceeded only by Mississippi, Florida, and Virginia. Both generations of farm Negroes in Arkansas are slightly below the respective medians of the states for high school. Arkansas farm Negroes appear to have lagged somewhat behind other states in their rate of gain in eighth-grade completion, but even in the younger generation farm Negroes of this state had a superior record.

The younger groups in urban and farm Louisiana and farm Arkansas show greater racial inequality in failure to complete five grades than would be expected from their performance a generation earlier. In all three cases there was an exceptionally large percentage of whites in this category in the older generation, but elimination of the semiliterate whites has progressed more rapidly than among the Negroes. Even today Louisiana remains at or near the top in functional illiteracy for both races in all sections of the state. In rural Arkansas the Negroes were still doing better than in the median state, while whites continued to fare worse. Moreover, even in the younger farm group Arkansas was among the four states showing least racial discrimination at the fifth-grade level.

differentiation. The greatest variation is in Louisiana, which ranges from a maximum degree of race differentiation (eighth-grade and secondary levels for both generations among farmers) to the lowest contrast (in proportions of the oldest group with less than five grades). This Louisiana pattern reflects the generally poor showing of the state, especially for the rural Negroes at all levels and for the older generation of whites.

Broadly speaking, degrees of race discrimination in educational attainments reflect a combination of the stage of educational progress in general and the extent to which the two races are members of distinctive subcultures. This is most readily seen by sketching three types of situation: (a) Where educational progress is rapid for whites but social distinctions between the races are great, high indexes of racial inequality emerge at each attainment level. While this extreme is most nearly approximated in Mississippi, the average record of that state in providing eighth-grade education for Negroes is an important qualification. (b) Where there has been little emphasis on education, a mass of semiliterate whites share disadvantages with the Negroes, but a white minority completing elementary and high school stands apart from the rest of the whites and from virtually all the Negroes, as in rural Louisiana. (c) Where racial distinctions are moderate, the value placed upon schooling extends to both racial groups, making for a smaller lag of Negro behind white progress and for smaller inequality indexes, as in Tennessee and Virginia.

The oft-noted influence upon race relations of the proportion of Negroes in the population has been demonstrated again in a recent study of the political South.[12] Though this relationship cannot here be traced in detail, a few summary statements pertaining to the youngest age group are in order. Briefly, the association between inequality indexes and proportions of Negroes in subpopulations is definitely closer for the

farm sectors of these southern states than for the urban or village populations. But even among the farm populations race distribution is an imperfect predictor of race discrimination, as a few examples indicate. Among farmers the race ratio is similar in Mississippi and South Carolina, yet the inequality index at the secondary level is about a third higher in the former state. Though there are three times as many Negroes in the farm population of South Carolina as of Florida, at the fifth-grade level the two states have the same discrimination index. In cities, with the same race proportions, the Florida inequality index at the high-school level is 50 per cent above that of North Carolina. The proportion of Negroes in a southern population is the symbol of a distinctive history and a traditional race policy as well as a continuing incentive to discriminatory attitudes. Nevertheless, other factors have proved powerful in generating diverse educational patterns.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT WITHIN SOUTHERN POPULATIONS

Population segments, such as the oldest farm Negroes of Tennessee, have been the units of analysis to this point. Levels of education have been measured in terms of the years of schooling. But none of these population segments is homogeneous internally. Were the data to be further subdivided, differences among the subunits which have been here aggregated would emerge. The disadvantage of Negroes, for example, is not equally great in every farm area of Mississippi. Moreover, there is considerable spread among the families of any given race and residence segment depending upon income.[13] Only a part of the total variability has been surveyed in the present article.

Nevertheless, despite these wide differences in educational opportunities, schooling is one of the most evenly distributed goods in American life. If we think of a year of schooling as like a dollar of income, we can compute the proportion of the aggregate

[12] A. Heard, *A Two-Party South!* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952).

[13] See the writer's 1947 article cited above.

years of schooling received by all the members in any given group that may be credited to the best-schooled 5 or 33 per cent of that group. Similarly we can determine to what extent the least-schooled third of a population obtains its share of all the schooling received by members of that group. Though there is no absurdity in imagining all individuals in an area to have nearly the same amount of schooling, this degree of equality will never develop. Nevertheless, schooling is becoming progressively more evenly distributed among the American population, as evidenced in Table 4.

Over the nation as a whole the most for-

tunate 5 per cent in the oldest generation received 10 per cent, or twice their "share," of the aggregate schooling, while the lowest third received about half their quota. A generation later the spread of more schooling to more people had reduced the inequalities further so that the top 5 per cent now obtained less than double their quota, and the lowest third received a fifth of the aggregate.

Within the various regions as over the whole nation, inequalities in schooling have diminished, but less rapidly among southern whites than in other regions. Consequently, inequalities among southern whites today

TABLE 4

INEQUALITY IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF YEARS OF SCHOOLING WITHIN THE POPULATIONS OF DIFFERENT REGIONS AND SELECTED STATES, BY AGE GROUP*

	AGE 50–54 IN 1940			AGE 25–29 IN 1950		
	Percentage† of Aggregate Years of Schooling in a Given Population That Is Possessed by:					
	Top 5 Per Cent	Top 33 Per Cent	Lowest 33 Per Cent	Top 5 Per Cent	Top 33 Per Cent	Lowest 33 Per Cent
Nation and regions:						
All U.S................	10	50	16	8	43	22
Northeast—white.......	10	50	15	7	41	24
North Central-white....	10	47	20	7	41	24
West—white..........	9	47	20	7	41	24
South—total..........	10	54	13	8	44	19
White..............	10	52	16	9	45	20
Negro..............	18	62	7	11	50	16
Four southern states (North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi)— urban, village, farm:						
Whites:						
Most equal‡.........	9	46	20	8	41	24
Most unequal§.......	11	55	13	10	48	18
Negroes:						
Most equal‡.........	13	58	10	10	50	18
Most unequal‖..:....	17	62	5	14	55	13
Iowa:						
Urban................	9	46	23	7	40	25
Village...............	8	45	24	8	40	24
Farm................	9	42	25	7	39	25

* Computed from sources indicated in notes to Tables 1 and 3.
† The three percentages in each group do not add to 100; they refer to segments of the distribution only.
‡ Mississippi urban in all cases.
§ For oldest group: North and South Carolina villages; for youngest group: South Carolina farms.
‖ For oldest group: South Carolina villages; for youngest group: Georgia farms.

exceed those elsewhere by a greater margin. The southern distributions for the two races combined approximate that for the whites alone except that the share of the aggregate accruing to the lowest third is less, especially to the older among them. The major contrast in the degree of inequality concerns the two race groups. Even this contrast has diminished markedly over the thirty-five years covered by the data, with southern Negroes today approximating the white situation of a generation earlier.

A glance at a few inequalities in other socioeconomic distributions sets these education figures in perspective. Inequalities in incomes and consumption expenditures in the United States in 1935–36[14] were approximately as shown in Table 5.

While data on the distribution of consumer expenditures in recent years are unavailable, there is ample evidence that the most equal of these distributions, that for food, has changed very little. Inequality of incomes before taxes has diminished a little, and income taxes reduce the share of the top 5 per cent in disposable income to about a sixth of the total while raising that of the lowest third to 12 per cent.

Only the distribution of education to the southern Negro of the oldest age group approximates the 1935–36 inequalities in nonfood spending. In the youngest age group only the southern educational distributions are as unequal as food expenditures. Moreover, selection of these subpopulations for comparison with a national distribution is misleading, for the same subpopulations would doubtless show greater internal inequalities in consumption than appear for the nation as a whole.

Inequalities within the separate race-state-residence segments of the southern population approximate those for the whole of each racial group for the entire South. This is shown by data for four illustrative southern states which are compared with

midwestern Iowa (Table 4). It was noted earlier that the degree of racial inequality in schooling in Mississippi was comparatively great. Yet within each race in the cities of Mississippi we observe the most uniform spread of schooling to be found in any population segment of these four southern states. Moreover, in the youngest group of Mississippi urban whites schooling is about as equally distributed as in the exceptionally homogeneous state of Iowa.[15] The greatest inequality among the oldest whites was found in Carolina villages and among the youngest whites on South Carolina farms. The most nearly equal distributions among

TABLE 5

	Top 5 Per Cent	Top 33 Per Cent	Low 33 Per Cent
Consumer incomes...	25	66	10
Expenditures on consumption:			
All items..........	16	58	14
Food.............	10	50	18
Housing..........	16	57	16
Clothing..........	23	63	12
Recreation........	27	71	7

Negroes approximate the most unequal among whites in each age group, and the most unequal of the Negro distributions for the younger generation show less inequality than the least unequal in the oldest generation. For both races urban inequalities are generally less than rural in each age category.

With the general leveling of education, an important change is occurring in the form of the education distribution as well as in degree of inequality. Deviant individuals come increasingly to be those with exceptionally low as well as those with exceptionally high schooling. Among Negroes and some groups of rural whites this stage has not yet been attained, though the thinning-out toward

[14] U.S. National Resources Committee, *Consumer Incomes in the United States, 1938*, Table 2, and *Consumer Expenditures in the United States, 1939*, Tables 8, 9, 11.

[15] This homogeneity within and diversity between subpopulations is consistent with a greater cultural segmentalization co-ordinate with the population categories used.

the upper brackets is becoming less conspicuous even in these groups. And among some Negro subpopulations the distribution is approaching symmetry, as is the case also for many of the southern rural white populations. Among urban whites in most of the nation the general gains in education have reversed the skew of the distribution; the largest individual departures from modal positions are in a downward direction. This is a new phenomenon in human civilization. It is evidenced not only in the North but in many of the southern urban populations as well. The fact that inequalities are greater among southern whites than in other regions of the country is due primarily to the drag of

the rural semiliterates, not to contrasts in the frequency with which whites in the various regions receive college education.

It may be predicted that in the next generation these inequalities of attainment will diminish further, both within and between the various subpopulations of the South. But only when this development has thoroughly penetrated the hard subsoil of southern rural areas will the "New South" open into full bloom. The nature of the diversities among states within the South indicates that the values cherished by those in a position to exercise leadership play a role quite as important as economic factors in determining educational policy.

APPENDIX

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND THE PROBLEM OF SELECTIVE MIGRATION

In evaluating the performance of any population with respect to the schooling of their children, distortion of census data by selective migration must be considered. The
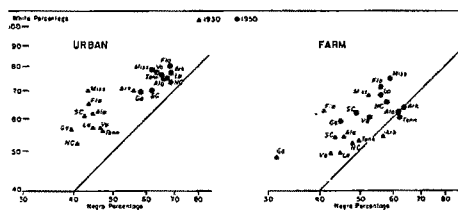

FIG. 5.—Percentage of sixteen- to seventeen-year-old children attending school in 1930 and 1950, by residence, race, and state.

present data mainly concern the schooling of individuals residing in particular areas, ir-

[16] A crude check, without race subdivision, was possible for the 1935–40 period, which would pertain roughly to the group aged twenty-five to twenty-nine in 1940. The analysis indicates that in most states selective migration lowers the proportions of farm men completing high school by less than 1 per cent and raises the farm percentages completing less than five years by 1–2 per cent. The latter urban proportion is lowered about 1 per cent and that completing high school raised by 2 per cent. Certain corrections were larger. In Georgia migration may have exaggerated the estimate of farm youth completing less than five grades by as much as 3

respective of place of rearing. Unfortunately, published data on migration do not permit a correction for this error.[16]

A cross-check on the inferences drawn from reported school grades completed can be derived from census-reported percentages of sixteen- to seventeen-year-old children attending school (Fig. 5). Because of race differences in retardation, especially in farm areas, race contrasts are less prominent in Figure 5 than in Figure 1; but in other respects the patterns are much like those on the high-school section of the earlier chart. The states rank similarly.

The correspondences between Figures 1 and 5 suggest that migration does not seriously distort the data on educational levels attained when used as indicators of variations in "educational zeal" from one population to another.

Attendance rose appreciably over the last two decades, and the states have become more alike. The state standing lowest in 1950 was at the level of the best state in

per cent. In South Carolina the percentage of young urbanites finishing high school was perhaps overstated in the enumeration by as much as 5 per cent. These estimates are based on the 1940 census report, *Internal Migration 1935 to 1940: Social Characteristics of Migrants*, Table 23.

1930. Negro attendance has improved more than that of whites in urban areas—hence the 1950 points lie closer to the line of equality.

gained more than whites in the second decade. Race differences in rates of progress were smaller on farms, where both races gained more in the forties. During the thir-
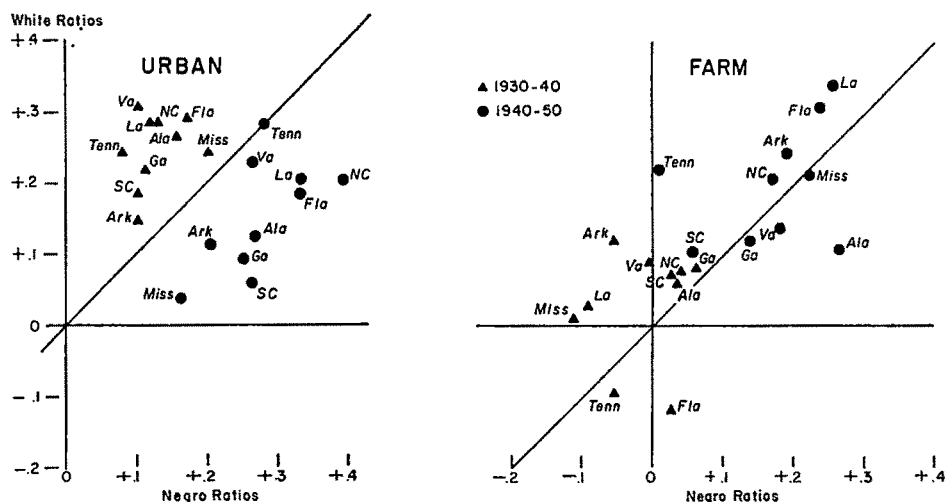

FIG. 6.—Improvement ratios in school attendance of sixteen- to seventeen-year-old children, by residence, race, and state, 1930–40 and 1940–50.

The relative gains in school attendance by sixteen- to seventeen-year-olds in each of the two decades are summarized in Figure 6 in terms of simple "improvement ratios."[17] Diagonal lines mark the locus of race equality in improvement. In southern cities the white gains in attendance exceeded the Negro in the first decade, while urban Negroes

ties farm Negroes in five states and farm whites in two states regressed.

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[17] This ratio is the share of children not in school at the opening of a decade who were added to the rosters during that decade or the increase in percentage of children attending as a ratio to 100 (initial percentage).

REFERENCE GROUPS AS PERSPECTIVES

TAMOTSU SHIBUTANI

ABSTRACT

In spite of ambiguity, reference group has become an increasingly popular concept, utilized in hypotheses concerning a variety of social phenomena. The restriction of this concept to a single referent, namely, group whose perspective is used as a frame of reference by the actor, will increase its usefulness as an analytic tool. Shared perspectives arise through participation in common communication channels, and the cultural pluralism of modern mass societies arises from the easy accessibility of a multiplicity of channels. The concept of reference group, if defined with greater precision, can greatly facilitate research on the manner in which each actor's orientation toward his world is structured.

Although Hyman coined the term scarcely more than a decade ago, the concept of reference group has become one of the central analytic tools in social psychology, being used in the construction of hypotheses concerning a variety of social phenomena. The inconsistency in behavior as a person moves from one social context to another is accounted for in terms of a change in reference groups; the exploits of juvenile delinquents, especially in interstitial areas, are being explained by the expectations of peer-group gangs; modifications in social attitudes are found to be related to changes in associations. The concept has been particularly useful in accounting for the choices made among apparent alternatives, particularly where the selections seem to be contrary to the "best interests" of the actor. Status problems—aspirations of social climbers, conflicts in group loyalty, the dilemmas of marginal men—have also been analyzed in terms of reference groups, as have the differential sensitivity and reaction of various segments of an audience to mass communication. It is recognized that the same generic processes are involved in these phenomenally diverse events, and the increasing popularity of the concept attests to its utility in analysis.

As might be expected during the exploratory phases in any field of inquiry, however, there is some confusion involved in the use of this concept, arising largely from vagueness of signification. The available formal definitions are inconsistent, and sometimes formal definitions are contradicted in usage. The fact that social psychologists can understand one another in spite of these ambiguities, however, implies an intuitive recognition of some central meaning, and an explicit statement of this will enhance the utility of the concept as an analytic tool. The literature reveals that all discussions of reference groups involve some identifiable grouping to which an actor is related in some manner and the norms and values shared in that group. However, the relationship between these three terms is not always clear. Our initial task, then, is to examine the conceptions of reference group implicit in actual usage, irrespective of formal definitions.

One common usage of the concept is in the designation of that group which serves as the point of reference in making comparisons or contrasts, especially in forming judgments about one's self. In the original use of the concept Hyman spoke of reference groups as points of comparison in evaluating one's own status, and he found that the estimates varied according to the group with which the respondent compared himself. Merton and Kitt, in their reformulation of Stouffer's theory of relative deprivation, also use the concept in this manner; the judgments of rear-echelon soldiers overseas concerning their fate varied, depending upon whether they compared themselves to soldiers who ·were still at home or men in combat. They also propose concrete research operations in which respondents are to be asked to compare themselves with various groups. The study of aspiration levels by Chapman and Volkmann, frequently cited in discussions of reference-group theory, also involves variations in judgment arising

from a comparison of one's own group with others.[1] In this mode of application, then, a reference group is a standard or check point which an actor uses in forming his estimate of the situation, particularly his own position within it. Logically, then, *any* group with which an actor is familiar may become a reference group.

A second referent of the concept is that group in which the actor aspires to gain or maintain acceptance: hence, a group whose claims are paramount in situations requiring choice. The reference group of the socially ambitious is said to consist of people of higher strata whose status symbols are imitated. Merton and Kitt interpret the expressions of willingness and felt readiness for combat on the part of inexperienced troops, as opposed to the humility of battle-hardened veterans, as the efforts of newcomers to identify themselves with veterans to whom they had mistakenly imputed certain values.[2] Thus, the concept is used to point to an association of human beings among whom one seeks to gain, maintain, or enhance his status; a reference group is that group in which one desires to participate.

In a third usage the concept signifies that group whose perspective constitutes the frame of reference of the actor. Thus, Sherif speaks of reference groups as groups whose norms are used as anchoring points in structuring the perceptual field,[3] and Merton and Kitt speak of a "social frame of reference" for interpretations.[4] Through direct or vicarious participation in a group one comes to

[1] H. H. Hyman, "The Psychology of Status," *Archives of Psychology*, XXXVIII (1942), 15; R. K. Merton and A. Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," in R. K. Merton and P. F. Lazarsfeld (eds.), *Studies in the Scope and Method of "The American Soldier"* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), pp. 42–53, 69; D. W. Chapman and J. Volkmann, "A Social Determinant of the Level of Aspiration," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXIV (1939), 225–38.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 75–76.

[3] M. Sherif, "The Concept of Reference Groups in Human Relations," in M. Sherif and M. O. Wilson (eds.), *Group Relations at the Crossroads* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), pp. 203–31.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 49–50.

perceive the world from its standpoint. Yet this group need not be one in which he aspires for acceptance; a member of some minority group may despise it but still see the world largely through its eyes. When used in this manner, the concept of reference group points more to a psychological phenomenon than to an objectively existing group of men; it refers to an organization of the actor's experience. That is to say, it is a structuring of his perceptual field. In this usage a reference group becomes any collectivity, real or imagined, envied or despised, whose perspective is assumed by the actor.

Thus, an examination of current usage discloses three distinct referents for a single concept: (1) groups which serve as comparison points; (2) groups to which men aspire; and (3) groups whose perspectives are assumed by the actor. Although these terms may be related, treating together what should be clearly delineated as generically different can lead only to further confusion. It is the contention of this paper that the restriction of the concept of reference group to the third alternative—that group whose perspective constitutes the frame of reference of the actor—will increase its usefulness in research. Any group or object may be used for comparisons, and one need not assume the role of those with whom he compares his fate; hence, the first usage serves a quite different purpose and may be eliminated from further consideration. Under some circumstances, however, group loyalties and aspirations are related to perspectives assumed, and the character of this relationship calls for further exploration. Such a discussion necessitates a restatement of the familiar, but, in view of the difficulties in some of the work on reference groups, repetition may not be entirely out of order. In spite of the enthusiasm of some proponents there is actually nothing new in reference-group theory.

CULTURE AND PERSONAL CONTROLS

Thomas pointed out many years ago that what a man does depends largely upon his definition of the situation. One may add that the manner in which one consistently

defines a succession of situations depends upon his organized perspective. A perspective is an ordered view of one's world—what is taken for granted about the attributes of various objects, events, and human nature. It is an order of things remembered and expected as well as things actually perceived, an organized conception of what is plausible and what is possible; it constitutes the matrix through which one perceives his environment. The fact that men have such ordered perspectives enables them to conceive of their ever changing world as relatively stable, orderly, and predictable. As Riezler puts it, one's perspective is an outline scheme which, running ahead of experience, defines and guides it.

There is abundant experimental evidence to show that perception is selective; that the organization of perceptual experience depends in part upon what is anticipated and what is taken for granted. Judgments rest upon perspectives, and people with different outlooks define identical situations differently, responding selectively to the environment. Thus, a prostitute and a social worker walking through a slum area notice different things; a sociologist should perceive relationships that others fail to observe. Any change of perspectives—becoming a parent for the first time, learning that one will die in a few months, or suffering the failure of well-laid plans—leads one to notice things previously overlooked and to see the familiar world in a different light. As Goethe contended, history is continually rewritten, not so much because of the discovery of new documentary evidence, but because the changing perspectives of historians lead to new selections from the data.

Culture, as the concept is used by Redfield, refers to a perspective that is shared by those in a particular group; it consists of those "conventional understandings, manifest in act and artifact, that characterize societies."[5] Since these conventional understandings are the premises of action, those who share a common culture engage in common modes of action. Culture is not a static entity but a continuing process; norms are creatively reaffirmed from day to day in so-

cial interaction. Those taking part in collective transactions approach one another with set expectations, and the realization of what is anticipated successively confirms and reinforces their perspectives. In this way, people in each cultural group are continuously supporting one another's perspectives, each by responding to the others in expected ways. In this sense culture is a product of communication.

In his discussion of endopsychic social control Mead spoke of men "taking the role of the generalized other," meaning by that that each person approaches his world from the standpoint of the culture of his group. Each perceives, thinks, forms judgments, and controls himself according to the frame of reference of the group in which he is participating. Since he defines objects, other people, the world, and himself from the perspective that he shares with others, he can visualize his proposed line of action from this generalized standpoint, anticipate the reactions of others, inhibit undesirable impulses, and thus guide his conduct. The socialized person is a society in miniature; he sets the same standards of conduct for himself as he sets for others, and he judges himself in the same terms. He can define situations properly and meet his obligations, even in the absence of other people, because, as already noted, his perspective always takes into account the expectations of others. Thus, it is the ability to define situations from the same standpoint as others that makes personal controls possible.[6] When Mead spoke of assuming the role of the generalized other, he was not referring to people but to perspectives shared with others in a transaction.

[5] R. Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 132. For a more explicit presentation of a behavioristic theory of culture·see *The Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality*, ed. D. G. Mandelbaum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), pp. 104–9, 308–31, 544–59.

[6] G. H. Mead, "The Genesis of the Self and Social Control," *International Journal of Ethics*, XXXV (1925), 251–77, and *Mind, Self and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 152–64. Cf. T. Parsons, "The Superego and the Theory of Social Systems," *Psychiatry*, XV (1952), 15–25.

The consistency in the behavior of a man in a wide variety of social contexts is to be accounted for, then, in terms of his organized perspective. Once one has incorporated a particular outlook from his group, it becomes his orientation toward the world, and he brings this frame of reference to bear on all new situations. Thus, immigrants and tourists often misinterpret the strange things they see, and a disciplined Communist would define each situation differently from the non-Communist. Although reference-group behavior is generally studied in situations where choices seem possible, the actor himself is often unaware that there are alternatives.

The proposition that men think, feel, and see things from a standpoint peculiar to the group in which they participate is an old one, repeatedly emphasized by students of anthropology and of the sociology of knowledge. Why, then, the sudden concern with reference-group theory during the past decade? The concept of reference group actually introduces a minor refinement in the long familiar theory, made necessary by the special characteristics of modern mass societies. First of all, in modern societies special problems arise from the fact that men sometimes use the standards of groups in which they are *not* recognized members, sometimes of groups in which they have never participated directly, and sometimes of groups that do not exist at all. Second, in our mass society, characterized as it is by cultural pluralism, each person internalizes several perspectives, and this occasionally gives rise to embarassing dilemmas which call for systematic study. Finally, the development of reference-group theory has been facilitated by the increasing interest in social psychology and the subjective aspects of group life, a shift from a predominant concern with objective social structures to an interest in the experiences of the participants whose regularized activities make such structures discernible.

A reference group, then, is that group whose outlook is used by the actor as the frame of reference in the organization of his perceptual field. All kinds of groupings, with great variations in size, composition, and structure, may become reference groups. Of greatest importance for most people are those groups in which they participate directly—what have been called membership groups—especially those containing a number of persons with whom one stands in a primary relationship. But in some transactions one may assume the perspective attributed to some social category—a social class, an ethnic group, those in a given community, or those concerned with some special interest. On the other hand, reference groups may be imaginary, as in the case of artists who are "born ahead of their times," scientists who work for "humanity," or philanthropists who give for "posterity." Such persons estimate their endeavors from a postulated perspective imputed to people who have not yet been born. There are others who live for a distant past, idealizing some period in history and longing for "the good old days," criticizing current events from a standpoint imputed to people long since dead. Reference groups, then, arise through the internalization of norms; they constitute the structure of expectations imputed to some audience for whom one organizes his conduct.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL WORLDS

As Dewey emphasized, society exists in and through communication; common perspectives—common cultures—emerge through participation in common communication channels. It is through social participation that perspectives shared in a group are internalized. Despite the frequent recitation of this proposition, its full implications, especially for the analysis of mass societies, are not often appreciated. Variations in outlook arise through differential contact and association; the maintenance of social distance—through segregation, conflict, or simply the reading of different literature—leads to the formation of distinct cultures. Thus, people in different social classes develop different modes of life and outlook, not because of anything inherent in economic position, but because similarity of occupation and limitations set

by income level dispose them to certain restricted communication channels. Those in different ethnic groups form their own distinctive cultures because their identifications incline them to interact intimately with each other and to maintain reserve before outsiders. Different intellectual traditions within social psychology—psychoanalysis, scale analysis, *Gestalt*, pragmatism—will remain separated as long as those in each tradition restrict their sympathetic attention to works of their own school and view others with contempt or hostility. Some social scientists are out of touch with the masses of the American people because they eschew the mass media, especially television, or expose themselves only condescendingly. Even the outlook that the *avant-garde* regards as "cosmopolitan" is culture-bound, for it also is a product of participation in restricted communication channels—books, magazines, meetings, exhibits, and taverns which are out of bounds for most people in the middle classes. Social participation may even be vicarious, as it is in the case of a medievalist who acquires his perspective solely through books.

Even casual observation reveals the amazing variety of standards by which Americans live. The inconsistencies and contradictions which characterize modern mass societies are products of the multitude of communication channels and the ease of participation in them. Studying relatively isolated societies, anthropologists can speak meaningfully of "culture areas" in geographical terms; in such societies common cultures have a territorial base, for only those who live together can interact. In modern industrial societies, however, because of the development of rapid transportation and the media of mass communication, people who are geographically dispersed can communicate effectively. Culture areas are coterminous with communication channels; since communication networks are no longer coterminous with territorial boundaries, culture areas overlap and have lost their territorial bases. Thus, next-door neighbors may be complete strangers; even in common parlance there is an intuitive recognition of the

diversity of perspectives, and we speak meaningfully of people living in different social worlds—the academic world, the world of children, the world of fashion.

Modern mass societies, indeed, are made up of a bewildering variety of social worlds. Each is an organized outlook, built up by people in their interaction with one another; hence, each communication channel gives rise to a separate world. Probably the greatest sense of identification and solidarity is to be found in the various communal structures—the underworld, ethnic minorities, the social elite. Such communities are frequently spatially segregated, which isolates them further from the outer world, while the "grapevine" and foreign-language presses provide internal contacts. Another common type of social world consists of the associational structures—the world of medicine, of organized labor, of the theater, of café society. These are held together not only by various voluntary associations within each locality but also by periodicals like *Variety*, specialized journals, and feature sections in newspapers. Finally, there are the loosely connected universes of special interest—the world of sports, of the stamp collector, of the daytime serial—serviced by mass media programs and magazines like *Field and Stream*. Each of these worlds is a unity of order, a universe of regularized mutual response. Each is an area in which there is some structure which permits reasonable anticipation of the behavior of others, hence, an area in which one may act with a sense of security and confidence.[7] Each social world, then, is a culture area, the boundaries of which are set neither by territory nor by formal group membership but by the limits of effective communication.

Since there is a variety of communication channels, differing in stability and extent, social worlds differ in composition, size, and the territorial distribution of the partici-

[7] Cf. K. Riezler, *Man: Mutable and Immutable* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1950), pp. 62–72; L. Landgrebe, "The World as a Phenomenological Problem," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, I (1940), 38–58; and A. Schuetz, "The Stranger: An Essay in Social Psychology," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX (1944), 499–507.

pants. Some, like local cults, are small and concentrated; others, like the intellectual world, are vast and the participants dispersed. Worlds differ in the extent and clarity of their boundaries; each is confined by some kind of horizon, but this may be wide or narrow, clear or vague. The fact that social worlds are not coterminous with the universe of men is recognized; those in the underworld are well aware of the fact that outsiders do not share their values. Worlds differ in exclusiveness and in the extent to which they demand the loyalty of their participants. Most important of all, social worlds are not static entities; shared perspectives are continually being reconstituted. Worlds come into existence with the establishment of communication channels; when life conditions change, social relationships may also change, and these worlds may disappear.

Every social world has some kind of communication system—often nothing more than differential association—in which there develops a special universe of discourse, sometimes an argot. Special meanings and symbols further accentuate differences and increase social distance from outsiders. In each world there are special norms of conduct, a set of values, a special prestige ladder, characteristic career lines, and a common outlook toward life—a Weltanschauung. In the case of elites there may even arise a code of honor which holds only for those who belong, while others are dismissed as beings somewhat less than human from whom bad manners may be expected. A social world, then, is an order conceived which serves as the stage on which each participant seeks to carve out his career and to maintain and enhance his status.

One of the characteristics of life in modern mass societies is simultaneous participation in a variety of social worlds. Because of the ease with which the individual may expose himself to a number of communication channels, he may lead a segmentalized life, participating successively in a number of unrelated activities. Furthermore, the particular combination of social worlds differs from person to person; this is what led

Simmel to declare that each stands at that point at which a unique combination of social circles intersects. The geometric analogy is a happy one, for it enables us to conceive the numerous possibilities of combinations and the different degrees of participation in each circle. To understand what a man does, we must get at his unique perspective—what he takes for granted and how he defines the situation—but in mass societies we must learn in addition the social world in which he is participating in a given act.

LOYALTY AND SELECTIVE RESPONSIVENESS

In a mass society where each person internalizes numerous perspectives there are bound to be some incongruities and conflicts. The overlapping of group affiliation and participation, however, need not lead to difficulties and is usually unnoticed. The reference groups of most persons are mutually sustaining. Thus, the soldier who volunteers for hazardous duty on the battlefield may provoke anxiety in his family but is not acting contrary to their values; both his family and his comrades admire courage and disdain cowardice. Behavior may be inconsistent, as in the case of the proverbial office tyrant who is meek before his wife, but it is not noticed if the transactions occur in dissociated contexts. Most people live more or less compartmentalized lives, shifting from one social world to another as they participate in a succession of transactions. In each world their roles are different, their relations to other participants are different, and they reveal a different facet of their personalities. Men have become so accustomed to this mode of life that they manage to conceive of themselves as reasonably consistent human beings in spite of this segmentalization and are generally not aware of the fact that their acts do not fit into a coherent pattern.

People become acutely aware of the existence of different outlooks only when they are successively caught in situations in which conflicting demands are made upon them, all of which cannot possibly be satisfied. While men generally avoid making difficult decisions, these dilemmas and contra-

dictions of status may force a choice be-
tween two social worlds. These conflicts are
essentially alternative ways of defining the
same situation, arising from several possible
perspectives. In the words of William James,
"As a man I pity you, but as an official I
must show you no mercy; as a politician I
regard him as an ally, but as a moralist I
loathe him." In playing roles in different so-
cial worlds, one imputes different expecta-
tions to others whose differences cannot al-
ways be compromised. The problem is that
of selecting the perspective for defining the
situation. In Mead's terminology, which
generalized other's role is to be taken? It is
only in situations where alternative defini-
tions are possible that problems of loyalty
arise.

Generally such conflicts are ephemeral; in
critical situations contradictions otherwise
unnoticed are brought into the open, and
painful choices are forced. In poorly in-
tegrated societies, however, some people
find themselves continually beset with such
conflicts. The Negro intellectual, children of
mixed marriages or of immigrants, the fore-
man in a factory, the professional woman,
the military chaplain—all live in the inter-
stices of well-organized structures and are
marginal men.[8] In most instances they man-
age to make their way through their com-
partmentalized lives, although personal mal-
adjustments are apparently frequent. In ex-
treme cases amnesia and dissociation of per-
sonality can occur.

Much of the interest in reference groups
arises out of concern with situations in which
a person is confronted with the necessity of
choosing between two or more organized
perspectives. The hypothesis has been ad-
vanced that the choice of reference groups—
conformity to the norms of the group whose
perspective is assumed—is a function of
one's interpersonal relations; to what extent
the culture of a group serves as the matrix
for the organization of perceptual experience

depends upon one's relationship and per-
sonal loyalty to others who share that out-
look. Thus, when personal relations to others
in the group deteriorate, as sometimes hap-
pens in a military unit after continued de-
feat, the norms become less binding, and the
unit may disintegrate in panic. Similarly,
with the transformation of personal relation-
ships between parent and child in late
adolescence, the desires and standards of the
parents often become less obligatory.

It has been suggested further that choice
of reference groups rests upon personal loy-
alty to significant others of that social world.
"Significant others," for Sullivan, are those
persons directly responsible for the inter-
nalization of norms. Socialization is a prod-
uct of a gradual accumulation of experiences
with certain people, particularly those with
whom we stand in primary relations, and
significant others are those who are actually
involved in the cultivation of abilities, val-
ues, and outlook.[9] Crucial, apparently, is the
character of one's emotional ties with them.
Those who think the significant others have
treated them with affection and considera-
tion have a sense of personal obligation that
is binding under all circumstances, and they
will be loyal even at great personal sacrifice.
Since primary relations are not necessarily
satisfactory, however, the reactions may be
negative. A person who is well aware of the
expectations of significant others may go out
of his way to reject them. This may account
for the bifurcation of orientation in minority
groups, where some remain loyal to the pa-
rental culture while others seek desperately
to become assimilated in the larger world.
Some who withdraw from the uncertainties
of real life may establish loyalties to per-
spectives acquired through vicarious rela-
tionships with characters encountered in
books.[10]

[8] Cf. E. C. Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contra-
dictions of Status," *American Journal of Sociology*,
L (1945), 353–59, and E. V. Stonequist, *The Margin-
al Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937).

[9] H. S. Sullivan, *Conceptions of Modern Psychi-
atry* (Washington, D. C.: W. H. White Psychiatric
Foundation, 1947), pp. 18–22.

[10] Cf. R. R. Grinker and J. P. Spiegel, *Men under
Stress* (Philadelphia: Blakiston Co., 1945), pp.
122–26; and E. A. Shils and M. Janowitz, "Cohesion
and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World

Perspectives are continually subjected to the test of reality. All perception is hypothetical. Because of what is taken for granted from each standpoint, each situation is approached with a set of expectations; if transactions actually take place as anticipated, the perspective itself is reinforced. It is thus the confirming responses of other people that provide support for perspectives.[11] But in mass societies the responses of others vary, and in the study of reference groups the problem is that of ascertaining *whose* confirming responses will sustain a given point of view.

THE STUDY OF MASS SOCIETIES

Because of the differentiated character of modern mass societies, the concept of reference group, or some suitable substitute, will always have a central place in any realistic conceptual scheme for its analysis. As is pointed out above, it will be most useful if it is used to designate that group whose perspective is assumed by the actor as the frame of reference for the organization of his perceptual experience. Organized perspectives arise in and become shared through participation in common communication channels, and the diversity of mass societies arises from the multiplicity of channels and the ease with which one may participate in them.

Mass societies are not only diversified and pluralistic but also continually changing. The successive modification of life-conditions compels changes in social relationships, and any adequate analysis requires a study of these transformational processes themselves. Here the concept of reference group can be of crucial importance. For example, all forms of social mobility, from sudden conversions to gradual assimilation,

may be regarded essentially as displacements of reference groups, for they involve a loss of responsiveness to the demands of one social world and the adoption of the perspective of another. It may be hypothesized that the disaffection occurs first on the level of personal relations, followed by a weakening sense of obligation, a rejection of old claims, and the establishment of new loyalties and incorporation of a new perspective. The conflicts that characterize all persons in marginal roles are of special interest in that they provide opportunities for cross-sectional analyses of the processes of social change.

In the analysis of the behavior of men in mass societies the crucial problem is that of ascertaining how a person defines the situation, which perspective he uses in arriving at such a definition, and who constitutes the audience whose responses provide the necessary confirmation and support for his position. This calls for focusing attention upon the expectations the actor imputes to others, the communication channels in which he participates, and his relations with those with whom he identifies himself. In the study of conflict, imagery provides a fertile source of data. At moments of indecision, when in doubt and confusion, who appears in imagery? In this manner the significant other can be identified.

An adequate analysis of modern mass societies requires the development of concepts and operations for the description of the manner in which each actor's orientation toward his world is successively reconstituted. Since perception is selective and perspectives differ, different items are noticed and a progressively diverse set of images arises, even among those exposed to the same media of mass communication. The concept of reference group summarizes differential associations and loyalties and thus facilitates the study of selective perception. It becomes, therefore, an indispensable tool for comprehending the diversity and dynamic character of the kind of society in which we live.

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War II," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XII (1948), 280–315.

[11] Cf. G. H. Mead, *The Philosophy of the Act* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 107–73; and L. Postman, "Toward a General Theory of Cognition," in J. H. Rohrer and M. Sherif (eds.), *Social Psychology at the Crossroads* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951), pp. 242–72.

MAKING UN-AMERICANS

MORTON GRODZINS

ABSTRACT

When in January, 1943, the War Department permitted Americans of Japanese ancestry to register for military service, they were asked if they were willing to swear allegiance to the United States and to forswear allegiance to the Japanese Emperor. More than six thousand citizens declared themselves "disloyal" to the United States. Disloyalty to nation was defined by the evacuees as loyalty to family and friends, as protest against deprivation, as security and safety. Disloyalty declarations were most frequent in the relocation centers where social tensions were greatest and were related positively to low levels of prewar acculturation. Causes of the declarations of disloyalty provide important clues for analyzing more serious cases of national disloyalty.

More than six thousand American citizens during World War II formally declared they were not loyal to the United States.[1] They were citizens of Japanese ancestry. A brief case study of the wartime experience of the Japanese-American minority explains their action and provides insight into the nature of national loyalty and disloyalty.

"THE JAPANESE RACE IS AN ENEMY RACE"

Japanese-Americans were unpopular on the West Coast even before the war. They suffered residential and occupational discrimination and were considered unfair competitors in farming and business. Though second-generation Japanese were gradually winning a wider social and occupational acceptance, the war with Japan rekindled old animosities and made them all the object of widespread distrust.[2] American citizens of Japanese ancestry were linked in the public's

view with Japanese alien enemies, with the attackers of Pearl Harbor, and with those battling against Americans in southern Pacific jungles. People said—contrary to fact—that the resident Japanese population had committed sabotage at Pearl Harbor and that they were a disciplined fifth column on the West Coast.

The public and political outcry against Japanese-Americans was soon translated into an official policy of evacuation. It was carried out surgically along racial lines and was not applied to alien enemies of German or Italian descent. All resident Japanese— even those with as little as one-sixteenth Japanese blood, even those unaware of their Japanese ancestry—were ordered to leave their homes and businesses. More than two-thirds of them were citizens of the United States. The military officers who ordered the movement believed that race was a distinguishing mark of national danger; they stated in their official report: "The Japanese race is an enemy race and ... the racial strains are undiluted."[3]

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[1] Many subsequently renounced their citizenship and then, after the war, wished to renounce their renunciations. Their legal situation is still clouded. In some cases the renunciations of citizenship have been declared invalid on the grounds that they were not the result of free choice but rather of fear, intimidation, and coercion. In other cases, however, no such clear conclusion has been reached, and the renunciants have become anomalous citizens without citizenship privileges or, in the words of one observer, "native American aliens." See·*Abo* v. *Clark*, 77 F. Supp. 806 (1948); *McGrath* v. *Abo* and *McGrath* v. *Furuya*, 186 F. 2d 766 (1951); cert. denied, 342 U.S. 832 (1951); *Ex parte Abo* and *Ex parte Furuya*, 76 F. Supp. 664 (1947); *Barber* v. *Abo*, ·186 F. 2d 775 (1951); *Acheson* v. *Murakami*, 176 F. 2d 953 (1949); *Clark* v. *Inouye*, 175 F. 2d 740 (1949).·

[2] See Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949); D. S. Thomas and R. S. Nishimoto, *The Spoilage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946); Alexander H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945); United States Department of the Interior, War Relocation Authority, *WRA: A Story of Human Conservation* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946).

[3] United States War Department, *Final Report, Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast, 1942* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 34.

The forced movements were executed with remarkable speed and precision. Procedures established to protect evacuees from the forced sale of their property were relatively ineffective, and evacuation, with a few exceptions, meant financial disaster for virtually every Japanese-American family.[4]

Most evacuees were first moved to hastily constructed, temporary assembly centers. Here they suffered the first shock of the barbed-wire fences, the roving searchlights at night, the armed guards, the mess-hall feeding, and the crowding of entire families into single rooms. There were, especially in the early days, inevitable shortages of food, tools, medical supplies, and other necessary equipment. At one center, accumulated grievances led to a savage riot.

Evacuees went to the more permanent relocation centers in the expectation of building their own communities and with the hope of sharing in the profits of business enterprises. Self-governing cities with adequate educational, housing, and work facilities were promised them by officials of the War Relocation Authority, the civilian agency established to supervise the relocation. But it proved impossible, even with the best of intentions, to create democratic communities behind barbed wires.

The ten relocation camps had for the most part been constructed in the semiarid regions of the West. Physical facilities were inadequate from first to last, and it soon became apparent that public sentiment was opposed to building up profitable enterprises. More important, the centers were in reality a costly wartime experiment, an unprofitable venture, which no labor could salvage. So one of the highest hopes of the evacuees—that of some financial restitution —was thwarted. Salary schedules ranged from $19.00 a month for professional men to $12.00 for most others. These were powerful forces contributing to social disintegration. There were others. American-Japanese

were separated by wide gaps in education, occupation, and income, by the extent to which they adhered to Old World cultural patterns, and by their varying knowledge of, and affection for, the Japanese homeland. Evacuation indiscriminately tossed these diverse elements into a closed community.

The older, first generation were all defined as alien enemies and prohibited by law from gaining citizenship through naturalization. They succeeded in most instances in asserting control of the relocation center communities. The second generation— American citizens by birth, educated in American schools, accultured to American ways—was always at a disadvantage in attempting to influence community decisions. . The two groups clashed, openly or covertly, over innumerable issues which ranged from the kind of food to be served in mess halls to the type of government to be established in the community.

In the very nature of the situation and despite efforts of the administrators, the committees became more "Japanesey" and less American. Power flowed to the elders. At the same time, young and old were forced to subordinate their own differences and to make common cause against the administration. The hostility generated by intragroup conflict was turned outward and expressed against administrative officers and their programs.

Frustration, fear, and bitterness aroused by camp conditions were aggravated by the hostility outside. The governor of California warned other states about the dangers of Japanese-Americans, and the district attorney of Los Angeles reported that Japanese-Americans might be slaughtered wholesale if they reappeared on the West Coast. American Legion posts held forth on the dangerous—and mythical—excessive birth rate of Japanese-Americans, and the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West passed resolutions urging separation of the sexes in the camps in order to prevent their reproducing at the taxpayers' expense. Court cases were initiated to deprive evacuees of their American citizenship. Congressional

[4] L. Bloom and R. Riemer, *Removal and Return* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949); United States Department of the Interior, War Relocation Authority, *op. cit.*, pp. 155–62.

committees sought to uncover subversiveness in the centers. California groups periodically claimed that the evacuees were being "coddled" in their barrack cities.

There were some opposing forces. Many Americans viewed the evacuation as a sore mistake, took public issue with those who attacked Japanese-Americans, and supported the nonrepressive policies of the War Relocation Authority. Churches, educational institutions, and organizations concerned with civil liberties provided a powerful prop to the morale of many evacuees.

But for very large numbers the situation was grievous and the future bleak. They had been singled out on a racial basis and had suffered discriminations which seemed to abrogate all tenets of Americanism. They had been moved from their homes and businesses. They had suffered great economic losses. They had lived for more than a year in physically uncomfortable and socially abnormal communities. They were attacked as disloyal. They were threatened with deportation and the loss of citizenship. They were a dispirited, a demoralized, and a rejected group.

"WE ARE DISLOYAL AMERICANS"

After a year of internment, in January, 1943, it became mandatory for the Japanese-Americans to declare themselves loyal —or disloyal—to the United States.

By the winter of 1942, War Relocation Authority officials had given up the scheme of providing war-duration communities within the relocation areas. In view of the deplorable social conditions in the camps, the growing good will of church and other groups, and the great demand for labor in wartime plants, officials of the WRA decided to empty the centers as rapidly as possible. They believed that the policy adopted by the War Department soon after Pearl Harbor of not utilizing Japanese-Americans in the armed services was an unjustified aspersion and a grave deterrent to their acceptance by the people in general. WRA officials were therefore jubilant when the War Department announced in January, 1943,

that it would accept volunteers for a combat team of Nisei. In order to facilitate this call for volunteers, to "clear" others for leaving the centers, and to prepare for the probable reinstitution of Selective Service procedures, a general registration of all adults within the relocation centers was ordered.

For citizens of seventeen and over the crucial question of the registration questionnaire was: "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America . . . and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor . . . ?" Registration created a crisis at each of the ten relocation centers. When the program was over, almost thirty-one thousand Japanese-American citizens had answered "Yes" to the loyalty question. More than six thousand answered "No," and three thousand others either qualified their answers, refused to answer, or refused to register at all.[5]

What accounts for the declarations of disloyalty?

National disloyalty as protest.—A substantial group declared themselves disloyal in protest against wartime treatment. The bitterness of this protest was caught during the registration interviews. Some people cried as they answered "No"; others tore up their birth certificates; still others wrote explanations on the registration form, such as "No—but if not for evacuation—yes." Some months later the meaning of the "No" answers became clearer, when the WRA accorded interviews to the "disloyal" (nonaffirmative) respondents and gave them an opportunity to explain and, in some cases, to change their answers. Those persisting in disloyal answers were scheduled for "segregation" in a special center; all others became eligible to leave the centers.

[5] For details of registration program see "Army and Leave Clearance Registration at War Relocation Centers" (War Relocation Authority, Community Analysis Section, June, 1943 [mimeographed]). A wide range of materials is in the National Archives. Quantitative data on registration results are derived from United States Department of the Interior, War Relocation Authority, The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), Table 73, p. 164.

Verbatim reports taken at segregation hearings record the vehemence and the emotion of the protest. A young Nisei at Manzanar spoke for both himself and his wife:

If we are citizens, how come we are in these camps? . . . I answer "No" because of resentment and because of how they treated us. When they asked us to come here, they told us they would pay us union wages. . . . How can I have faith in this country? . . . I went up to Idaho on furlough [temporary farm work]. We were told that would be a proof of our loyalty. We want to help the farmers. We went in to eat. They kicked us out of there. I was actually kicked out of a cafe![6]

Another young man, whose father fought in the American army during World War I, testified:

NISEI: We have citizenship and still we are . . . treated just like aliens. So what's the use of talking about citizenship and being loyal citizens?

HEARING OFFICER: But that's what this hearing is for, so that you can prove that you are a loyal citizen and help free yourself of restrictions.

NISEI: If we say "Yes," can we go back to California?

HEARING OFFICER: We can't promise anything like that. That is strictly up to the Army.
. . .
NISEI: If "loyal" citizens can't go where they want to, it's discrimination. That's why we said "No" in the first place. . . . [7]

In some cases disloyalty declarations were a protest against loss of property as well as loss of civil rights, as a twenty-seven-year-old Nisei explained:

NISEI: . . . We'll have to start all over again. We were farming. We sold everything very cheap. We're cleaned out as far as this country

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is concerned. I have some property in Japan. If I have to start over, I think it would be better to do so where I have a little something. . . .

HEARING OFFICER: Does this mean that you're loyal to Japan rather than to the United States?

NISEI: The only way I can say is that my loyalty is now more to Japan than to the United States. . . . A country that wants you or wants your loyalty doesn't treat you this way.[8]

This story was repeated at each center many times with many variations. To large numbers of evacuees a declaration of national loyalty meant acquiescence to the loss of civil rights and property and acceptance of what was believed to be unjust persecution, discrimination, and second-class citizenship. A declaration of disloyalty, on the other hand, was a protest, a demand for equal status, and an expression of repugnance for what America had done in the past and offered in the future.

National disloyalty as family loyalty.—In some cases a husband or a wife refused to affirm loyalty if married to an alien or to a citizen who answered "No." Regard for the welfare of parents was an even more important factor in the declarations of disloyalty. Before stating unqualified allegiance to the United States, the young people among the Nisei demanded that their alien parents be allowed to return to the West Coast, that compensation be made for economic losses, or, at the very least, that the government promise to shelter the older group for the duration of the war. Officials could make none of these pledges.

Many evacuees believed that young men who answered "Yes" to the loyalty question would soon be drafted, if they did not volunteer. If they were killed, they asked, who would care for their impoverished and unacculturated parents? If the older people whose sons had fought against the mother-country returned to Japan, what reception would they receive? The bitterness of some parents, whose entire lives seemed irreparably smashed by evacuation, was very deep.

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[6] Morris E. Opler, "Studies of Segregants at Manzanar, Part II: United States Citizens Only with No Foreign Travel" (Manzanar Relocation Center, Community Analysis Section, October 26, 1943 [typewritten], p. 4) (hereafter cited as "Opler Report"). This report was made on the basis of firsthand reporting by Professor Opler, then WRA community analyst at the Manzanar Center. I am indebted to him for permission to quote extensively from the report.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 14.   [8] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

How could their youthful sons be loyal to, or fight for, the country that had ruined their parents?

Japanese family ties are traditionally strong, and the parents' influence was increased as the result of relocation center living and the youthfulness of the citizen group.[9] Pressures, in many cases, were strongly applied. Some parents gave "glowing accounts . . . of the future that would lie ahead of the Nisei in Japan or Manchuria and other conquered areas in the Far East." And they argued that it was foolish to believe that America held any decent future.[10]

Many facets of the problem were typified by a twenty-two-year-old unmarried man at Manzanar.[11] He believed that, since the war was against Japan, the American people were "taught to hate us." His first idea after Pearl Harbor was to help the United States. Later he wanted to be neutral. Since he was now forced to a decision, he had to say "No." Before evacuation he had worked on his family's farm and never believed that the United States would take action against American citizens of Japanese ancestry. His family had been evacuated after crops had been planted, and they had suffered heavy losses. Their efforts to leave the center to take up farming in Utah were unsuccessful. Now, after being "kicked around and treated like persons without any minds," it was "too late." His plans for the future were not definite.

[9] Japanese females immigrated to America considerably later than the males, thus producing an unusual age gap between alien parents and citizen children. For discussion of social effects of this bimodal age distribution see Shotaro Frank Miyamoto, *Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle* ("University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences," Vol. II, No. 2 [Seattle, 1939]).

[10] Shotaro Frank Miyamoto, "The Career of Intergroup Tensions: A Study of the Collective Adjustments of Evacuees to Crisis at the Tule Lake Relocation Center" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1950), p. 335.

[11] "Opler Report," pp. 23–34; this case was also discussed in "From a Nisei Who Said 'No'" (War Relocation Authority, Community Analysis Section, January 15, 1944 [mimeographed]).

I don't know Japan. I'm not interested in Japan. . . . I don't know what will become of me and people like me if we have to go to Japan. The only thing that might save us is that most of us have our old parents still alive. . . . In Japan they respect the old people and therefore, for their sake, they may treat us well. . . .

The boy's final decision was weighted heavily by the duty he felt toward his father.

My dad is fifty-eight years old now. He has been here thirty years at least. He came to this country with nothing but a bedroll. He worked on the railroads, and he worked in the sugar-beet fields. If I told you the hardships he had, you wouldn't believe me. . . . All through his life he was working for me. During these last years he was happy because he thought he was coming to the place where his son would have a good life. I am the only son. I have to carry on the family name. . . . My mind is made up. I know my father is planning to return to Japan. I know he expects me to say "No" so there will be no possibility that the family will be separated. There isn't much I can do for my father any more; I can't work for him the way I used to. But I can at least quiet his mind on this.

Thus a second definition of national loyalty and disloyalty was constructed. Loyalty to nation meant disloyalty to family. It meant separation of family members and the addition of new burdens upon parents who were already broken by the economic, psychological, and moral effects of evacuation. National disloyalty, on the other hand, meant the continued cohesiveness of the family group, fulfilment of the obligation to support aged parents, and capitulation in the face of insistent parental demands.

National disloyalty as security.—During the crisis it was widely rumored that all those who answered "Yes" to the loyalty question would be forced to leave the centers; those who answered "No" would be allowed to remain in camp until the war was over. Why residents should object to leaving the physically uncomfortable and socially abnormal communities is at first difficult to understand. But they had cogent reasons.

Many had an almost pathological fear of

meeting violence on the outside—a fear that was confirmed by almost every edition of the West Coast press. They were impoverished. The jobs in which they were most skilled, such as irrigated farming, were practically nonexistent. Available jobs were largely for laborers ·or household help, and these were degrading to people previously self-employed. There were no culturally congenial communities for older dependents to join. Language barriers and the complexities of rationing and food shortages were widely exaggerated.

On the other hand, for all their gross unattractiveness, the relocation centers offered shelter, safety, food, friends, and cultural compatibility, institutional answers to personal problems, and a social structure in which individuals could achieve status and respectability, in many cases as champions of their own group opposing governmental policies.

The rewards of continued residence within a center seemed to many far more important than the penalty of being "disloyal." Many of those who would be most offended by the stigma had already left the centers. The citizens remaining were, on the whole, young, inexperienced, tied to parents, or bitterly disillusioned. At Manzanar, a twenty-year-old unmarried girl stated the issue of security thus:

> Father is dead. Sister can't talk, and mother is all alone. We can't go out. So we have all planned to go to Tule Lake [the segregation center for "disloyal"]. We have close relatives we can depend on in Tule Lake.[12]

A young man of twenty-two, oldest of seven children, voiced another version of the dilemma:

> NISEI: . . . I have a big responsibility. . . . And what about the draft? If I and my brother get killed, what happens to my family? My brother and I are the only ones old enough to help support the family.
>
> HEARING OFFICER: Lots of mothers are losing sons.
>
> NISEI: Yes, but . . . it's one thing for a son to go off to war when the father still has his job

[12] "Opler Report," p. 65.

and the family still has its possessions; it's another thing to expect it after people have been through what we have and have lost everything.[13]

And so a third definition of national loyalty was constructed. Loyalty meant the threat of being forcibly moved from relocation centers, the necessity of facing an uncertain, immediate future without economic resources and under threats of social ostracism, if not actual physical violence. Disloyalty meant the comparative security of relocation center life and escape from the harsh realities of existence on the outside.

National disloyalty as a consequence of administrative confusion.—Male citizens were the only group faced with the issue of army service. But the WRA leave program applied to all persons in the center. And the leave registration forms for female citizens and for aliens of both sexes also contained a question on loyalty. In its original form this question was like the one asked male citizens: would they "swear unqualified allegiance" to the United States and "forswear any form of allegiance or obedience" to the Japanese Emperor?

Aliens found it almost impossible to answer "Yes" to such a question. They were barred by law from becoming naturalized. The war had made them alien enemies, and their only legal defense against this country was by appeal to Japan through a neutral government. When WRA officials realized that the question was unfair and invited from the aliens either a "No" or a refusal to answer, the question was changed. Aliens were asked if they would "swear to abide by the laws of the United States and take no action which would . . . interfere with the war effort." In this form the question was answered affirmatively by·almost all in the alien group.

The very fact that aliens were asked the original question had important repercussions among the citizens in the camps. At the Tule Lake center original opposition to registration .took the form of refusing to register at all. Almost two thousand·aliens

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 68–69.

persisted in refusal even when the new question was used. At all centers the aliens were led directly to the issue of rejecting plans for any future in the United States and to the consideration of repatriation. Parents were thus faced with cutting all ties with the United States at the precise moment that their sons and daughters were asked to declare their "unqualified allegiance." This led directly to many disloyal responses.

The combining of the registration with a program soliciting army volunteers, and the wording of the questionnaire itself, had a similar effect. Immediately preceding the loyalty question for male citizens was one that asked: "Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States in combat duty, wherever ordered?" To answer this "No" while answering "Yes" to the question on loyalty seemed a dangerous inconsistency. In at least one center, registration officers *required* consistency in the two answers. Yet to answer both questions with "Yes" seemed tantamount to volunteering. And by far the largest number who wished to declare themselves loyal did not wish to volunteer.

What the combination of questions did not provide is precisely what many Nisei desired: to answer "Yes" to the question on loyalty but to express a disinclination to serve in a segregated unit, or to serve unless drafted, or to serve unless full citizenship status was restored. To many, the failure to provide for an expression of these qualified attitudes appeared to be an underhand device to compromise their future status in America. They also resented being asked if they would "forswear" allegiance to Japan —because it implied that they actually held such allegiance. At one center, registrants were allowed to answer the armed services question "Yes, if drafted," although this was not consistent with War Department instructions. At other centers, however, many registrants believed they were being asked, cruelly and deliberately, to answer unanswerable questions.

The dilemmas posed by badly combined questions for male citizens, the merging of a program for army volunteering with a general registration, and the inclusion of a maladroit loyalty question for aliens in that registration were errors of administration. And thus bureaucratic ineptness was another cause of declarations of disloyalty.[14]

National disloyalty as an expression of Japanese acculturation.—In February, 1943, the allied offensive in the South Pacific was barely under way. Earlier successes of the Japanese forces plus the indignities of evacuation had heightened the older evacuees' emotional ties with the homeland. Many of them had come to the wishful conclusion that Japan would win the war. This was one reason for parental pressure to answer "No." Relatively few of the younger citizens had any real conviction in Japanese victory. But some were persuaded that to say "No" was a hedge against discrimination and a positive recommendation for preferred position in the event Japan might win. The meanness of the foreseeable future in America gave a special attractiveness to such a view.

In many cases citizens who had been educated in Japan and who knew the Japanese language expressed a fanatical devotion to the Japanese political system and an equally ardent hatred of the United States. They were Japanese in culture and professed a veneration of the Emperor. They pointed to the evacuation as a sample of what democracy produced and derided those who believed that America would ever offer a decent life for Orientals. Eventually they organized themselves to impress their views, sometimes with violence, on those who maintained loyalty to the United States.

[14] It was also an administrative error that registration was administered by army teams. The army was the most hated and feared of the United States government agencies. Many evacuees were highly distrustful of army personnel and showed this in a complete refusal to co-operate. I am indebted for information on this point to my colleague, the Reverend Mr. Joseph Kitagawa, who interviewed many evacuees at the Minidoka center during the registration. I also owe Mr. Kitagawa thanks for his critical reading of an earlier draft of this paper.

There were striking differences among the ten relocation centers in the proportion of Japanese-Americans who declared themselves disloyal. At the Manzanar center in California, 52 per cent of the adult male citizens answered "No" to the question on loyalty, qualified their response, refused to answer, or refused to register at all; at the Minidoka center in Idaho, these groups constituted 8 per cent of the male citizen group. At the Tule Lake and Gila centers in California and the Jerome center in Arkansas, at least one out of three male Nisei refused to declare themselves loyal. At the Granada center in Colorado, the ratio was one to fifteen. These differences in loyalty responses can be explained only by differences in the social situation in the various centers.[15]

At Manzanar, where the percentage of nonaffirmative answers among male citizens was highest, community conditions were particularly bad. Manzanar had originally been an assembly center under military control, administered by a generally unfriendly staff drawn from the Works Progress Administration. Its physical accommodations were substandard. Residents of the nearest town—Independence, California—demonstrated great hostility toward evacuees. The community itself was torn by factional splits, and gang warfare was intermittent.

[15] The contrast between the centers in the Western Defense Command and other centers was suggested to me by the late John Embree, who during the war served as chief of the Community Analysis Section of the WRA. (See his letter of March 15, 1943, to Manzanar officials.) All three centers having the highest proportion of disloyal answers for male citizens were located in the Western Defense Command (in each case the nonaffirmative answers were at least 37 per cent of the total). The only center in the Western Defense Command not having a very high percentage of nonaffirmative answers was the Colorado River settlement at Poston, Arizona, where they amounted to 18 per cent. This center had been directed from its earliest days by personnel drawn from the Office of Indian Affairs who were experienced and skilful in establishing administrative programs for minorities. A near-riot, several months earlier, had been handled without violence.

With the help of a stool-pigeon system, a number of arrests were made by the FBI. Those removed from the center as "troublemakers" were regarded as heroes by large numbers of evacuees. The administrative personnel was badly splintered, some members refusing to "fraternize" with the evacuee residents. The camp directorship had changed four times within a year. Just two months before the registration, military police units patrolling the camp periphery had been called into the center to quiet a disturbance. A riot ensued, inexperienced soldiers fired into the crowd, and nine evacuees were wounded, two fatally.

In this disorganized community, registration was conducted without adequate explanation. It was announced suddenly and carried through hastily. Its multiple purposes were not clear; questions of evacuees were unanswered, because officials had not anticipated them, and wild rumors spread through the colony. No concerted effort was made to gain the co-operation of evacuee leaders. The group effort that finally was made was the result of evacuee fear and frustration and was largely turned against the government's program.

In contrast, conditions at the Minidoka camp, where disloyal responses were few, were far less grim. Barracks were more firmly constructed. The sentiment of the adjacent communities was relatively friendly. Center administrators were generally on good personal terms with evacuees, and established procedures encouraged discussions of policy between appointed personnel and evacuee leaders. When the registration policy was announced, a series of meetings was immediately scheduled at which the registration was explained. Five full days of consultation preceded the registration. Evacuee leaders participated in answering questions and in urging male citizens to volunteer for army service. Special recruiting meetings were held. Volunteers were told (untruthfully, as later events proved) that their dependents in the center would be cared for "as long as they wish to remain in this

center." A number of alien enemy leaders publicly urged the young men to enlist.[16]

At every center small groups and intermediate leaders were of first importance in influencing individual responses and in establishing reaction patterns for the center as a whole. Thomas and Nishimoto have graphically demonstrated the existence at Tule Lake of "clearly defined areas of 'loyalty' and 'disloyalty' " according to block residence within the center—a pattern that also developed at other centers.[17] This relationship may have been influenced, in part, by the common pre-evacuation place of residence of those in certain center areas. It was largely the result of family solidarity, of block leadership, and of the common attitudes that emerged from continuous face-to-face relations.

Center residence was the major factor accounting for the striking differences in response to the question of loyalty. Generally speaking, where residents defined the registration as threatening and unfair, their reaction was "disloyal." Where they defined it as a possible entree to better things and a challenge to their Americanism, their responses were "loyal." Three points need emphasis.

· First, the great differences between one center and another in the "disloyalty" rate illustrate how differences in life-situation influenced decisions about loyalty.

Second, "life-situation" must be understood as including subjective definitions as well as objective conditions. W. I. Thomas' famous aphorism was never more clearly demonstrated: "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences."

Third, face-to-face relationships, in this case family and block groups, were of first

importance in influencing the decision to declare loyalty or disloyalty.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS INFLUENCING DISLOYALTY

The center-by-center differences in responses were so great that they overshadowed other factors that influenced answers to the loyalty question. Yet other factors were operative. Evacuees who had successfully adjusted themselves to American ways and who before evacuation had been accepted upon relatively friendly terms by the larger community were more likely to retain their loyalty to the United States than those who were unacculturated and the objects of hostility. Thomas and her colleagues have statistically demonstrated these relationships. Americans of Japanese ancestry were more likely to answer "No" to the question of loyalty if:

they had been educated in Japan (in contrast to being educated in the United States);

they were members of, or expressed preference for, the Buddhist church (in contrast to Christianity or no church preference);

their pre-evacuation residence was an area of relatively unfriendly relations between Japanese and Caucasians, as in California (in contrast to those from "friendly" areas, i.e., the Pacific Northwest);

their previous occupations minimized contact with non-Japanese groups, as was generally the case with those who worked in rural, agricultural areas (in contrast to city residents whose work brought them in close and frequent contact with non-Japanese).[18]

[16] For details of registration at Minidoka see Thomas and Nishimoto, op. cit., p. 66; and "Army and Leave Clearance Registration at War Relocation Centers" (War Relocation Authority, Community Analysis Section, June, 1943 .[mimeographed]), p. 22.

[17] Thomas and Nishimoto, op. cit., p. 105. Mr. Kitagawa noted the importance of block leaders·at Minidoka.

[18] D. S. Thomas, with the assistance of Charles Kikuchi and James Sakoda, The Salvage (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), pp. 95–105. Her data concern residents from three centers only, and she includes among the "disloyal" all those later segregated at Tule Lake, as contrasted with the citizens who replied nonaffirmatively to the loyalty question, the group considered in the pres-

These relationships are partially demonstrated by confining attention to a single center and by comparing evacuees according to religious preference, prior residence and occupation, and education. In almost every case the differentials were striking. At one center, to take a single extreme example, among non-Buddhist, nonagricultural males, a person educated in Japan was eleven times more likely to be "disloyal" than one educated in the United States.[19]

Other variables, not amenable to statistical demonstration, were also probably operative. Disloyal declarations were relatively fewer, one can hypothesize, among those who had longer education in the United States, those less facile in the Japanese language, those who lost least economically (proportionate to total stake rather than absolute dollars) as the result of evacuation, and those who preserved at least one strong tie with a non-Japanese friend on the "outside" during the evacuation experience.

To recapitulate: other things being equal, an individual was more likely to declare himself disloyal if he were at a certain center rather than at another. Of those within a given center (adding center residence as an "equal" factor), he was more likely to be disloyal if his pre-education residence were

California rather than Oregon or Washington and if he had been educated in Japan rather than the United States. And so with each of the other factors discussed.

Two sorts of reaction to the registration were contrary to this central tendency. They may not have occurred frequently enough to produce a secondary bump in a curve relating loyalty to acculturation and social acceptance, but they are nevertheless highly revealing. One was the loyal reaction of the poorly "Americanized"; the other, the disloyal response of the highly acculturated.

One type of loyal response from the poorly acculturated proceeded from submissiveness.[20] Obedience to authority is a characteristic of Japanese culture, and authority during the registration asked for and expected "Yes" answers. Some rural, highly "Japanesey" evacuees, possessing little political awareness, reacted characteristically to the expectation of authority. They were especially apt to do so if instructed by their parents; and parents of the earlier wave of migration to this country (before 1900) were, themselves, relatively sensitive to authority and relatively immune to the newer Japanese nationalism. Those so influenced were probably very few. They illustrate how "loyalty" to America resulted from adherence to non-American cultural traits.

In some cases the poorly acculturated, Japanese-educated persons with low incomes turned with enthusiasm to declarations of loyalty and voluntary enlistment. Some of them had had unpleasant experiences in Japan. Some saw no financial opportunity in Japan, and others were repelled by the Japanese political system. Yet, because of language difficulties and other cultural characteristics, they were not fully accepted by the more Americanized Nisei, to say nothing of the larger American community. Conscious of the disdain of those who shared their social and economic position and who had declared themselves disloyal, they were at the same time driven by the demons of distrust apparent among those they sought

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ent article. It is certain that the differentials she demonstrated are also true for the nonaffirmative respondents considered in this paper. By far the largest number of citizen segregants over seventeen years of age (for definition of "segregants" see *ibid.*, p. 94) were those who gave nonaffirmative registration responses. Thomas' data are presented so that the aliens and citizens can be separated, and I have cited her data as they relate to citizens only.

Unrefined data of the War Relocation Authority, lumping all citizens of all centers together, show a significantly higher rate of "No" answers for (1) those with a family member in Japan; (2) those with three years' residence and two years' school in Japan since 1934; and (3) those who had previously registered with the Japanese consul to establish their Japanese citizenship. See "Army and Leave Clearance Registration at War Relocation Centers" (War Relocation Authority, Community Analysis Section, June, 1943 [mimeographed]), p. 78, Table 3.

[19] Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[20] Mr. Kitagawa pointed this out.

to join. They felt compelled to demonstrations of extraordinary allegiance toward the United States.

Their action was a counterpart of the actions of other marginal men. Like the renegade described by Simmel, they were motivated both by the hatred of former friends and by the distrust of the new ones. Like recent religious converts, they were more zealous than the bishop. Like Jewish self-hatred described by Lewin, like the rejection of old friends by those climbing the social ladder, they conformed and overconformed to the demands of the new group with which they aligned themselves.[21]

All Japanese-Americans who declared themselves loyal suffered to some degree from these compulsions. All of them could be linked with the Japanese enemy by those who identified race with allegiance. This accounts in some measure for the self-conscious protestations of loyalty and the lofty verbalization of those who declared themselves loyal, and perhaps also, in part, for the extraordinary war record of Japanese-Americans in the armed services. As one solider put it, "We fight two battles; one against the Axis enemy, one against the enemy of intolerance at home."[22]

. The second response, contrary to the general positive relationship between acculturation and loyalty, is the obverse of the one just discussed: disloyalty where, on outward counts, one would expect loyalty.

Here we find those most attached and most adjusted to American ways declaring themselves disloyal because they deeply felt that the evacuation was an affront to America as they conceived it should be. They were disloyal Americans because of their Americanism.

LESSONS FROM SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

The wartime experience of Japanese-Americans was an oddity. Caution must be exercised in drawing general conclusions about the nature of national loyalty and disloyalty. But we need not follow the sociologists who, denying the social basis of loyalty and disloyalty, argue that declarations of disloyalty were given for "reasons highly irrelevant to the matter of political allegiance."[23] The wartime situation of Japanese-Americans was certainly pathological. But pathology in society as in physiology illuminates, sometimes in bitter caricature, what is called "normal." The evacuees gave declarations of disloyalty for the same reasons that other people in other situations take sides against their nation. The registration crisis laid bare what in most cases is covert.

Above all, the experience of Japanese-Americans demonstrates that loyalty is influenced by life-situation. Declarations of loyalty and disloyalty were concrete responses to concrete situations.

The Japanese of Hawaii, when asked to volunteer for army service, responded in great numbers, one out of every three male citizens between the ages of eighteen and

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[21] See Georg Simmel, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. and trans. Kurt H. Wolff (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), pp. 383–84. I am indebted to my colleague, Donald Campbell, for calling my attention to some of these relationships.

[22] Why Japanese-Americans remained loyal during the registration will be analyzed in another publication. Generally, (1) the alternative of Japanese national loyalty was not attractive; (2) many evacuees looked foward to better things in America; (3) personal cordial contacts with Caucasians were influential; (4) the bulk of Japanese-Americans were completely acculturated to American ways; (5) the Japanese political system was repugnant to them; and (6) in some cases parents encouraged the answer "Yes," because, though uncertain about their own future in America, they knew their sons and daughters had no other.

[23] Thomas and Nishimoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–89, 103, 108. These authors state that the category of "irrelevant disloyals" included those who said "No" to the loyalty question (1) because they sought to retain the securities of relocation center life; (2) because of their "estimate of the rewards that would ultimately be reaped by the technically 'disloyal' if Japan won the War"; and (3) because of protests over abrogation of civic rights and losses of property. These groups, it is argued, are in contrast to the "politically conscious adherents of Japan." The latter were the "convinced" and the "ideological" disloyal, to be sharply distinguished from those disloyal for "irrelevant" or "practical" reasons. A similar view is given by Robert W. O'Brien, *The College Nisei* (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1949), p. 284.

thirty-eight offering his services, 9,507 in all. On the mainland, 1,208 volunteered from the centers, approximately one out of fourteen of those eligible.[24] In Hawaii, no evacuation took place; in the United States, Japanese-Americans were asked to volunteer from barbed-wire inclosures.

Within the relocation centers the variety of conditions also produced great variation in disloyal responses. A male citizen at Manzanar was seven times more likely to declare himself disloyal than one at Granada. The differences among centers were more important than all other influences determining loyalty and disloyalty. The accident of being in one center rather than in another led many to declare as they did.

Deprivation by government action produces national disloyalty. This is the meaning of the Hawaiian-mainland comparison. The greater the deprivation felt, the greater the erosion of loyalty. This is the meaning of the center-by-center differences.

This evidence minimizes the distinction between "practical" and "ideological" reasons for disloyalty. Rather than being "irrelevant," the practical considerations of social situation are of prime importance. Ideology can itself be considered an aspect of the environment. It emerges, becomes stabilized, and looms important as a cue for action through a complex interaction by which objective situation and ideal profoundly influence each other. The chain is endless. Situation contributes to the acceptance or rejection of ideal; ideal in turn provides an interpretation of situation.

Disloyalty is compounded out of more than simple deficiencies of food and shelter. Indeed, there is almost no limit to the sacrifices that men will make and still remain loyal to a cause. Royce held it an "obvious truth of human nature, that loyalty is never raised to its highest levels without . . . grief."[25] The history of the early Christian

24 For Hawaiian volunteers see Andrew William Lind, *Hawaii's Japanese: An Experiment in Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), p. 151; for mainland, United States Department of Interior, War Relocation Authority, *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description*, pp. 125–26.

church gives perhaps the best example of this; striking contemporary illustrations can be found in the experience of Russian partisans, German S.S. troops, and American rangers.

When are the fierce loyalties generated within deprived groups turned against the nation? When are they linked to the nation's cause? The group's own definitions of the right and proper and the extent to which its own ideology is linked with the nation's are of first importance. The experience of Japanese-Americans indicates that deprivation leads to national disloyalty when the deprived see themselves as despised, when they have no hope of future reward, when they are confronted with alternative attachments that promise fewer evils. Suffering *on behalf of* nation cements national loyalty; suffering *as the result of* national policies destroys it. Outsiders, including government officials, can influence acceptance of one definition or the other; the crucial definition comes from the sufferers themselves.

More properly it comes in large part from their face-to-face groups. Loyalty to nation is mediated by loyalty to other groups and other ideas. When state policies promote the welfare of smaller groups with which a person identifies himself (of which the family is the prototype), national loyalty is likely to be strong. When state policies conflict with the welfare of primary groups and choices have to be made, the stage is set for crisis, and national disloyalty is more likely to result.

There are strong suggestions that a far greater number of Japanese-Americans would have declared themselves disloyal to America if they had been able to visualize a viable existence for themselves in Japan. The issue of changing national loyalties becomes important only when the alternative to current loyalty is attractive. Without alternatives, deficiencies in current situation do not lead to a new national loyalty but produce obstructionism or the urge to reform. And where obstructionism leads to

25 Josiah Royce, *The Philosophy of Loyalty* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1924), p. 284.

severe penalty and reform agitation prom-
ises no results, a state of helplessness and in-
decision ensues.

All this was illustrated during and after
the registration. There were protests, mass
meetings, riots. And there was sore dilemma.
On one side, Japanese-Americans were
pushed toward declarations of disloyalty as
a consequence of their past treatment and
current low status, of family pressures, and
of the personal security offered them as a re-
ward for such a declaration. On the other
side, they were pulled to declarations of loy-
alty by their American acculturation and,
more pertinently, by the absence of an alter-
native: they had few positive ties with
Japan. Their final indecision was illustrated
by those who declared that they wanted to
be loyal to *both* the United States and Japan,
by those who said they wished *neither* nation
to win the war, by those who wished to de-
clare themselves "neutral," and by those
who vacillated wildly between statements of
devotion and hatred.

The Japanese-American case also illumi-
nates the wide range of ambiguities con-
tained in the concept of national loyalty. To
some people, the issue of loyalty pivots
around specific policies of the government;
to others, considerations of program are sub-
ordinate to concern for ideology, for leaders,
for systems of government. During the regis-
tration some evacuees regarded the fact of
evacuation itself as the crucial point of judg-
ment: program and nation were equated,
and nation was damned. The United States
was rejected in favor of family solidarity,
security, or an uncertain future in Japan.
Others distinguished program from principle
and from system. Many regarded evacua-
tion as an aberration from the democratic
norm and preserved faith in a later return to
it. These people answered "Yes." Others,
while making the same distinctions, came to
the opposite decision. They regarded evacu-
ation as a palpable distortion of democratic
principles and declared themselves disloyal
to America as an expression of their com-
mitment to those principles or as a protest
against the discrepancy between program

and principles.

Declarations of disloyalty were rarely
simple expressions of rejection. They were
also expressions of preference, positive acts
of identification to ideal, to block group, to
family. In each case, nation was rejected be-
cause, under the circumstances, another
loyalty had become primary.

Japanese-Americans were not unique in
believing that their declarations of disloyal-
ty had little to do with the "real" problem
of national allegiance. The "real" problem
to them was their own security, the obliga-
tions they owed their parents, the expecta-
tions of their friends and neighbors. What
sense of betrayal they may have felt was
overshadowed by the imperative of main-
taining faith with persons closest to them,
with ideas meaningful to them. This is true
of virtually all acts of national disloyalty.
Even the most blatant traitor does not look
upon himself as such. He regards his acts as
an expression of loyalty, not disloyalty.

Loyalties change as social situation
changes and individuals assess previous ex-
perience, present plight, and future prom-
ise. Loyalty to his nation comes easily
if an individual's job and career are se-
cure, if he participates amiably in work
and play with colleagues and friends, if
he feels accepted and secure, if his rela-
tionship to the larger community is not
strained. Destroy his career, disrupt his
work and play groups, isolate him, persecute
him, show your disdain for him, and you
plant the seeds of his disaffection. His alle-
giance will withstand maltreatment. But the
multiplication of abuses will weaken his
loyalty; and, as abuse continues, loyalty to
nation erodes away—the more completely
and rapidly if he believes that the govern-
ment is directly responsible for his difficul-
ties. Loyalty does not thereby disappear. It
is transferred to another cause, another
group, perhaps another nation.[26]

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[26] This article is taken from a chapter in a
forthcoming book, tentatively titled *The Loyal and
the Disloyal*.

THE SENSITIVE-AREA COMPLEX: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE THEORY OF GUIDED CULTURE CONTACT

RICHARD D. LAMBERT AND MARVIN BRESSLER

ABSTRACT

A visitor's attitudes toward and images of an alien culture are affected by his perception of the host culture's view of the status of his own country. The visitor perceives hostility as an active component of low-status ascription when interaction includes verbal references to certain "sensitive areas." The latter are the subjects of long-standing criticism of his culture by colonial powers, the mere mention of which recalls the historical hostility. These perceived assaults enhance his personal identification with the prestige of his home country, and he reacts by erecting a set of mechanisms in defense and praise of his country.

The theoretical literature on various aspects of "acculturation" and "culture contact" contributed by American sociologists has been developed largely from observation of large masses of voluntary or quasi-voluntary immigrants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and from studies of refugees from totalitarian states who arrived in the United States during the last two decades. However different individuals, immigrant populations, and the social situations with which they were confronted may have been, most of the immigrants either wished or had to remain permanently in America. The need to integrate them into American society explains the characteristic "problem" orientation of acculturation theory as evidenced by the classic controversy of the "melting pot" versus "cultural pluralism" and a preoccupation with social cohesion, intergroup conflict, and the deleterious effects of "marginality" on the personality.

Recently, the opportunity for enrichment of acculturation theory has been enhanced by the expansion of international student-exchange programs. There has emerged a new form of large-scale migration whose most striking feature is the explicit understanding on the part of home country, host country, and student that the visit is temporary. Such visits have customarily been encouraged by governments both because of benefits to the individuals and because of the belief that underdeveloped countries would be aided by the acquisiton by its nationals of technical skills. A further underlying assumption is that guided culture contact might aid in promoting international understanding.

Like the earlier formulations which sought to explain the behavior of permanent settlers, current theory has often been distinguished by a "practical" emphasis; with now more, now less, systematic rigor, it has concerned itself with two major areas in which increased knowledge could be used to stimulate "desirable" attitudes toward the United States, that is, with the recruitment of personnel and with the control of experience. A frequent focus of interest has been the definition of specific personal characteristics of the expatriate and the specific experiences in the host country most conducive to cordial attitudes.

Various social scientists and official agencies have assumed that the following *personal characteristics* of the foreign visitor would conduce to favorable attitudes: (a) a high aggression threshold; (b) "maturity"; (c) a history of previous accommodation to cultural contrasts; (d) a generalized capacity to "adjust" to social change; (e) accurate preconceptions of the United States; (f) linguistic competence; and (g) maintenance of goals which have realistic achievement potential here and utilitarian value upon return to the home country.

Experience is commonly considered to promote appreciation of the United States if it includes: great material comfort; contact with "friendly" elements of the host country; ample opportunity to acquire ex-

tensive knowledge and familiarity with the United States; continuous shock-absorbing intermediaries such as foreign student advisers, residences such as International House, subcultures, etc.; contact with American subcultures in which the situation is defined, goals are clear, and in which primary group norms prevail; contact with the aesthetically "superior" products of American life; and, finally, no traumatic experiences, either personal or socially imposed.

A recently completed exploratory study of the attitudes and experiences of Indian students at a large eastern university leads to the conclusion that concentration on generalized personal and experiential variables which are not specific to given cultures has obscured a more fundamental process of acculturation which is germane to the development of a comprehensive theory of culture contact.

1. Attitude formation differs significantly as between nationals from countries of "high status" and of "low status." From the perspective of the American value system and employing ideal-typical criteria, a country with "high status" may be defined as one which (a) is European, (b) which has experienced a long period of national sovereignty, (c) whose status as a world power is well established, (d) whose contributions to world culture are universally acknowledged, (e) whose social structure is stable, and (f) whose population is visibly and unmistakably Caucasian. A country with "low status" is one which (a) is non-European, (b) whose independence is of recent origin, (c) whose status as a world power is low or ambiguous, (d) whose contribution to current world culture is meager or unappreciated, (e) whose social structure is unstable, and (f) whose population is non-Caucasian or dark-skinned.

2. Visitors with low status form their attitudes toward the United States largely as the end product of a "looking-glass" process based on the visitor's perceptions of American attitudes to his country. and by extension to him.

3. In normal social interaction Americans will inadvertently allude to certain national status-rooted "sensitive areas," the mere mention of which even in a neutral or favorable context will cause the visitor to perceive hostility, a condition which will in turn evoke reactive hostility.

4. The identification of personal and experiential variables associated with desirable attitude formation but not specific to culture is likely to be of little diagnostic value for visitors of low status. Individual variation will be restricted by a historically and culturally imposed set of perceptions; carefully manipulated circumscribed experiences will nevertheless include some abrasion of sensitive areas. Without denying the influence of nonculture-specific personal and experiential factors, it is suggested that these are more likely to be crucial for visitors with high status while operative only within a very narrow range among those with low status.

The preceding thesis was based on an intensive study of sixteen Indian and two Pakistani students and one Singhalese student made at the University of Pennsylvania from July, 1952, to August, 1953.[1] The primary source of data was materials collected and analyzed on the basis of approximately 175 hours of semistructured individual and group interviewing. The major aim was to gain insight into the forces underlying the educational experiences, behavior patterns, and attitude images of the Indian students with the object of formulating hypothetical propositions capable of wider applicability and subject to empirical veri-

[1] This project, sponsored and financed by the Cross-cultural Education Committee of the Social Science Research Council, was part of a larger investigation also conducted at the University of California, Ohio State University, and the University of Wisconsin, where Mexican, Japanese, and Scandinavian students, respectively, were studied.

Since much of their behavior can be explained in terms of the preliberation past of their respective countries, discussion of "Indian" in terms of specific territorial differentiation is often unnecessary. For purposes of convenience, all nineteen will be referred to as "Indian" students except when there is some compelling reason to distinguish among them.

fication. Inasmuch as India is characterized by all the criteria of "low status," the reactions of Indian students are treated as ideal-typical of others of "low status" and differentially applicable to students of countries variously placed on the status continuum.

SENSITIVE AREAS

Temporary international migration characteristically impels the visitor to reappraise his own culture and to feel a heightened identification with his own country and an increased sensitivity to its status. Very early in his visit the Indian student perceives an American image of India which contains elements which appear to him to imply low status for his home country and, by extension, for him. When he encounters Americans who are admittedly ignorant of Indian affairs, this lack of knowledge with its resultant stereotypical conceptions is in itself an affront. Specific statements made by better-informed Americans are likely to touch on areas of cultural sensitivity and be perceived not only as inaccurate but hostile as well.

The stereotype which Indians perceive among Americans pictures India as an "exotic land," the word "exotic" suggesting "uncivilized." Americans are people who reportedly "think of India as a land of magic and mysticism, where sadhus live in caves, grow big beards, and sleep on iron spikes; a land infested with snake-charmers, lions, monkeys, rajas, and maharajas"; or as a complex of characteristics associated with the term "underdeveloped" or "backward," including poverty, sickness, starvation, overpopulation, prehistoric technological conditions, illiteracy, ignorance, and heathenism. Every Indian student interviewed mentioned this stereotype and described it in almost identical terms.

While it is apparent that the Indian students resent the stereotype of their country, it is also true that many of them recognize that ignorance does not necessarily involve hostility. Though ignorant of India, individual Americans often treat individual Indians with special consideration and with

the deference sometimes reserved for those thought to be mildly and pleasantly exotic. To most of the Indian students, Americans who have some pretense to knowledge about India are a greater source of irritation. The greater the knowledge, the greater the demand for overt expression of amity. However, it is precisely those Americans who are slightly familiar with India who touch on certain specific subjects which, being associated with colonial status and reactive nationalism, have become "sensitive." The subjects of these statements about India which Indians take as evidence of hostility we are calling "sensitive areas."

A mainspring of defensive nationalism in areas formerly colonial is a reaction to a Western, humanitarian value system which found the indigenous culture derelict. The cultures of the colonial areas were measured against the ideal morality of the Christian colonists and publicized as little short of barbaric. The term "native" acquired connotations of inferiority. The most striking of the contrasts between Western ideology and "native" practices were targets for reformers both alien and indigenous and justification for the concept of the "white man's burden." The contrasts also produced hundreds of volumes of exotic travel literature, which, when read in the West, created the stereotype of the "backward" (now "underdeveloped") countries. The same works, read by natives in the spirit of self-justification and rising nationalism, were taken as severe and unfair indictments based upon unwarranted generalizations which misrepresented certain limited aspects of their culture which they themselves were determined to reform. A case in point was Katherine Mayo's *Mother India* and its attendant barrage of published retorts from Indian writers. The indictments were used, moreover, in numerous official surveys as the basis of denying a larger share in the government to indigenous political leaders. The outcome was that certain subjects came to bear the connotation of criticism. The mere mention of these subjects by an outsider, be the comment or question friendly or unfriendly, is

sufficient to create strong antagonisms and defensive reactions.

During the course of our study we recorded statements or implications appearing in the American press or made by Americans against which Indian students reacted strongly. The areas of sensitivity have been classified inductively into seven major headings. The list is certainly not exhaustive.

1. *Indians are basically inferior. Westernization is superficial. India will never be the equal of the Western countries.*

This is the central attitude identified with colonialism. For the early administrators it imparted a sense of justice and rightness to colonial rule. Later it was reinterpreted in the light of the view then prevalent: that the British were the proper judges of when India would be ready to govern itself and that that time was far distant. This is the central perceived threat to Indians' self-esteem. It is the bench mark from which hostility or amity is measured. Easiest to accept are statements about "economic backwardness" and "underdevelopment," but even these are irritants. More difficult are the statements implying cultural inferiority. Previously these were areas where Indian customs were found to be "heathen abominations" according to the standards of the Victorian public school graduate or mass-movement missionary. Today the position has changed: the culture, it is argued, makes impossible the economic development desired by the Indians.

Close beneath the surface of these diffuse allegations of innate inferiority lies the race-color tension. The full statement of this area of sensitivity might read as follows: India is backward economically and primitive in culture. Indians are trying to imitate and exceed the Western countries. Unless they reject their own superstition-ridden culture and adopt Western ways, particularly the American (formerly British) culture in all its facets, the likelihood of their ultimate progress is slim or nonexistent. Moreover, Indians are racially inferior and thus probably incapable of equaling the West in any

event. For the British colonial, therefore, Indian demands for national independence were misguided, and for the American jingoist India's voice in international relations is undeserved and dangerous. Both looked upon Indian political leaders as retarded children playing with matches in a pool of gasoline, a privilege reserved for their elders.

This viewpoint is perceived by an Indian from any one of a number of possible individual statements. Below is a list of statements which appeared in the press or which Indian students reported Americans said in their presence. They produced reactions out of proportion to the specific implication of some of the statements—reactions which gathered their strength from the resentment against the general stereotype of which the specific statements were a part.

Indians were not ready to assume the responsibilities of independence.

India was better off under the British.

In spite of its democratic constitution, India is a one-party system, governing a population which is largely illiterate, and thus not a real democracy.

There are no Indian leaders to replace highly placed Congress [party] men like Nehru, Gandhi, and Patel.

The Congress [party] is becoming corrupt like the Kuomintang now that it is in power and does not have the purifying effect induced by the reaction against British rule.

India's cultural heritage is not productive and must be replaced before development can take place.

India's religions are mostly primitive superstitions.

Education in India is far below the standards of this country.

The low level of education will never be raised.

Indians are basically not capable of reaching the cultural and material level of the West.

Indian development is dependent upon a continuous supply of American technicians.

Indian students do well in Western universities when they can get by on rote memory.

Indian scientists receive world recognition only because of their Western training.

The Indian languages are not equipped for modern technological development.

To understand each other, Indians from different regions must speak English.

Indian women look funny in Western clothes.

Dropping the atom bomb on Asian countries is all right but not on countries in Europe.

In an Asian war Asian lives should be expended before European troops are used to the fullest.

Each of the other six sensitive areas is a development of some facet of the larger stereotype implied in the above statements. They are presented separately because they constitute relatively distinctive subclusters, each with its own set of connotations.

2. *India is an undesirable place in which to live.*

A part of the half-informed American's image of India includes the hazards to health that he expects to find there. Typically, an American who has imminent or remote plans for visiting India tells the Indian that he expects or would like to go to India. This is said in a tone implying that the Indian should be pleased with this announcement. The American then proceeds to ask the Indian for information on how to protect himself from the imagined dangers to health and safety. This is a persistent and direct affront to middle- and upper-class Indians who compose the student population. Some of the statements follow:

India is a land of sickness and dirt.

Indian water is always polluted; you have to boil it first.

If you eat Indian food, you will get sick.

You should never live with an Indian family or you will get sick.

3. *Indians have objectionable personal traits.*

To the attributing of undesirable personal qualities to them, Indians are obviously sensitive. The statements listed below are a few representatives of an unsystematically collected list.

Indians have smaller physiques than Westerners and are weak and effeminate.

Indians criticize but can't take criticism.

Indians dress in loud Western clothes like Negroes when they come to America.

Indians have little feeling for human life.

Indians are cruel to animals.

Pakistanis are easier to get along with than are Indians.

Indians are unclean and have little idea of sanitation.

Indians are aggressive in groups but have little personal courage.

4. *India is too divided to form a nation.*

This is one of the most complex, pervasive, and difficult to assess of all the sensitive areas. At every point in the nationalist movement when constitutional advance was imminent, the colonial rulers argued that Indians were too divided among themselves to form a responsible government; that what unity there was in the country resulted from careful nurturing by the British rulers; that, left to themselves, the majority would shortly subjugate and oppress the minorities; and that this process would be attended by unprecedented violence which would dissipate the artificial unity which the British had so slowly built. Therefore, the colonialists argued, the extension of representative government should be very slow and hedged in with elaborate safeguards for minorities. The most important of the divisions into what were called "communities" set Muslims against Hindus. The accumulated hostility and violence which have marked the relations of the spokesmen for the separatist elements among the Muslims and the spokesman for a unified nationalist movement (mostly Hindus) has made this issue of single nation versus disparate communities an extremely emotional one. The unified nationalists led by the Indian National Congress placed most of the blame for the increasing tension between Hindus and Muslims upon the "divide and rule" policy of the British and upon Muslim fanaticism and intransigence. The Muslims also believed the British to be overemphasizing divisions in the society in order to maintain their rule, although they were in favor of special protection of the Muslims. Their demands became more comprehensive until finally a separate nation of Pakistan was created. It

is therefore little wonder that calling attention to divisions within India produces a reaction out of proportion to the immediate stimulus.

Since independence (1947), other divisions have emerged to threaten the unity of the new nations. In India linguistic regions have demanded separate recognition and reapportioning of provincial power. Inter-caste quarrels, always present, have been dramatized by a number of national events. Sectional differences between the North and the South have raised problems of administrative integration. In Pakistan the division into two sections separated by a thousand miles of alien territory has weakened unity. These problems are frequently discussed by Indians and Pakistanis among themselves, but the very mention of them by outsiders is likely to occasion defensive reactions.

One important by-product of visits to the United States is the increasing solidarity of Indians and Pakistanis which results from their joining ranks as members of an out-group. Regional, caste, and religious differences, already attenuated in the university setting in India, are largely treated as jokes in the United States. Therefore such recorded statements as follows were especially likely to impinge on areas of sensitivity:

The Indian government is not strong; it was divided into India and Pakistan and will soon be divided into North and South.

India was never one country until the British came.

India is still just an aggregate of separate regions and groups.

South Indians leave the South whenever posts in the North present themselves.

Indians are too divided among themselves to form a nation for long.

Muslims are being persecuted in India and Hindus in Pakistan.

Christians and Anglo-Indians are being forcefully absorbed.

5. *India's social structure is undemocratic, inhumane, unenlightened.*

There are many specific sterotypes about India which pertain to this statement. For

reasons at present not established, the American's stereotype of exotic lands seems peculiarly concerned with cruelties and inhumanities. Since the holder of the distorted image has no particular stake in seeking greater knowledge, one or two publicized examples of events which outrage his moral sensibilities are enough to label an entire country or a people inhumane, fitting into the picture of a semicivilized, inferior people. The popularization of anthropological data and internationalist studies has reduced the number of direct condemnatory characterizations of other cultures, but the following statements carry a more subtle but similar appraisal:

The caste system is the source of most of India's trouble.

Indian widows live in misery and abject poverty.

In India there are only two economic classes, the very wealthy or the very poor.

Girls in India all marry at much too early an age.

Indian women have no rights.

All Indian marriages are arranged without the participants' consent.

Indian religion deludes the lower classes into accepting the supremacy of the rapacious Brahmans.

It will be noted that all these statements call attention to the disparity between supposed Indian values and the American "creed."

6. *The bases on which India expects acclaim from the West are hypocritical and not in accord with Indian practice.*

The Indian perceives a double standard in the charge that India does not live up to its moral principles. It is a milder attack to state that India's practices are evil; it is more serious to say that even those items in its creed for which India claims moral superiority are not carried out in action or, worse, are precisely opposite to the creed. This latter allegation imputes to India not only defection from a set of ideals but hypocrisy. Moreover, it implies that the country has no claim whatsoever to equal status. At the political level there have been

a considerable number of charges of this type in the press, particularly at those times when India has justified its stand on international issues by moral principles and has operated as an uncommited "third force." Some of the statements taken from American sources are:

Indians with a long history of rioting and bloodshed talk about nonviolence.

Gandhi was not motivated by spiritual dedication but by a drive for power and self-aggrandizement.

The independence movement was carried on only because the middle-class Congress leaders wanted to take the place of the British.

India talks of peaceful world solution while sending troops into Hyderabad, Junagadh, and Kashmir.

While Indians talk of spirituality, in actuality they are more openly motivated toward materialistic ends than any other people in the world.

For most of the Indian people the religions are little more than superstitions and animism; the philosophical systems are known only to a few top intellectual layers. Moreover, the present society is carrying on the tradition by rote. There has been no doctrinal contribution for several hundred years.

7. Indian population increase is a threat to the world; soon they will embark upon an exploitative imperialism of their own.

To many Indians the West's concern about an Asian population's increase is not based on the rational argument that uncontrolled population increase is a danger to a national standard of living. They doubt if the concern would be so great if the increase were among European peoples. Angry reactions came even from students who were usually passive but who were pressed to resolve the oft-posed dilemma that improved health conditions would lower the death rate in India and thus increase the growth of population.

The stereotype of population growth which Indians believe Americans hold of their country involves two threats: that increasing numbers of a purportedly inferior race will submerge the Western peoples and lower the latter's standard of living and that

in numbers lies strength and that India has already embarked upon an imperialism of numbers. The pertinent statements are listed below:

Unless India controls its population increase, its numbers will be a threat to the security of the Western world.

As soon as India is strong enough, it will start its imperialism.

How long can the United States give aid to a country which does not control its population?

India does not need Kashmir, but it is trying to hold on to it. Kashmir should go to Pakistan because it is an economic necessity for Pakistan.

The creation of Pakistan was necessary—otherwise the Hindus would have dominated and taken advantage of the Muslims.

The Negroes in South Africa are really against the Indians and not against the Europeans.

Indians are fomenting the Mau Mau riots in Kenya.

Statements made by Americans need not necessarily be unfavorable to produce sensitivity; they need only fall within the province of forbidden subjects. The following excerpt from an interview is one of many which illustrate this tendency:

Many of the students ask that question, about caste, and sometimes I am a little worried about that. Once when I visited a family, a boy about ten or eleven asked me: "Do you have a caste system in India?" I asked him where he got that idea. He said that his teacher in school told him that there are four kinds of castes in India and that they do not touch each other. Naturally, I was surprised that this is being taught in the schools. Many other people ask that question. Sometimes professors at the university ask the question: "You are a Hindu?" I don't know why, but sometimes, if somebody asks me if I am a Hindu, I don't like it. I say I am an Indian. But I don't know what is really behind it. One day a professor and I were dining together in Houston Hall. He said, "I have seen several Hindus; they are good people." I was really surprised. What does he mean by "Hindus"? He is very simple; he doesn't know anything about it. He might be thinking that those who belong to India are Hindus or something of that sort. But I didn't like it.

DEFENSE MECHANISMS

While the student is reacting to an American image of India which he considers hostile, he constantly compares his perceptions of the United States[2] and his image of the home country. The description of each country usually has a referent to the other. In this connection there are several prominent defense mechanisms the function of which is to raise the status of India above that of the United States.

1. *Skepticism concerning the representativeness of his impressions is confined to those which are favorable.*

When the impression is unfavorable, the individual states the view with assurance; if it is favorable, he adds that his experience is limited and that he may well change his mind when he has had an opportunity to expand his knowledge.

2. *American practice is compared to home-country creed.*

America is condemned because Christians are intolerant; India is praised because Hinduism is tolerant. America is condemned for its politics; India is praised for its constitution. America is condemned for the machinations of the "Wall Street capitalists," "monopolists," and "big business"; India is praised for Gandhi's ideal of trusteeship in economic affairs.

3. *"Favorable" American practice is selectively interpreted.*

For instance, one student came upon a notice on a factory bulletin board which outlined FEPC regulations. These regulations might serve as an indication of America's increasing enlightenment, at least on the official level; instead, correctly but selectively, the student concluded that, if legislation of this type was needed, then anti-Negro bias must be very widespread indeed.

[2] An analysis of the content of images of America held by Indian students while in the United States and after their return home may be found in articles by Richard D. Lambert and Marvin Bressler and by John and Ruth Useem in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCXCV (September, 1954), 62–82.

4. *Experience is sometimes structured so that the Indian student can contrive to become a victim of American malpractice.*

In a wry, somewhat self-deprecatory account, one student after making a trip through the South reported:

I went into a restaurant. All white people there. The servers were white, and those who were drinking coffee or having breakfast were white. So I went there and had my coffee too. There was no discrimination or anything that I came across. So you might say I was disappointed.

5. *American practices are judged in a contemporary value context, while Indian practices are judged in their historical setting.*

For instance Negro-white relations in the United States are discussed in terms of how they refute the American claim to democracy and equality; mistreatment of "untouchables" in India is discussed in terms of the historical circumstances which produced the condition and the inevitable slowness of remedial social change.

6. *American foreign policy is judged as though the United States were free to choose among unlimited options; India's alternatives are thought to be severely restricted.*

America is strong; India is weak. The powerful can elect to be perfect, while the weak can be no more than human. As a self-appointed leader and world power, the United States should behave more righteously than India, which must make compromises in order to survive. An associated thesis is that a rich and powerful benefactor deserves no gratitude but should give to the deserving needy as a matter of simple duty. This attitude enters into personal relations as well as political ones and overlies much of the student's attitude toward his stay here. It is deeply rooted in the Indian culture and is incorporated in religion and in widespread institutional and behavioral contexts. It, of course, runs counter to what the student perceives to be a continual request for expressions of gratitude from the American who asks, "Well, how do you like America?"

Q.: What sort of experiences do Indian students run into that makes them bitter?

A.: Superiority complex. Americans talk with inadequate knowledge and make positive statements about India and Asia as a whole.

Q.: Can you give me some examples?

A.: Snake-charming and the caste system and things which we ourselves don't do in our country. Owing to British propaganda, Americans think that occupations which we ourselves despise are honorable occupations for Indians. They are taught in the schools and colleges about India, the caste system, and all those things, without understanding the basis for them.

Q.: Do you think the Americans have the British viewpoint on the Indian nationalist movement?

A.: I think so, because they have had no information on the other side. I was here in 1949, 1950, and 1951. I had a hard time fighting everybody every day.

Q.: What do you mean by "everybody"?

A.: Most of the students whom I met, unless they were leftist. I can remember the day when the Korean War started and we heard ——— lecture on what Russia wants behind the scenes. The lecturer talked about Asiatic hordes and the way the Japanese used to kill the Chinese during the Sino-Japanese War and how they ignored the value of life. He made other loose statements; for example, the colored people of Asia wouldn't allow white men to do business for them anymore. When they make such statements, it makes us more bitter.

Q.: You must get very tired of hearing these things over and over again.

A.: I have got used to it now. I know their weakness—where to hurt them.

Q.: What are the weaknesses?

A.: The Korean War is a weakness. Lynching and the Negro problem are others—they hurt them a lot. Also anything about war with Russia, the Korean War—if you justify Russia; and if you say certain things about corruption in America; the elections. I also point out defects in Western civilization.

Q.: What are some of the defects?

A.: Well, not defects exactly; this thing democracy sounds like hypocrisy when they talk of it. A few cases may be sincere.

The following propositions have emerged inductively from our data. They include those items which seem to have a more general reference than specific application to India and the United States. Since the investigation on which this scheme is based was not concerned with listing all the possible factors which might be critical in the experience of any nationality group, the subclassifications under the propositions are not deductively exhaustive but are simply those most clearly shown in our data. The most striking omission, of course, is the failure to make fuller use of nonculture-specific personality and experiential dimensions. It is obvious that such dimensions are important and that they should ultimately be included in a deductively complete theoretical system; but our data are richest in sociocultural and historical areas, and it is our contention, moreover, that it is easy to overemphasize the importance of nonculture-specific personality and experiential variables especially in analyzing the behavior of nationals of "low-status" countries. It goes without saying that this paradigm based on insights derived from intensive study of a comparatively few cases may well need revision as subsequent research tests its adequacy.

1. All temporary expatriates identify themselves and are identified as being representatives of their home countries.
2. The extent and the degree of this identification is enhanced when the following is perceived by the visitor:
   a) that people in the host country easily mark him as a stranger because of the high visibility of conspicuous racial and behavioral differences;
   b) but there exists a well-established stereotype in the host country emphasizing cultural differences;
   c) that people in the host country ascribe low status to his country.
3. The recognition of the ascription of low status to his home country is enhanced when the visitor perceives:
   a) that ignorance of his home country is widespread;

b) that his home country is ignored in contexts where its mention would be relevant;

c) that general statements attributing superiority to the host country are prevalent;

d) that individuals in the host country assume that the behavior of low-status groups in his home country is representative;

e) that there exist well-defined values in the host country which do not exist in the home country;

f) that he is subjected to treatment which he perceives is like that accorded to low-status individuals in the host country.

4. The visitor perceives hostility as an active component of low-status ascription especially when it includes references to certain "sensitive areas." These sensitive areas derive their force from long historical hostile criticism of the home country, so that mere mention of certain subjects implies the historical hostility. In the case of colonial peoples, these criticisms have been used as a rationale for the consolidation of power and are thus most readily imputed to a powerful nation.

5. When the high-identification–low-status–hostility configuration obtains, the visitor reacts:

a) by seeking the support of a status-rewarding subculture, thus isolating himself from large segments of the host county;

b) by seeking to determine in intimate interpersonal relationships with members of the host culture the status relationship, attempting to avoid those relationships in which status referents are too strong and actively pursuing those relationships in which members of the host country treat him as an equal or a superior;

c) by regarding as cultural betrayal the acceptance of the host country's judgment of the low status of the home culture and by raising the threshold of acceptance of the host culture;

d) by selecting, rationalizing, and distorting his reminiscences of the home culture, thus enhancing his assessment of the prestige of his home culture;

e) by erecting a set of defense mechanisms which bias comparisons between host and home country in favor of the latter. These mechanisms include:

(1) Skepticism concerning the representatives of impressions are confined to those which are favorable to the host country.

(2) Comparison of American practice with home-country creed.

(3) Selective interpretation of "favorable" American practice.

(4) Structuring of experience so that the visitor can contrive to be ill treated.

(5) Judging of American practices on the basis of contemporary values and of home-country practices on the basis of their historical values.

(6) Judging American foreign policy as though the United States were free to choose among unlimited options, while the home country's choice of alternatives is thought to be severely restricted.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

NEWS AND NOTES

Errata.—Donald J. Bogue has written to the *Journal:* "With apologies, I make the following four corrections in my article 'Urbanism in the United States, 1950,' in the March issue of the *Journal:* Page 476, right-hand column, line 9, should read 'increase' instead of 'income.' Page 477, left-hand column, lines 3 and 4, should read '1930 and 1940' instead of '1940 and 1950.' Page 483, right-hand column, starting with line 15, should read, 'The most youthful population (excluding children) is now the rural-nonfarm population. Although the rural-farm population still has the oldest adult age composition, it is only moderately different from the urban.' Page 485, left-hand column, line 10, should read 'risen more' instead of 'fallen fewer.' "

American Foundation for the Blind, Inc.—A limited number of research fellowships of $1,500 each are offered to graduate students and other individuals carrying on research on blind individuals. The fellowship program is intended to support research on the adjustment of blind individuals, the counseling of blind individuals, the training of blind individuals, and social forces affecting blind persons. Investigations may cover any age, from babies to the aged. Research on deaf-blind persons also will receive consideration under this program.

Application blanks may be had from Dr. Nathaniel J. Raskin, Director of Research Planning, American Foundation for the Blind, 15 West Sixteenth Street, New York 11, New York.

"Annals of American Sociology."—A new monograph series entitled "Annals of American Sociology" has been launched by the Public Affairs Press of Washington, D.C. Designed primarily for papers ranging between 5,000 and 30,000 words in length, the new series seeks to fill the gap between journal articles and books. Establishment of the series is an outgrowth of the "Annals of American Research," a project initiated in 1952.

Manuscripts should be addressed to The Editor, Annals of American Sociology, 2162 Florida Avenue, Washington 8, D.C.

Brooklyn College.—Robert W. Ehrich, who is on sabbatical leave, is devoting himself to independent research and study. He was recently elected to the Section H (Anthropology) Committee of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Natalie F. Joffe and Leo Chall joined the department at the beginning of the spring term. Dr. Joffe has taught at Hunter College, Queens College, Vassar College, and New York University and has served on the staff of the National Research Council Committee on Food Habits and the Research Project in Contemporary Cultures. Mr. Chall, editor of *Sociological Abstracts,* has taught in the Brooklyn College School of General Studies.

Alfred McClung Lee has been appointed chairman of the committee of 48 social science consultants, N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

Brown University.—Kurt Mayer is serving as acting chairman of the department. His *Social Class* will be published this spring in the Doubleday "Short Studies in Sociology" series.

Leo F. Schnore has been appointed instructor.

Robert Parke serves as teaching intern for 1954–55.

Vincent Whitney, on leave during the second semester, is carrying on research on the relations of population and economic structure in highly industrialized areas.

Charles M. Grigg is in charge of a newly established research program in population and economic development. Under it Myron Nalbandian, research assistant, is completing a study of patterns of dominance in the metropolitan area of Providence. A study of labor mobility in relation to the economic structure of the city is under way in Woonsocket, Rhode Island.

University of Buffalo.—Constantine A. Yeracaris has been promoted to assistant professor. The Evans Research Project, of which he was director, has recently been completed. The study was of community problems in a Niagara Frontier suburb, financed by the Sheppard

Foundation of New York under the sponsorship of the University of Buffalo.

Milton C. Albrecht has been appointed assistant dean of the College of Arts and Sciences.

Norman Miller and Richard K. Pivetz have resigned from the department, the latter to accept a position at Colby College.

Robert M. Frumkin, formerly of Ohio State University, has been appointed instructor in sociology. He is engaged in research on social factors in mental disorders.

Lawrence Podell has been appointed instructor in sociology.

George A. Theodorson has been appointed instructor in sociology.

University of California.—The graduate students in the department of sociology and social institutions have established a new journal, *Berkeley Publications in Society and Institutions,* devoted to articles of general sociological interest written by themselves. Plans are to issue it twice a year in multigraphed form, each issue to include about six articles and about sixty pages and to cost 50 cents. The first issue will include a study of the dynamics of formal organizational structure in an air force installation, an article on the sociology of suburbia, a study of political apathy and the crisis voter, an application of Weber's concept of "charisma" to several instances of social change, and a bibliography on research dealing with postwar Germany. In addition to articles, the journal will print book and theses reviews, information on dissertations and other research in progress, as well as news about graduate students and faculty members.

Articles and other communications should be sent to The Editor, Berkeley Publications in Society and Institutions, 206 South Hall, University of California, Berkeley 4, California. Manuscripts not accepted for publication will be returned to the author if accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

University of Chicago.—The student organization, the Society for Social Research, invites sociologists to attend its annual meeting on May 20 and 21. Papers on a wide range of topics are to be read in sessions scheduled from 9:30 A.M. to noon and from 2:00 to 5:00 P.M. on both days. All meetings are to be held in Ida Noyes Hall on the campus. William H. Whyte, an editor of *Fortune* magazine, will be the speaker.

The Midwest Workshop in Community Human Relations will be held on the campus from July 25 to August 12, 1955. The workshop undertakes to relate current theory and research in the social sciences to the problems of action groups in the community. Delegates will be drawn from social welfare, education, business and industry, community organizations, and citizens' groups. The workshop is affiliated with the National Training Laboratories in Washington, D.C. For information write Bettie B. Sarchet, Training Center for Community Human Relations, University of Chicago, 19 South La Salle Street, Chicago 3, Illinois.

Eli S. Marks, senior study director of the National Opinion Research Center and associate professor of sociology, was on loan during the winter quarter to Morris Hansen and William Hurwitz to assist in some special work with National Analysts, Inc., Philadelphia, which involves programing for the use of UNIVAC in analysis.

The National Opinion Research Center will conduct research on the first nation-wide survey ever made to find out how people feel about health facilities, health personnel, and voluntary health insurance. The study, financed by a grant of $100,000 from the Health Information Foundation of New York, is expected to reveal attitudes and practices regarding all medical services, including dental care, drugs, and medications. The foundation is a nonprofit, factfinding organization sponsored by two hundred leaders of the drug, pharmaceutical, chemical, and allied industries. The National Opinion Research Center conducted the foundation's National Family Survey of Medical Costs and Voluntary Health Insurance, the preliminary report of which was published in January, 1954. A final report, based on detailed analysis, is now being prepared by Odin W. Anderson, of the foundation, and Jacob J. Feldman, a study director at the center.

Armond D. Willis has been appointed executive secretary of the National Council of Family Relations.

Cornell University.—A survey of industrial and labor relations research in American universities has been published by the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at the university. It reports on twenty-seven educational institutions and on their research in the spring of 1954 and is entitled "Industrial and Labor Relations Research in Universities." It is edited by Robert Aronson. Copies are avail-

able from the New York School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

International African Institute.—The institute quarterly review, *African Abstracts*, consists of full informative summaries of articles appearing in current periodicals throughout Europe, Africa, and America. Though concerned primarily with social studies, ethnology, and languages, it also covers material on history, education, the arts, and modern economic and administrative problems in Africa. The review is produced by the International African Institute with the assistance of a grant from UNESCO and is edited by Professor Daryll Forde, the director of the institute. An international team of abstracters covers all the most important journals in the field of African studies, working under the supervision of editorial advisers having special knowledge of different areas of Africa or specific branches of African studies. The abstracts are written in either English or French. Each annual volume includes an index to subjects, tribes, languages, authors, and periodicals.

The annual subscription, payable in advance, is 30*s*. (U.S.A., $4.50, or the equivalent in other currencies), post free. Complete sets from Vol. I, No. 1 (January, 1950), are still available (Vols. I–IV, 26*s*. per volume).

Iowa State College.—David M. Fulcomer has been reappointed to a new term as a special consultant to the board of managers of the Joint Department of Family Life, National Council of Churches of Christ in America.

William Kenkel and William Dyer, who were engaged last summer in research for the Health Information Foundation on the problems confronting health insurance companies in enrolling individuals, have prepared a questionnaire to be mailed to a nation-wide group of health insurance concerns.

Paul J. Jehlik, research collaborator in the department of economics and sociology since 1945 and staff member of the Farm Population and Rural Life Branch, Agricultural Marketing Service, USDA, accepted in February the position of rural sociologist, Office of Experiment Stations, Washington, D.C. While in the department, Dr. Jehlik engaged in studies of rural social organization, attitudes, farm labor, level of living, health, and population. In co-operation with Ray E. Wakeley, he has just completed for publication a regional research bulletin covering the first major unit of work under North Central Regional Project No. 18, in which thirteen states are actively participating, to be entitled "Population Change and Net Migration in the North Central States, 1940–1950."

Ellen Voland has accepted an appointment as research assistant in rural sociology.

University of Michigan.—The Survey Research Center announces the eighth annual summer institute in survey research techniques. The regular session of the institute will be held from July 18 to August 12, with an introductory session from June 20 to July 15, 1955. All courses are offered in conjunction with university departments. For further information write to the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Amos H. Hawley has been reappointed chairman of the department of sociology for a five-year term, beginning with the university year 1955–56.

Robert C. Angell is offering a new course in analysis of social problems to form a sequence with that on principles of sociology.

Angus Campbell is gathering interview data from a national sample during the 1954 election campaign to follow his study of voting behavior in the 1952 Presidential election.

Rensis Likert has been named president and Angus Campbell a trustee of the Foundation for Research on Human Behavior, a new organization with headquarters in Ann Arbor which encourages and sponsors research in leadership, communication, and human relations in organizations.

David Aberle will spend the year 1955–56 at the Ford Foundation Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences at Menlo Park, California. Replacing Dr. Aberle will be Theodore Schwartz, who comes from the University of Pennsylvania.

Harold L. Wilensky, of the department of sociology, with Charles Lebeaux, of Wayne University, received a summer grant from the Russell Sage Foundation to prepare a resource document for the United States Committee of the International Conference of Social Work on the effect of industrialization on the development and character of social work in the United States.

Ronald Lippitt has received a grant from the

Russell Sage Foundation to make a comparative theoretical analysis of methods of bringing about change used by psychotherapists and by leaders in small groups, organizations, and communities.

Robert Blood and Morris Axelrod are studying the structure and functioning of urban families through the facilities of the 1954–55 Detroit Area Study. Dr. Blood has received a grant to make a similar study of farm families.

National Committee for Education in Family Finance.—Eleven graduate teacher-training programs in family finance are being sponsored this summer. They will be offered on the campuses of eleven leading universities in various parts of the country and offer scholarships for four hundred and fifty educators. Eligible are teachers from schools, colleges, and teacher-training institutions, and also administrators, supervisors, curriculum directors, and others who need and use this kind of educational experience.

The national workshop will be held at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania, June 27–August 6 (Albert I. Oliver, co-ordinator). As the national pilot workshop, this serves school systems throughout the country. Scholarship covers tuition and round-trip travel allowance to and from Philadelphia. The participant pays board and room. Six semester credits are given.

Regional workshops are at the following universities: University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles 24, California, June 20–July 30, Erwin M. Keithley, co-ordinator (California, Arizona, and Nevada); room and board scholarship; student fee, $51.00; six semester credits. University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut, July 5–August 6, Arthur W. Goldberg, co-ordinator (New England, metropolitan New York City, and Long Island); room and board scholarship; tuition charge, $60.00; six semester credits. University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, July 21–August 19, Clifford Bebell, co-ordinator (Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, New Mexico, South Dakota, and Wyoming); room, board, and partial tuition scholarship; student fee, $62.50; five semester credits. University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, June 20–July 29, Robert B. Myers, co-ordinator (Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina); room and board scholarship; student fee, $60.00; six semester credits. Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, June 13–July 22, William Bennie, co-ordinator

(Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, western Tennessee, and southern Illinois); room and board scholarship; student fee, $48.00; six semester credits. University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, June 20–July 15, Lloyd F. Millhollen, co-ordinator (Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Utah); room and tuition scholarship; participant pays $48.50 board; four semester credits. Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, July 11–August 12, B. C. Watts, co-ordinator (Texas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Oklahoma); room and board scholarship; student fee, $50.00; six semester credits. Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, July 5–August 12, Eric W. Lawson, co-ordinator (New York and Pennsylvania); tuition and board scholarship; participant pays $60.00 for room; six semester credits. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, July 5–August 13, Albert H. Shuster, co-ordinator (Virginia, West Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, North Carolina, and eastern Tennessee); room and board scholarship; student fee, $52.50; six semester credits. University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, June 24–August 19, Russell J. Hosler, co-ordinator (Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, Iowa, northern Illinois, and Michigan); room and board scholarship; participant pays $70.00 tuition; six semester credits.

For more complete information about any of the workshops write to the co-ordinator, in care of the university's school of education, or R. Wilfred Kelsey, Secretary, National Committee for Education in Family Finance, 488 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York.

University of North Carolina.—A seminar on community development in foreign areas was held at Chapel Hill, December 27–29, 1954, at which some fifty specialists from many agencies and universities discussed aspects of assistance to underdeveloped areas of the world. It was sponsored by the Research Center in Economic Development and Cultural Change, University of Chicago; the Illinois College Program in Community Development; and the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, in co-operation with the University of North Carolina Extension Division and Community Development Projects, Ltd.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.—Sam Schulman has been appointed assistant professor of sociology and rural life. He

teaches courses in social control and the family and is engaged on a research project on man-land relationships.

Joseph S. Vandiver has been promoted to professor. He continues to be consultant sociologist under the Oklahoma A. & M. FOA contract with Ethiopia.

Solomon Sutker, who has been promoted to associate professor, is guest lecturer in an executive development institute sponsored by the School of Industrial Engineering and Management of Oklahoma A. & M. College.

Herman M. Case has been doing research on desegregation problems in Oklahoma, in part supported by the Oklahoma A. & M. Research Foundation.

John C. Belcher has been awarded a grant by the Health Information Foundation for the analysis of health data secured in a survey of a western Oklahoma county. He is also the membership chairman of the Rural Sociological Society.

James D. Tarver, recently promoted to associate professor, is a member of the subcommittee on the Impacts of Technology on Rural Social Organization, Southwestern Land Tenure Research Committee, which has completed a regional research study on "Social Aspects of Agricultural Mechanization in the Southwest." This is to be published in the regional series. He is currently engaged in research on population trends.

University of Oregon.—Warren S. Thompson, emeritus director of the Scripps Foundation for Population Research, was visiting professor for the winter term.

Pitirim A. Sorokin, Harvard University, will be a visiting professor in the summer term. Professor Sorokin will teach three seminars: on social and cultural dynamics, on the behavioral sciences, and on creative altruism.

The E. C. Brown Trust announces a fellowship for graduate study of marriage and family living, leading to the Ph.D. degree in sociology. The stipend, $2,000, may be granted to a single recipient for a total of three years. Applications are now being received by the E. C. Brown Trust, 220 Southwest Alder Street, Portland 4, Oregon, for awards starting this coming September for study at the University of Oregon.

Jack S. Gibbs and Mervyn Cadwallader are Carnegie teaching fellows in the department this year.

Paul S. Ullman and David Wolfe are depart-

mental assistants, and Sam Johnson is a research assistant.

Seven fellows and assistants will be appointed in the next academic year.

Pennsylvania State University.—Ralph Luebben, previously at Cornell, has joined the department and is offering course work in archeology.

Jessie Bernard and Joseph C. Lagey have received a grant from the university's Social Science Research Center to establish the *State of the Commonwealth*, a monthly newsletter to sociologists, social workers, public officials, and newspapers which will summarize and interpret demographic data and material on crime, delinquency, alcoholism, unemployment, etc.

St. Louis University.—The Bureau of Family Research has been inaugurated, the chief functions of which are to co-ordinate the numerous family research projects of graduate students with family research, to initiate and conduct research in the prediction of marital success, to transmit useful information to members of the family-serving professions throughout the St. Louis area, and to serve as a contract research unit within the university for national and regional research projects.

Jack Curtis, assistant professor of sociology, is the director, and consultants are the Rev. John Thomas, S.J., assistant professor of sociology; Clement Mihanovich, professor and director of the sociology department; Maurice Moran, instructor of psychology; and the Rev. Francis Severin, S.J., assistant professor of psychology and director of counseling services at the university.

San Francisco Psychoanalytic Education Society.—An award is to be granted in 1954–55 for the best paper presenting a research problem, theory, or clinical experience pertinent to the application of psychoanalysis to the social sciences (anthropology, aesthetics, the arts, history, pedagogy, political science, psychology, psychotherapy, · sociology, or social welfare). The award will be $250, to be made only if the judges find a worthy paper has been submitted. They are Ernest Jones, M.D., honorary president of the International Psychoanalytic Association; Aaron Morafka, lay analyst; and Jacques Schnier, professor at the University of California and lay analyst.

Papers must be submitted before July 1, 1955, and the winning paper will be announced

at the fall, 1955, meeting of the society. Papers should be submitted to the Award Committee, San Francisco Psychoanalytic Education Society, 1637 Taylor Street, San Francisco 11, California.

Scandinavian Seminar for Cultural Studies.— This seminar for the study of Scandinavian culture and civilization is designed for mature and responsible persons interested in living and studying in northern Europe for a year. The purpose is to encourage and stimulate thought and interest in basic problems of education, government, and human relations. From November 3 to April 27 each member of the seminar lives in one of the outstanding folk schools that he has selected as his headquarters for the period devoted to study and research. A knowledge of a Scandinavian language is not a prerequisite for admission, but, aside from the short introductory courses and the evaluation sessions, the program is conducted in Danish, Norwegian, or Swedish.

Application forms and further information are available at the American-Scandinavian Council for Adult Education, 127 East Seventythird Street, New York 21, New York. A few partial scholarships are available.

Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.—A total of $1,000 has been made available for grants-in-aid for research on desegregation, no single grant being above $500. Members of the committee of judges to evaluate applications are Isidor Chein, chairman; Kenneth B. Clark; Herbert Hyman; and M. Brewster Smith. Applications specifying budgetary needs and giving sufficient detail to make possible an evaluation of the feasibility and desirability of the proposed project must be submitted to the committee chairman (Research Center for Human Relations, New York University, 104 East Ninth Street, New York 3, New York) before June 1, 1955. Applications should be made out in quadruplicate.

Syracuse University.—A summer institute will feature courses in the anthropology, geography, and history of Japan; elementary Japanese; and Japanese literature. Twelve scholarships are available for it, of which ten, covering six academic credit hours, may be applied for by graduate or undergraduate students, college or high-school teachers, and people with special interests in Japan. The other two scholarships of $200 each are offered to advanced students,

with preference given to college teachers. The teaching faculty of the institute, headed by Douglas G. Haring, who has devoted thirtyseven years to the study of Japan, includes George V. Cressey, professor of geography and specialist on eastern Asia, and K. Arnold Nakajima, instructor of religion, who is experienced in the teaching of Japanese. Masaru Otake, professor of American literature at the Tokyo Economic University, and Betty V. Lanham, assistant professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon College for Women, complete the staff. The institute is generously supported by the Japan Society, Inc., of New York City, a nonpolitical, nonprofit organization created to promote better understanding between the peoples of the United States and Japan.

The deadline for applications for fellowships and scholarships is June 1, 1955. For further information address Douglas G. Haring, Coordinator, Japan Studies, Syracuse University, Syracuse 10, New York.

World Association for Public Opinion Research.—The annual conference of WAPOR will be held at Konstanz, Germany, September 5–9, 1955, in conjunction with the annual meetings of ESOMAR—European Society for Opinion Surveys and Market Research. Suggestions for papers may be sent to either member of the WAPOR program committee: Baron K. G. von Stackelberg, EMNID, Bodelschwinghstrasse 23, Bielefeld, Germany, or Professor Morris Janowitz, Institut für Sozialforschung, Frankfurt Universität, Senkenberganlage 34, Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany.

Yiddish Scientific Institute–Yivo.—The commission on research compiles a continuing bibliography of social scientific studies in all aspects of American Jewish life. Scholars and communal agencies are requested to forward information about recent or current descriptive and experimental studies, published or unpublished. Of particular interest are comparative studies involving Jewish and non-Jewish respondents.

The institute announces the seventh annual Yivo essay contest for scholarly papers, of about 5,000 words, on subjects related to Jewish life in the United States and Canada. Three awards, of $300, $200, and $100, are offered to college seniors and graduate students, the closing date being October 15, 1955. All manuscripts and other communications should be addressed to the Commission on Research, Yivo, 535 West 123d Street, New York 27, New York.

BOOK REVIEWS

Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology. By KARL·MANNHEIM. New York: Oxford University Press, 1953. Pp. viii+319. $6.50.

Karl Mannheim's shorter works, both those written in German and those written in English, are now nearly all available in books. Most of the items in this last volume have appeared in English; the two exceptions are chapter i, "Structural Analysis of Epistemology," a résumé of his doctoral dissertation; and chapter ii, "Conservative Thought." The latter, on which Mannheim cut the teeth of his sociology of knowledge, is my favorite among his writings. It is fresher and freer than the *Ideology and Utopia* in which many of the same ideas are developed more formally.

The other items are his essay on the concept of the state; his well-known papers on American sociology, German sociology, and the place of sociology; chapters on human valuations and wartime psychic economy; and four lectures on planned society and human personality.

One's first duty in such a review as this, where the man and his work are already well known, is to tell people what is in the new package; a second is to egg people on to read for themselves. Other sociologists have translated Mannheim's thought into their own terms or have pressed their own thought into his terms. These adaptations, good though they may be in their own right, may intervene between a new generation and the work of this most stimulating man. The present generation of social scientists will give themselves a treat by reading what he has to say about the lack of the intermediary level between the most abstract and the most concrete in the history of thought, by familiarizing themselves with his use of the concept "style of thought" and his distinction between relativism and relationism in moral valuations; and by asking themselves whether it is still true of American sociology, as he alleges, that it is close to everyday life but timid before big problems.

One may also ask whether his work is obsolete. In one sense, Mannheim predicts his own obsolescence (and that of all sociologists). "Genuine problems," he says (p. 192), "real scientific tasks, are only those which impose themselves on the basis of the general trend of science, that is to say, questions which emerge from the group consciousness of society struggling for its existence and its livelihood." Elsewhere he contends that it is only when things are in a state of change, even of "radical dissolution," that men are really aware of the interdependence of social facts (p. 211). Mannheim saw sociological analysis as floating on the sea of human history, not drifting without power or rudder but moving forward through the changing, enveloping, and threatening social waters and weather. To the extent that we are in new waters and weather, Mannheim is, by his own declaration, out of date. In the deeper sense, that social change itself, on the deepest levels of personal experience, at the upper levels of social thought, and at the ground level of social action, is something that is always with human life and society—the changelessness of change itself—in that sense, what Mannheim had to say is not out of date. It will be out of date only as others say truer things about change.

"Change by itself does not engender sociological science; otherwise every period of social instability ought to enrich that science. Only if changes are coupled with a highly developed capacity of objective scrutiny, and a genuine self-consciousness enables us to formulate and express our experiences, only then can we expect an impetus to fruitful sociological investigation" (p. 211). There is, in these lines, a challenge from a man whose thought career went from Marx to Max Weber to his own autonomous free-sweeping intelligence; from a man who, if he was unfortunate in being among the myriad victims of that radical dissolution of Germany which the Nazis brought to destructive culmination, was fortunate in that he was so early a victim that the Nazis had not yet perfected their formula of annihilation. He lived to see another world triumph through agony and to continue his work with courage and productive brilliance. The challenge is not to produce an accumulative social science in splendid isolation from the problems of one's time; nor is it to make sociology mere eclectic comment—cynical or moralistic—on this morning's newscast. It is the challenge to an even more fundamental con-

tinuity than is called for by those who think
that science contains its own necessary progres-
sion from finding to finding. For the continuity
of sociology, as Mannheim conceives it, is one
which capitalizes on the very confusion of his-
torical developments. Every epoch, every crisis,
becomes the occasion for men of stout heart to
take a hard look at the currents they are swim-
ming in or against and for men of clear head to
add these new observations and analyses to the
accumulating sum of human knowledge.

                          EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

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*The Ways and Power of Love: Types, Factors and
    Techniques of Moral Transformation.* By
    PITIRIM A. SOROKIN. Boston: Beacon Press,
    1954. Pp. xiv+552. $6.00.

In *The Ways and Power of Love* Professor
Sorokin affirms that love conquers all, including
empirical fact and cultural form, and relates
how love may be intensified and organized.

Certain aspects of his current thought, such
as his refusal to follow either the sophomoric
"liberals" in attacking religion or the cocksure
"functionalists" in praising it as a cheap police-
force substitute, and his attempt to break
through circular mechanistic theories about the
determination of conduct, are as valuable as
they are long overdue. Sorokin is also one of the
very few really educated sociologists writing to-
day. It is then saddening to have to report that
a complete master of the sociological literature
simply dismisses it in order that wish may
father his thought. Worse, the "evidence" cited
to prove the sovereign power of love consists of
examples which are · easily balanced in any
daily newspaper.

It simply will not do to hail·Asoka as proof
that a great empire can be maintained only by
love and ignore Ikhnaton, the only authentic
Christ figure ever to rule a great empire—an
empire which shrank to a petty princedom be-
fore his death. How thin an argument to tot up
the number of great nations that died in war, if
the number that flourished in war is ignored as
well as the fact that every one of them was born
in war, including Asoka's!

We are informed that love will insure long
life, health both mental and physical, security,
appreciation, and power and bring about the
regeneration· of civilization, too. Not everyone

will see it, of course, because Sorokin does rec-
ognize that love in a naughty world can be vic-
timized, even crucified. But if *only* we *would* all,
and so forth—especially since necessity, in the
hydrogen-bomb age, affords no other choice.

The initial stage of the "prescription of uni-
versal love" (his term) includes the proposition
that *"everyone* must abstain from all actions
harmful to any human being." But even to be-
gin to transform the world according to the pat-
tern of the Hutterite Brotherhood in Paraguay
(which Sorokin specifically advocates) would re-
quire that quite a few, namely, the United
States Army, should be ready to "harm" quite
a few others, namely, the Russian Army, else
the Paraguayan Hutterites along with everyone
else in the West would in all probability lose an
opportunity to enter the later stages of univer-
sal love.

·A complete acceptance of the Sermon on the
Mount, at the present moment in world history,
would lead to the involved paradox of surren-
dering to Communist domination. The lives of
the saints support the stated probability that
most of them would have surrendered. Few
modern Americans would do so, and nowhere
does Sorokin indicate that a tragic ethical
dilemma does in fact exist: whether, at least by
remaining silent, to promote the possibility of
Armageddon or to embrace unqualified pacifism
and accept the consequences of a foreign-dic-
tated peace not only for ourselves as individuals
but also for millions of others who do not want
to pay that price for either love or peace.

                          ARNOLD W. GREEN

Pennsylvania State University

The Political Control of Czechoslovakia. By IVAN
    GADOUREK. Leiden: H. E. Stenfert Kroese
    N.V., 1953. Pp. 285.

A lot of painstaking work went into the vol-
ume; the author assembled data—all of which is
bibliographic material of one sort or another—
from a variety of sources. Some of his informa-
tion comes from ·behind the Iron Curtain, from
underground workers, Communist newspapers
and directives; some of it reflects opinions and
judgments of refugees from Czechoslovakia over
the past few years. The author aims at a volume
in *social control,* a case study of one of the satel-
lite societies. Comparing the book with volumes
we are used to reading on social control, Gadou-

rek's efforts are neither too successful nor too unsuccessful.

In the first part of the volume (pp. 21–166), Gadourek takes the party, the state administration (government), the economy, education, religion, science and arts, recreation and morals, and searches for the ways in which the regime exercises control over each, as well as for the ways in which the controlled attempt to evade the rules. This section is of primary interest to political scientists and historians of the area, for it supplies ample data on a nation about which more information may be wanted in view of the world situation. Of sociological interest chiefly is Part II, "Conceptualization" (pp. 165–228), in which social control is studied in terms of sociological space and regions and planes under control within it. This is to some extent a rehash of the preceeding discussions, viewed however from a different point of departure. Herein, the author reviews the means and mechanisms of control (chap. xi) and the general characteristics of the process (chap. xii). Unfortunately, the reader is bound to feel that the analysis, in parts quite clumsy, follows classical lines and asks classical questions of little actual importance. In the chapter on means and mechanisms, Gadourek's classification vacillates on several conceptual levels (control through material objects; control through organization; control through institutions; control through physical force and pressure; etc.). These are clearly overlapping categories of different semantic orders. In his chapter on "characteristics," Gadourek asks himself four dichotomous questions (conscious versus unconscious controls, centralized or diffused, prohibitive or stimulative, physical or symbolic)—questions which cannot consequently be answered without much ambiguity.

At times, the reader will find emotional undertones and value judgments. These do not necessarily diminish the book's value but rather give interesting insights into the value systems and aspirations of the author. That the book should end in a cry of hope for the liberation of the country from the current regime is only natural when one considers Gadourek's deep and personal involvement, for the author, now a sociologist in Denmark, is a refugee from Czechoslovakia.

On the whole, the reader will be pleased with this sincere attempt at a scholarly analysis of a problem that other authors have tackled so far chiefly on the propaganda level. Gadourek's is a book that might stimulate further work along

these lines, and it supplies quite a wealth of material to anyone who would choose to do so.

JIRI NEHNEVAJSA

University of Colorado

Truk: Man in Paradise. By THOMAS GLADWIN and SEYMOUR B. SARASON. New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., 1953. Pp. 651. $6.50.

Following the research interests of DuBois and Kardiner, an ethnographer spent seven months learning the language and collecting life-histories, TAT, and Rorschach tests from people living on an island of Truk in the Pacific, and a psychologist interpreted the psychological data after it had been brought to the States. Their basic objective was to "explore the process of personality development in a particular society." The problem—implied rather than explicitly stated—was to select the culturally defined determinants of individual behavior.

The procedure, as explained in the Introduction, appears full of promise: the ethnographer was to analyze the social organization of the community and trace the stages of personality development as revealed from life-histories; the psychologist was to interpret the tests, then findings were to be compared and the final analysis of personality development presented. But the ensuing six hundred pages (including fairly complete records of interviews and test responses) is disappointing because of the superficiality of the data. Linguistic barriers, cultural taboos, a hit-or-miss interviewing procedure, the anthropologist's inexperience in testing, and all the problems of giving tests devised in one culture to persons of another culture and of interpreting and scoring such tests blocked the acquiring of the facts that would illuminate how cultural phenomena function as personality determinants.

The combined efforts of the ethnographer and the psychologist have produced an account of personality development and a culture which college undergraduates would find very interesting but which demonstrates the danger of "quickie" research on human beings. The volume is permeated with cultural biases; a few are admitted by the authors, but others are stated as comparative facts. For example, when speaking of the Trukese inability to engage in abstraction, the authors state, "It is a by-word among Americans that the spirit of the law is

more important than the letter, and the ability to recognize this distinction in dealing with his problems is a measure of an American child's growing maturity" (p. 270). There are many instances of circular reasoning, as in the contention that, although the life-histories are defective, the fact that the test interpretations support some of the evidence in the life-histories indicates that they are not valueless and the partial congruence of the test results and conclusions from the life-histories lends validity to each procedure! (This, of course, raises the whole problem of validation in the social sciences where research workers validate each other's cultural biases rather than their findings.)

In all fairness to the authors, it must be said that they did recognize the inadequacies of the life-histories, the problems of interpreting projective tests administered in alien circumstances, the time limits, and so on. However, one cannot help wondering how they could avoid recognizing their failure to explain (a) the effect—or lack of effect—of World War II on the culture (only fleeting reference is made to the fact that World War II had anything to do with the life of the islanders, although a number of the life-histories mention the war); (b) the impact of Christianity on the culture; (c) their reasons for minimizing the effects of foreign administrations on the culture; (d) their attempt to construct a "Trukese personality" when they recognize the pitfalls of the concept of the basic personality type.

Although the authors present a fairly plausible account of a culture, because of methodological shortcomings, one is not sure it is *the* culture that the Trukese perceive. Their own recognition of these shortcomings is commendable. The most excellent chapter in the book is "The Tests: Some Methodological Problems," by Dr. Sarason. It is a critique of projective tests and the role of researchers and informants. This chapter alone would make the book most valuable for students of social research methods.

ANNABELLE BENDER MOTZ

University of Maryland

Leitbilder Gegenwärtigen deutschen Familienlebens. By GERHARD WURZBACHER. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1954. Pp. 255. DM. 16.

By far the greatest part of this volume is devoted to the study of husband-wife relations in 151 modern German families. The author concludes that the customary view of the German family as authoritarian is unjustified. In his own sample of families, he finds that the "patriarchal" pattern holds for 23.6 per cent of the families, whereas in 16.0 per cent equalitarianism competed with the authority of the father. While 8.0 per cent of the families were dominated by the wife, the remaining 52.3 per cent are chiefly equalitarian. The author compares the figures with another sample of 385 families; the respective percentages in the above order were reported: 27.3 per cent (patriarchal image), 13.0 per cent (competing influences), 52.7 per cent (basic equality), and 7.0 per cent (predominance of the wife).

By major occupational groups, the results differ only for farmers: in this group, the authoritarian pattern tended to be larger (57.1 per cent of 14 families and 43.3 per cent of 37) than in the other groups (workers and lower-white-collar workers; artisans and white-collar workers; professionals and independent professions and higher employees).

In parent-child relationships the parental authority pattern still prevails, but a trend is seen toward increasing autonomy of children (pp. 214–15).

The nuclear family also loosens its close ties to the extended family, or the circle of relatives, and although, in general, the nuclear families view their relations to relatives in a positive manner, the autonomy of nuclear families has been gradually increasing (p. 240).

These, in a nutshell, are major findings of the author, interesting, if by no means scientifically established. Indeed, our major criticisms against the volume lie in the use or misuse of research methodology. First of all, the author contrasts his study with a rather thorough analysis by Bertram Schaffner (*Fatherland: A Study of Authoritarianism in the German Family* [1948]). The reader cannot but feel that Wurzbacher was led into his own analysis by a strong bias and that, in some important ways, he has dealt with his data accordingly.

How did the author assemble his data? He prepared a rather ingenious and exhaustive scheme (pp. 16–17, 39, 46–47, 59 ff., 67 ff.) of questions or items in terms of which an observer is to write up a monograph about each family. Hence, while Wurzbacher strenuously objects to Schaffner's uses of public opinion research (pp.

24 ff.) mainly due to the well-known discrepancies between opinion expressed and subsequent behavior, he is willing to employ the opinions of his observers instead.

Some of the author's sociology students were asked to select subjects from among families personally known to them (p. 33). In this way a decided biased sample was obtained—or, to say the least, any representativeness of the sample remained unestablished. We may also argue that the students-observers were likely to perceive of lives in terms of their own previous experiences and misconceptions; thus their monographs may be quite accurate—or may not be. In any case, the reliability of the observations must be questioned. Nor is the author convincing in testing his classifications of the reported observations for reliability. As the sole analyst, he sets up the various categories (patriarchal versus equalitarian, etc.) and analyzes the data accordingly. Yet, whether upon reclassification by a different analyst the same results could be gotten, we have no means of knowing.

Wurzbacher's conclusion about the equalitarianism of the husband-wife relationship in a majority of cases (in both samples) also will not stand a closer look. For the category of "basic equality of partners" is subdivided into (a) patterns of personal predominance of the husband; (b) no predominance; and (c) personal predominance of the wife. If we choose to add cases from the "personal predominance of the husband" category to the "authoritarian" or "patriarchal" categories, we find that in both samples a majority of all the cases would fall into this new class: 56.2 per cent in the smaller sample, and 60.2 per cent in the larger sample!

A worth-while research project, a useful survey, is rendered useless by fundamental mishandling of scientific research methodology. If the author were the only one among the behavioral scientists guilty on this score, one would hardly pay all this attention to his book.

JIRI NEHNEVAJSA

University of Colorado

The Family in the American Economy. By HAZEL
    KYRK. Chicago: University of Chicago Press,
    1953. Pp. xvii+407. $6.00.

Those who regard sociology as a special and generalizing social science cannot avoid mixed feelings when they witness the persistent appearance of competent works by representatives of other disciplines who, ignoring academic boundaries, achieve an excellence in the treatment of conventional problems that earlier specialization precludes. Sociology is becoming a provider of perspective, method, and techniques for the other social sciences. Indeed, Small contended long ago that the development of sociology was, in fact, the development of a method. Hazel Kyrk's book, in a sense, exemplifies the statement. Moreover, a comparison of this book with her earlier volume, *Economic Problems of the Family* (1933), reveals nicely the inroads that sociological method has made upon home economics. The shortcomings of this book, however, provide some reassurance that our subject matter will be with us yet a while before it disappears in the abstract formalities of perspective, method, and techniques.

To the sociologist, immediate satisfaction derives from Dr. Kyrk's conception of the unit of economic analysis. Despite the threat from some quarters of contemporary economics that the corpse of eighteenth-century economic man will be resurrected, largely because his presumed characteristics are amenable to symbolic, often quantitative, treatment, she eschews the individual and employs the family, a "system of claims and obligations," as the basic unit of analysis. Thus, after a meticulously documented analysis of American family composition and size, as these vary from city to country and among white and nonwhite households, she conducts a detailed investigation of the balance between family claims upon and obligations toward the economy, government, and the members of the family itself and the actual "return." These objects of claim are simultaneously viewed as sources (a device reminiscent of Parsons' dictum that expectations for alter are sanctions for ego). Three sources of family claims orient the study: (1) those derived from contracts established in the market from which wages and other income are secured; (2) those inhering in civil status from which various security benefits are guaranteed by government and other community agencies when, for example, a family's "bargaining position" on the market has been weakened; and (3) through family status itself. The interplay of claim upon status and of status upon claim is examined historically, although greatest attention is given to the depiction of the economic aspects of the current balance. The general problem of Dr. Kyrk's

book is, therefore, sociological, viz., how economic claims upon and obligations toward the family function to maintain it as a system unit. The thorough way in which the problem is handled cannot help but satisfy the sociologist. Nor is the author content to rest her case there. Despite protestations to the contrary, the practical bent of the home economist is obvious: chapters on the improvement of family income, savings, and insurance offer a wealth of advice to American families generally.

Dr. Kyrk's treatment of family income and wealth is a contribution to our knowledge of stratification. Pfautz has observed in the pages of this journal that probably no area of sociology suffers so much from overconceptualization as that of stratification. Here we have a refreshing treatment of economic inequality in America unobscured by the often turgid concepts of stratification. Specifically, chapters v and vi of Dr. Kyrk's book state simply, clearly, and cogently the immense difficulty of arriving at comparable assessments of family income in the diverse circumstances of American life. These chapters will be of great value to students of stratification.

However, it is precisely on the subject of prestige—the moral or social order—that Dr. Kyrk's own analysis bogs down. She always recognizes the shortcoming but cannot surmount it. Whether in setting up standards for the objective assessment of family claims and obligations with reference to income (pp. 39, 68), poverty (pp. 94–96), support of indigent family members (p. 223), insurance (p. 235), consumption (pp. 247, 250, and 254), the economic position of married women (p. 280), divorce (p. 313), law (p. 314), cost of living (p. 367), or budgeting (p. 335), the conclusion is always that "standards vary not from individual to individual but from group to group" (pp. 96–97)—implying that the relevant group standards are those of life-style. Yet, after all, her primary objective is specifically to raise problems. But her dilemma demonstrates to the sociologist that he has only begun the study of economic life and that his achievements are helter-skelter and uneven, most of all in considering the consumer. Neither the home economist nor the economist can be expected to undertake the task though both are armed with sociological perspectives, methods, and techniques. The classical division of academic labor—whether we like it or not—has guaranteed that much.

There are, of course, faults in Dr. Kyrk's

book. Although only five tables are listed in the Table of Contents, seventy-five or more appear in the book. In many cases, and in spite of the general excellence of documentation, relevant source materials have not been mentioned or obsolete sources have been used. Such criticisms are, however, overshadowed by the good points of the work and by the enormous task that Dr. Kyrk by implication has provided the sociologist.

GREGORY P. STONE

Michigan State College

The Negro and the Schools. By HARRY S. ASH-MORE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954. Pp. xv+228. $2.75.

This is an unusual book: a reflective and informed newspaper editor's evaluation of a score of studies of the Negro and the schools which were initiated by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. The studies, undertaken for the most part by sociologists and educators, covered white and Negro school expenditures in the South and estimates of the costs of equalization; the admission and integration of Negro students into institutions of higher learning in the South; legal aspects of segregation; and the desegregation experiences of parochial and sectarian schools in the South and public school systems outside the South.

Harry Ashmore, executive editor of the *Arkansas Gazette,* with a staff of assistants has summarized the findings in a document of 139 pages of text and a supplementary statistical section of 65 pages. Considering the hundreds, or perhaps thousands, of pages of reports reviewed, this brief text is a masterful review, clear, succinct, and thorough. Social scientists, whose statistics and academic jargon limit their audiences, will appreciate the skill with which this research has been translated into a form readable to both laymen and professionals.

Ashmore does an excellent job of relating school segregation to the general status of educational systems in the South; to the increasing industrialization and rising economic position of the South; to southern population trends and the increasing movement of the Negro to the urban centers of the North and South; and to the changing status of race relations in the South and throughout the rest of the country.

The Fund's policy was one of impartiality, and Ashmore has been unusually objective. But

the selection and interpretation of the facts leave no doubt that he sees the Supreme Court decision and the changes it is inducing in southern schools as only one phase of the South's movement to fuller participation in the national striving toward democratic ideals.

An aspect of desegregation that perhaps deserves more attention than is given to it here is the meaning of school desegregation to the Negro communities in the South and the nation at large. But, because the report is a work of balanced judgment and "sweet reasonableness," it does not do what it never intended to do: present a new viewpoint for conceptually or theoretically reorganizing the plethora of data. On the whole this report is an unusual demonstration of how a thoughtful editor with social perspective can pull out of the work of co-operating social scientists a significant social document.

JOHN P. DEAN

Cornell University

Rural Social Systems and Adult Education. By CHARLES P. LOOMIS, J. ALLAN BEEGLE, *et al.* East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1953. Pp. viii+392. $5.00.

The Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education financed the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities to make a study of programs of rural adult education on the subjects of world peace, the economic order, and democracy. The Social Research Service of Michigan State College carried out the study.

The data are responses from a complex set of samples of rural population to mailed questionnaires. The findings are reported in twelve chapters by different authors, plus an introductory and a concluding chapter by the director, Charles Loomis. Other chapters concern adult education in the schools, the agricultural extension service and special agencies in the USDA, farmers' organizations, service clubs, public libraries, the rural church, continued education in colleges, international exchange of persons, rural local government, and mass media.

One infers that the intended audience for this volume is the personnel of the extension service. Specialists in mass or adult education, in communication and public opinion, or in rural sociology will find the book pedestrian and for the most part uninformative. Compared with the Lazarsfeld-Stanton series this is a primer. A miscellany of tables showing, for example,

"other organizations extension agents work with," tells little about education. There are numerous statements by local leaders about the "best" media or their "best" programs, with no data to support their judgments. There are about as many tables showing such items as the number of civic clubs in various types of farming areas as there are tables dealing with educational programs. The book is almost totally lacking in data dealing with the impact or with the content of programs. There are more informative and certainly more illuminating discussions of most of the subjects in other sources. The most enlightening portion of the volume is Appendix A, which summarizes, with a clever visual device, the recollection by each contributor of the "organizational affiliations and level of participation of his father and mother."

The book, and the project in so far as it may be represented by the report, is an impressive waste of a very large amount of money. The directors of the study seemed to have sailed blindfolded. They give little evidence of familiarizing themselves with the kinds of data that are available and the problems that should be discussed in such a study. The professional reader may find a few bits of new material; other readers will be thoroughly bored.

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

University of Kentucky

The Design of Social Research. By RUSSELL L. ACKOFF. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. x+420. $7.50.

By methodologically designed social research the author means research which is planned beforehand and which evaluates the method for making decisions. The book is devoted to translating these thoughts into actual research procedures. It is divided into three general parts: problem formulation, ideal research model, and the practical research model.

Of especial interest to the sociologist is the first chapter. In it some of the most recent principles of problem formulation developed by men such as Wald have been generalized and elaborated for use by sociologists. This new formulation is not just semantic but has important implications for both empiricists and theorists in sociology. For the empiricists the author indicates, for instance, how the proper selection of a sample is best made (Appendix IV). Using basically the same method, Leo Goodman shows

how use of this formulation specifically enables the sociologists to improve their predictions. For the sociological theorist also it has many implications. For instance, it makes clear in what sense Merton's "empty-bottle" approach to functional analysis will lead to trouble when an attempt is made to verify his theoretical statements and in what sense it is quite sound.

The author goes beyond the decision model of Wald not only by generalizing it to other scientific areas but in developing procedures for evaluating how correctly each element of the model has been chosen. Thus, he not only points out the need in scientific inference to indicate the object of research but also suggests procedures for determining how accurately such choices are made (pp. 24 ff.). Again the implication for sociological theory might be pointed out. The problem of evaluating alternative objects of research turns out to be similar to that of evaluating alternative consequences of action. This latter is a problem which Merton suggests as being crucial for functional analysis. The techniques worked out by Ackoff to solve the former might be helpful in solving the latter.

The chapters on practical research design dealing with sampling, the logic of statistical procedures, analysis of variance and covariance, and estimation are so lucidly presented that even the nonmathematically trained reader can follow them. These chapters are intended to indicate the relation between the underlying logic of statistical analysis and research design. However, the point tends to be somewhat obscured by the excessive number of tests considered.

The author might have made his point clearer if he had illustrated how some of the principles underlying the statistics operate in the absence of statistical formulations. For instance, the principles of sampling are related to any situation where the scientist is trying to generalize from a limited set of data to a larger universe. Many sociologists are under the impression that sampling problems are related only to survey procedures and quantification. But in the field of historiography the same sampling problems arise and have implications for research design even though the procedures have not been quantified.

The chapter on the observational phase of practical design deals with subjects such as how to estimate the consequences of nonresponses, designing questionnaires, and designing test or measurement scales. Of particular interest to the sociologist are the criteria developed for the

design of a test or measurement instrument, ingeniously illustrated by the author's ascendancy-submission test. However, it is regrettable that the merits of other test procedures such as those of Thurstone, Guttman, and Lazarsfeld were excluded. For it is not at all obvious that the particular type of test developed by the author meets his ideal criterion better than those developed by Thurstone, Guttman, and Lazarsfeld. For instance, there is nothing to stop one from using Guttman's procedures (scale analysis) with Ackoff's scientific definitions. Furthermore, Guttman's procedures allow him to include a systematic bias on the part of the "judges." Ackoff's procedures would likely rule out perfectly good items which bring forth systematic bias among the judges. It also limits him to dealing with variables in which the assessment of the trait is not a function of the occurrence of the trait among judges (e.g., rating of empathy is related to the judges' empathy).

A detailed discussion of the limitations and advantages of various measurement procedures might be more useful to the sociologist (at this stage in his development) than the large number of statistical tests which occur in the earlier chapters. Nonetheless this book stands virtually alone among contemporary texts on methodology. This is a textbook in the old sense of the word: it presents new and creative ideas which will bear consideration not only by the beginning students but by the mature scholars as well.

EUGENE LITWAK

University of Chicago

Public Opinion and Propaganda. Edited by DANIEL KATZ, DORWIN CARTWRIGHT, SAMUEL ELDERSVELD, and ALFRED M. LEE. New York: Dryden Press, 1954. Pp. xx+779. $6.25.

Collections of readings are seldom impressive, but this one is. It was prepared for the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, and the Society rather than any individual is the beneficiary of its sales. There are four editors—two psychologists, one political scientist, and one sociologist—twenty-six "advisory editors," ninety-two authors, and two critics. Working over seven years, they gathered the seventy-four selections which cover the 760 double-columned pages of this book. All the pieces appear to have been published before, al-

though a few have been revised or cut, and they come from diverse sources. There are no introductory paragraphs or other connective tissue, but the selections have been carefully collected into "chapters." The complexity and extensiveness of the contents must have put a huge burden on the chief editor, Daniel Katz, and SPSSI is greatly indebted to him.

Most of the authors are specialists in the field of communication and have their background training in psychology, sociology, or political science (e.g., Hovland, Lazarsfeld, and Lasswell). Some are from these disciplines or other social science disciplines but have only incidental connection with the field of communication (e.g., Allport, Blumer, and Bailey). A few are the classic essayists on public opinion—Bryce, Lowell, Calhoun, Lippmann—two are government committees, and one is a United States senator (Kefauver). About a fifth of the authors would probably best be classified as sociologists, although such early writers in the field as Park and Tönnies are not included among them.

The coverage is comprehensive. The book is divided into five parts: (1) the nature and function of public opinion in a democracy; (2) the social, political, and economic context of public opinion; (3) psychological and sociological processes underlying the formation of public opinion; (4) propaganda and changes in public opinion; and (5) techniques for the study of public opinion and propaganda. The editors seem to have aimed at a full representation of the diversity of interests and points of view.

A course on public opinion is, at present, best taught out of a book of readings rather than a textbook. The reason may be the failure of integration in this fairly delimited field, owing to its interdisciplinary character and the tendency to do research on *ad hoc* problems rather than on hypotheses related to a general theory. No general theory of public opinion has been advanced yet. The only theoretical selections presented in this book are an essay delineating the field by Floyd Allport, first published in 1937 before most of the empirical research reported in the book had been done; a critical essay by Blumer attacking the methods of opinion researchers; and brief definitional statements by Kimball Young, Lasswell, and Kaplan. It may be that the field is not ready for integration and theory or that these would not be stimulating or constructive for empirical research, but I have yet to read a discussion of whether this is true or not.

The many people who contributed to this fine, representative volume on what seems to be an important social science field are to be congratulated on their product. But they have not made explicit the general significance of their work or how it relates to anything else in social science.

ARNOLD M. ROSE

University of Minnesota

Sociological Studies in Scale Analysis: Applications, Theory, Procedures. By MATILDA WHITE RILEY, JOHN W. RILEY, JR., and JACKSON TOBY. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954. Pp. xii+433. $6.00.

The Rileys and their associates here make a determined attempt to adapt Guttman scaling procedures to the requirements of small-group theory and analysis. Starting from a methodological position about which there can be little controversy, they assert that theory and research should interpenetrate, that theoretical concepts should be stated in terms precise enough to guide empirical research, and that conceptual models—particularly mathematical models—are useful to these ends. Difficulties begin when the Guttman scale is introduced as a mathematical model, for a model should state the basic concepts or variables that make up the system and assert certain relations among them from which, if there is any point to the model at all, further consequences should be deducible. While Guttman's work on the principal components of scale analysis is beginning to approach a model of the structure of attitudes, the scaling technique itself (which simply demonstrates the existence or lack of unidimensionality in a given attitude), although mathematically derived, can hardly be considered a mathematical representation of a conceptual model. Whether method or model, the Rileys are on even more dubious ground when they assume that the models and methods appropriate and useful in one conceptual area are usefully transferable to another. They beg the question of appropriateness when they say, "[The researcher's] hypotheses spring from theory. But his methods . . . no longer develop entirely out of the same hypotheses. Methods now available are formal, external to the immediate theoretical issues" (p. 20), and, apparently, quite independent of the nature of the problems to which they are applied.

From this point on the volume approaches the familiar sociometric problems of "who chooses whom for what" and "who is chosen by whom for what" as though they were required by natural law to conform to the conditions of Guttman attitude analysis. A series of analogues (or, so some of the authors say, homologues) are forcibly transferred from individual attitudes to group judgments: if attitudes scale, then group judgments should scale; if attitudes have an intensity dimension, then group judgments should have an intensity dimension; and so on. Considerable ingenuity and much labor went into finding these parallels and constructing presumably parallel ways of measuring them, but they turn out, both conceptually and operationally, to have far less clarity of reference in their new setting than in their old. The authors carefully indicate what the original meaning of the results obtained by the operations was, and they describe their own operations for manipulating data in the group context in precise detail. It is abundantly evident that the operations are different in the two contexts, and the meaning of the results cannot, therefore, be the same. Yet, except for analogizing, it is peculiarly difficult to formulate what has emerged after the operations have been performed on the group data. It is almost irresistible to refer back to them the Rileys' own feeling that, in certain other sociometric research, there has been "a degree of quantitative refinement which exceeds the understanding of the content of the categories being measured" (p. 63).

We are introduced, for instance, to the notion that a variable may be unidimensional for a group even though it is not unidimensional for the individuals in that group. In their own illustration, on intimacy, group unidimensionality is said to exist because a person who is talked to about an intimate topic by at least one member of the group is also talked to on less intimate topics by at least one (but not necessarily, or even generally, the same) member of the group. It is exceedingly difficult to keep even this definition, let alone its implications, in mind, so it is, perhaps, not surprising that discussions of intimacy proceed, much of the time, as if the variable had been shown to be unidimensional for individuals (i.e., the situation where, if A confides intimate details to B, he will also discuss less intimate things with B). It is said, in summary, that "all individuals tend to approach peers first on the same every-day topic, . . . all who become better acquainted go on to a slight-

ly more intimate common topic; and so on" (p. 74); but this statement clearly depends on the more rigorous test of unidimensionality. (Interestingly enough, these data on intimacy, which are said to scale by their criterion of unidimensionality, do not meet other standard requirements of Guttman scales, since the purported scale contains two nonscale types with greater than acceptable frequencies.) If the new operational definition of unidimensionality is accepted and adhered to, the only accurate statements of findings take such forms as: "being wished for [as an associate] by four others is contingent upon actual association with two others" (p. 173). If this has any useful connotations, note further that, in these particular empirical data, a person did not generally associate with another unless he wished for the association.

The need to find a complete parallel to Guttman analysis of attitudes also leads to some remarkable dealings with familiar concepts. In attitude analysis the intensity of the attitude plotted against the content results in a U-shaped curve. It must, therefore, follow that something plotted against a group action or group judgment "scale" will also result in a U-shaped curve. Consequently, there is an "obvious logical parallelism between consensus and individual intensity" (p. 100). The authors define consensus as the extent of group agreement and define intensity, as usual, as referring to the degree of conviction or feeling with which an opinion is held. Any elementary sociology student should be able to come up with the obvious difference: in a simple society there is roughly equal agreement on the folkways and the mores, but there is a difference in the intensity with which a violation of one or the other would be met; obviously, the sacredness or strength of sanctions attached to a consensual item is a better analogue of individual intensity of attitude than is consensus itself. Nevertheless, consensus about intimacy, as measured by a group analogy to Guttman scaling of intensity, when plotted against intimacy, as measured by a group analogy to a Guttman content scale, results in a U-shaped curve, which, apparently, proves the conceptual parallelism of consensus and intensity.

Since this is a serious attempt to adapt scale techniques to group data, it seems strange that the only approach which would use Guttman measures in their original sense instead of redefining them is only hinted at by one author and indirectly dismissed by another. Foa suggests

that, instead of asking people to name those they confide in, like, associate with, etc., it is possible to ask each person about every other person in the group and, in so doing, to ask a series of scalable questions about each person rather than one. Although Foa does not develop the matter further, it would then be possible to construct as many scales as there were persons in the group, each one consisting of the behavior of the rest of the group toward a single member. These scales could, in turn, be tested for their scalability with one another, as if they were original multiple-category items. The initial scales, if they existed, would demonstrate that, for any one member of the group, the group's judgment of him along some dimension (e.g., desirability as an associate) was unidimensional. The scale of scales, if it existed, would demonstrate that the same criteria of evaluation were being applied by the group to each of its members, and, therefore, members of the group could be ranked with respect to one another. The Rileys' discussion of dyads or subject-object pairs asserts that a dyad scale of group members' actions toward each other can be found by their methods under hypothetical conditions in which the initial scales of group action toward each individual would not result; in so doing, of course, they apparently reject the approach just suggested (cf. pp. 150–80). It seems reasonable to suppose that an application of Guttman's procedures to materials suited to them will be more productive than a demand that all materials be "quasi-Guttmanized" by application of inexact and uninterpretable analogies.

A final section on procedures contains some papers of general relevance to scaling which are quite independent of these attempted sociological applications. Two of these—Ford's procedure for using IBM equipment in determining scalability and Stouffer's proposal for the use of contrived items to increase scalability—have been previously published and are well known in the field. But Toby and Toby outline, for the first time in print, a systematic method for dichotomizing multiple-category items before testing their scalability. The authors credit the method to Stouffer, and it has been independently invented and applied at least in piecemeal fashion by almost everyone who has worked extensively with complex scales. The Tobys' presentation, however, makes it widely avaialble and is interesting and helpful, as is another paper by one of them proposing an IBM solution to

scaling multiple-category items without dichotomizing them. Unfortunately, a final paper by Guttman on the Israel Alpha technique of image analysis is too concise to be enlightening.

SHIRLEY A. STAR

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Intensive Group Psychotherapy. By GEORGE R. BACH. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1954. Pp. x+446. $6.00.

Bach describes an "intensive" group therapy program suitable for treating small groups of adult neurotics which integrates individual consultations, weekly or biweekly group sessions, and informal group "post-sessions." The groups are "continuous" rather than "closed," "graduating" or disaffected members being replaced. One of Bach's groups has been functioning for five years, another for seven. While complete data concerning the efficacy of the program are not reported, eighteen months of participation is said to be roughly minimal in most cases for bringing about any basic personality changes.

The group itself is seen to become the main vehicle of therapeutic influence as it develops from an assembly of defensive strangers, trying to engage each other in neurotic "set-up operations," into a mutually supportive, freely interacting "association of peers," with group-centered authority and direction and with its own set of values, norms, roles, and "therapeutic work-culture."

Group activities include dream analysis, role-playing, projective drawing, and sociometric assessment; also discussions of personal problems, the sharing of emotionally important aspects of prior experience and exchanging of advice, and analyses of how each member affects and is affected by others in the group.

As a whole, the program emphasizes the analysis and improvement of "here-and-now repetitive contact patterns" displayed by members vis-à-vis each other, particularly those which have disjunctive effects. Bach coins a new term, "theragnosis," for this type of guided interaction, signifying its dual function: "(1) to diagnose an individual's personal idiosyncrasies in interpersonal contact and traffic; and (2) therapeutically to help the individual patient to a better understanding of how his repeatedly observable behavior patterns affect others in the therapy group" (p. 192).

Bach also presents a theoretical formulation of the group processes fostered by these procedures and their role in bringing about therapeutic changes in the participants. He tries to avoid treating group therapy after the model of individual therapy and repeatedly accents the unique dimensions that a group introduces. In the vein of Sullivan and such group therapists as Ruesch and Bateson, he criticizes purely "intradermal" conceptualizations and stresses the interpersonal and communicative.

Trained in psychoanalysis and field theory (Bach was one of Lewin's research assistants), he attempts an integration of the two approaches. He takes issue, for example, with those psychoanalytically inclined practitioners who tend to reduce interpersonal activities to "historical reactivations." He broadens Freud's concepts of "transference" and "counter-transference" to include "all contact operations between people." He stresses the importance of the "social field."

While conceding in an offhand way that sociologists and social psychologists may have something to offer to the clarification of group process, he draws almost exclusively upon the work of Lewin and the "group dynamics" school.

The book articulates well with other works in the field of group therapy, contains some promising reformulations and extensions of both theory and practice, and offers some new bases for *rapproachement* between currently conflicting orientations. While it is addressed mainly to group-therapy practitioners, sociologists will find the book quite interesting, particularly for the light that it sheds on the personally reintegrative and redirective influences of intimate group participation.

JOSEPH F. ZYGMUNT

University of Chicago

Community Health Action: A Study of Community Contrast. By PAUL A. MILLER. East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State College Press, 1953. Pp. iii+192. $3.00.

Based on research since 1949 by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College, this monograph details the efforts small American communities made, between 1940 and 1950, to meet health goals. The research focused upon communities where major facilities, such as clinics and hospitals, were built in compliance with federal legislation em-

bodied in the Hill-Burton Bill. The "decision-making process" involved in hospital construction in communities of less than 7,500 population is the central problem of this research.

A total of 218 communities supplied questionnaire data on their efforts to build a hospital. Five communities were selected on a regional basis for case analysis, each chosen because it represented a typical hospital project in the region and demonstrated the kinds of problems the small local communities overcame when building a hospital. The problems included such things as the number of beds in the proposed hospital, the size of the population in the area to be served, how the money was to be raised, and so on. The communities finally selected for first-hand study are in New York, Indiana, Alabama, Wyoming, and California.

The research team spent some thirteen days, on the average, in each community, collecting data deemed necessary to understand the project from conception to completion. This process involved five steps: (1) a detailed reconstruction of the project was made from documentary accounts such as local newspapers; (2) the reconstructed story of the project was submitted to the hospital board for discussion and correction; (3) from forty interviews with local residents on the community's social organization, their attitudes on hospital facilities and the recently completed hospital were recorded; (4) intensive interviews were had with leaders in the project; and (5) a questionnaire was mailed to a sample of registered voters to learn how the residents viewed the hospital and the leaders. Seminars were held after the data were collected to gain a comprehension of the decision-making process in each community.

The careful methodological procedures provided a rich body of reliable and valid case materials. The data are analyzed by the profile technique. This gives the reader a meaningful understanding of the problems and processes of decision-making and constructive community action in each case. This monograph should be read by sociologists interested in action programs as well as by students of human behavior on the theoretical level. It should prove valuable to social workers, public health officers, and lay leaders in general.

Although it is a solid contribution to our understanding of what takes place at the grass-roots level when federal legislation encourages community action in a specified area, the study ignores the communities that either did not

start a hospital or failed to complete one. But a study of failure in community leadership is as important as an analysis of success to complete our picture of community action.

AUGUST B. HOLLINGSHEAD

Yale University

A Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire, Vol. III: *The West Indian and American Territories*. By R. R. KUCZYNSKI. London: Oxford University Press, 1953. Pp. xiii+497. $13.00.

When he died in 1947, Kuczynski's last great work, the survey of demographic statistics in the British colonies, was still in manuscript. His daughter, Dr. Brigitte Long, brought the material up to 1948 and later whenever possible. The present volume, dealing with the American colonies (including the Falkland Islands and dependencies), follows the basic plan of the first two volumes. An introductory chapter brings together salient data on all the colonies of the region; then each later chapter deals with a particular colony, the treatment being organized under the headings of census-taking, total population, population composition (race and nationality, birthplace, sex, age, conjugal condition), birth and death registration (legislation, registration forms), and birth and death statistics. The result is a mine of information for the period of roughly from 1900 to 1948—information which would otherwise be difficult to obtain because the demographic material on the far-flung colonies is scattered, often inaccessible, and frequently erroneous. The value of the work is enhanced by the attention given the legal basis of statistical collection in the various colonies. In each case the enabling legislation is cited and the operational definitions, when peculiar in any way, are stated. The author also checks different data and sources against one another for possible inconsistencies.

Kuczynski, as usual, takes delight in showing up local census officials and registrars. All through the volume he pokes fun at official population estimates that fail to jibe with subsequent census returns or, when divided into the annual births or deaths, yield absurd rates. In Bermuda in 1924, for example, the actual number of white births was higher than it had been in 1923, but the *rate* dropped substantially because the white population, due to an overestimate, rose by 42 per cent within the year! The author also has fun with stillbirths, which are sometimes ignored completely in reports (though the data are collected) and sometimes included among the births for calculating the birth rate.

It should be recognized that this, like other volumes of the Survey, is really a sourcebook. There is little interpretation or analysis. One regrets that the author did not live to do an analytical study based on the data, because Britain's American colonies are demographically interesting. For instance, some of them (Bahamas, Barbados, Cayman Islands, Leeward Islands) have had, due to male emigration, high feminine sex ratios, especially in the young adult ages. In 1921 Barbados had nearly three times as many women as men aged thirty to thirty-nine. It would be worth while for someone to inquire into the economic causes and the sociological and demographic consequences of such distortion. Again, the 1946 census of the West Indies produced significant data on the past fertility of women by age and marital status. George Roberts has significantly analyzed some of this material, but much more needs to be done.

The author does depart from his sourcebook task in giving a full documentary account of the wrangle over birth-control policy in Bermuda. He also comments occasionally on theories of overpopulation found in official reports. He might have given some attention to the past reports on immigration potentialities in British Guiana. Yet the task he set himself, of presenting and evaluating the descriptive demographic statistics of the colonies, has made much easier the more interpretive and analytical work that others may wish to do.

KINGSLEY DAVIS

Columbia University

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ARGYRIS, CHRIS. *Organization of a Bank: A Study of the Nature of Organization and the Fusion Process.* New Haven: Labor and Management Center, Yale University, 1954. Pp. vii+282. $2.50. Report of empirical study, presented with elaborate theory and methods.

BANKS, J. A. *Prosperity and Parenthood: A Study of Family Planning among the Victorian Middle Classes.* New York: Grove Press, 1954. Pp. v+240. $2.50.

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1955. Pp. xiii+401. $6.00. Papers presented in connection with Columbia's bicentennial by fifteen social scientists from U.S.A., Great Britain, France, and Denmark. Topics: history of urbanization, the city, politics and law; urban ecology, the professions, and social attitudes.

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